

PALE NARCISSUS: THE ROLE OF PRIMITIVE NARCISSISM IN THE  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHITE PRIVILEGE ATTITUDES  
AND MODERN RACISM

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by  
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PALE NARCISSUS: THE ROLE OF PRIMITIVE NARCISSISM IN THE RELATIONSHIP  
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ABSTRACT

White racial identity and White privilege attitudes and their connection to racism and prejudiced behaviors have been studied extensively in the current literature. However, few empirical studies have explored the psychodynamics underlying Whiteness, specifically those psychodynamics pertaining to narcissistic process, and the one study that has investigated this area used outdated measures. A comparison of the theoretical literature in psychoanalysis and White racial identity development suggests that a narcissistic dynamic characterizes White identity development, White privilege attitudes, and racism. Put simply, a synthesis of the literature postulates that White persons with less developed White identities cannot integrate the perspective of non-White individuals because their own White identities cannot tolerate the difference and associated emotional stress of this interaction, a dynamic that is fundamentally narcissistic in the psychoanalytic sense. This study utilized contemporary measurements of narcissism in a quantitative descriptive design (i.e., an electronic survey) to examine how primitive narcissism, as opposed to mature narcissism, relates to White privilege attitudes and

modern racism, as well as the degree to which primitive narcissism explains the relationship between these variables. Although I hypothesized that higher levels of primitive narcissism would be related to and account for less developed White privilege attitudes and greater modern racism, the results of this study did not support this position. Rather, primitive narcissism was positively related to some facets of White privilege attitudes (i.e., willingness to confront White privilege and anticipated costs of confronting White privilege). Also, no relationship was found between primitive narcissism and modern racism. Examination of the results suggested that primitive narcissism may not be fundamental to White privilege attitudes and racism but simply influential, such that increased levels of primitive narcissism may moderate how people relate to their White identity, though not wholly define it. Practical applications of these findings for consultation and psychotherapy are outlined. The most notable limitation of the study was inadequate construction explication, leading to selection of instruments that may be reflective of White identity development but that do not directly measure it.

## APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Education, have examined a dissertation titled “Pale Narcissus: The Role of Primitive Narcissism in the Relationship between White Privilege Attitudes and Modern Racism,” presented by Adam B. Hinshaw, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The psychological examination of White racial identity and its associated privilege has been a topic of scholarly interest dating back to the work of DuBois (1903, 1935), but the post-civil rights era ushered in an abundance of scholarly articles and empirical research on Whiteness. For example, Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) examined racism, prejudice, and trends in racial stereotyping. Later studies looked at automatic and controlled processes in prejudice (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997), as well as implicit and explicit forms of prejudice in interracial interactions (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Similarly, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) utilized a meta-analysis of 515 studies to identify the general ameliorating effect of intergroup contact on prejudice across different contexts of interaction, including racial and ethnic intergroup encounters. In counseling psychology, investigations have focused primarily on White racial identity development and attitudes regarding White identity (Helms & Carter, 1990, Spanierman & Soble, 2010), or White persons' feelings, attitudes, and behaviors surrounding their dominant status in an unjust society. This line of research has found less developed White identity statuses and attitudes, which broadly include a lack of awareness of racism, totalistic negative feelings toward minorities, or totalistic negative feelings about one's White identity, are associated with higher levels of racism, colorblind racial attitudes, and decreased perceptions of an effective therapeutic working alliance in a White client-Black counselor dyad (Carter, 1990; Constantine, 2007; Helms & Carter, 1991; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Furthermore, as evidenced by recent current events, such as the Charleston church

shooting in which a young White male shot ten Methodist African-American people in hopes of igniting a race war on June 17, 2015, the importance of understanding Whiteness extends beyond the consulting room and the training of mental health professionals (e.g., Ponterotto, 1988); it has implications at the socio-cultural level.

These studies have led scholars to conceptualize Whiteness as an invisible, default standard from which all other groups are judged and evaluated with the end result often being an assignment of pathology or dysfunction to those viewed as non-White (Delgado, 1995; Frankenburg, 1993). Sue (2006) asserted that the antidote to Whiteness, the invisible cloak of advantage that allows White persons to oppress and harm persons of color while protecting their innocence, is to make Whiteness visible. This proposition begs the question: How should Whiteness be made visible? While it is clear that Whiteness has already been made visible in a number of ways and from a variety of theoretical angles, the lens of psychoanalysis – a theoretical perspective predicated on the idea of making the invisible visible, the unconscious conscious – has been underutilized in this regard. My essential aim in this study was to examine the role of primitive narcissism (i.e., maladaptive narcissism originating in the failure to internalize a healthy sense of self-esteem in response to frustration) in White privilege attitudes and modern racist attitudes. Kohut's (1977) psychoanalytic theory of narcissistic processes, which broadly parallels Helms' (1990; 1995) White racial identity development model, provided the theoretical frame for the study. More specifically, I proposed that primitive narcissism is associated with less developed White privilege attitudes and increased modern racism (i.e., contemporary, socially normative racist attitudes) and that primitive narcissism is the underlying process that explains the connection between less developed White privilege attitudes and

modern racism, a relationship already identified in the extant literature (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009).

An examination of the dynamics underlying White privilege attitudes and modern racism serves three purposes. First, connecting primitive narcissism to White privilege would suggest that the treatment methods of self psychology (Lee & Martin, 2013), developed primarily for dealing with narcissistic and self-esteem issues, would be especially useful in approaching issues of White privilege, either in the context of psychotherapy, the training of White mental health professionals, or in approaching societal problems related to White racial identity. Because narcissistic patterns, being so intimately linked to self-esteem, are especially difficult to change (McWilliams, 2011), significant findings could illuminate a key component of why issues stemming from White privilege are so entrenched. Second, this study would connect psychoanalysis to the empirical examination of Whiteness and privilege particularly in the field of counseling psychology. Although psychoanalysts have explored Whiteness in theoretical writings (Altman, 2006; Miller & Josephs, 2009), only one empirical study (Corbett, 1995), an unpublished dissertation in counseling psychology, has employed a psychoanalytic perspective, but with a now outdated and potentially inappropriate measure of narcissism. Using contemporary measures and empirical knowledge on narcissism that is tightly linked to psychoanalytic theory would help situate current psychoanalytic thinking in counseling psychology's study of Whiteness. Finally, heeding the call of Sue (2006), this study could provide a fresh perspective on what lies behind the invisible cloak of Whiteness, clarifying the role of narcissistic processes in the training and pedagogy of White psychotherapists and their importance in the study of White identity. In summary, this study is focused on theory building with potential implications for practice, training, and future research. The following sections

discuss in detail the psychoanalytic literature on narcissism, empirical studies of narcissism, Whiteness (and more specifically, White racial identity and White privilege attitudes), and the parallels between Whiteness and narcissistic processes.

### **Narcissism**

The theoretical literature in psychoanalysis stipulates two main models of narcissism, the structural model (Freud, 1914; Jacobson, 1964; Kernberg, 1975) and the functional model (Kohut 1971, 1977; Stolorow, 1975). The structural model conceptualizes narcissism as stemming from the complex interplay between the id, ego, and super-ego, constructs that are difficult (and perhaps impossible) to operationalize empirically; in contrast, the functional model describes narcissism as a development process rooted in interpersonal experiences, making it more suitable to empirical examination and, arguably, closer to the observable facets of human interaction. I ultimately adopt the functional model of narcissism, and a complete review of theory clearly implicates this view as the most clinically and empirically useful. Indeed, the empirical literature generally rallies around the functional model and suggests that, consistent with theory, narcissism entails primitive and mature aspects that can be understood in terms of the development from a nascent, vulnerable grandiosity to an integrated, ambitious, and autonomous sense of self.

#### **The Structural Model**

First proposed by Freud (1914) within the frame of his psychosexual theory of development and the structural model of the mind (i.e., consisting of id, ego, and super-ego), the structural model of narcissism defines narcissism as libidinal investment in the self (or quite simply, self-love). Freud asserted that such investment becomes dysfunctional when it blocks libidinal investment in another person, or loving others, sometimes referred to in psychoanalytic

theory as object-love. Such over-investment in self-love interferes with reproductive aims and the healthy expression of sexuality because it inhibits the ability to love others. Freud also indicated that narcissism is related to, but not entirely explanative of, self-esteem; in the simplest terms, a degree of self-love is necessary for a positive sense of self. Freud denotes the ego-ideal, an idealized representation of the person derived from the formation of the super-ego during the Oedipal period, as the axis of healthy and unhealthy narcissistic processes. The degree to which the ego can realistically measure up to the ego ideal determines the investment of libidinal energy in the self. In Freud's view, great discrepancies between the ego and the ego-ideal require a continual direction of libidinal energy into the self at the expense of relatedness, even to the point of psychosis.

Later, Freud's (1914) thinking on narcissism was clarified by ego psychological and object-relational perspectives, which retained the principle definition of narcissism as a libidinal investment in the self. First, ego psychology distinguished the self as a substructure within the ego. The ego is the person's ongoing conscious experience of life, and the self is the representation of who the person is that, accurate or not, the person has an emotional attachment to (Hartmann, 1950; Hartmann & Loewenstein, 1962); the degree to which that emotional attachment entails positive cognitive-affective coloring influences self-esteem. Second, object-relations theory obviated the distinction between the ego-ideal and the super-ego (which Freud [1914] was unclear about), arguing that they are synonymous entities. Thus object-relations theorists argue that only the super-ego exerts demands for idealization on the ego (Jacobson, 1964; Kernberg, 1975). When the super-ego is formed, it creates within the ego an idealized self-representation – the self – that corresponds to the principles of the super-ego and that is inherently not congruent with the person's actual experience. Self-esteem maintenance thus

occurs more or less successfully in terms of the person's ability to close the gap between ego experience and the self-concept. This tension may be seen chiefly as a function of the dynamic between the ego and the super-ego. For example, a child sitting in church will listen to the pastor, an authority figure, discuss morality and moral behavior and, on both conscious and unconscious levels, begin to internalize these values and create a sense of a self which will be discrepant from the child's actual lived experience, impelling the child to act in ways that allow for a feeling of congruence with the self-concept (e.g., displaying altruism toward friends, sharing with friends, refraining from outbursts of anger, etc.). In the case of dysfunctional narcissism, the super-ego would produce a self-concept that could only be achieved by devaluing others in some fashion (e.g., bragging excessively, tarnishing others' self-image or character to feel more legitimate, or leaning on others parasitically to regulate a positive sense of self without caring for their needs), explaining what Freud originally conceived as libidinal investment in the self at the expense of relationship.

As may already be clear, the structural model of narcissism has issues beyond the purely theoretical. For instance, this formulation relies on abstracting the reality of the clinical encounter to a large degree, arguably culminating in reification (i.e., mistaking hypothetical intrapsychic structures for actual, concrete entities). Moreover, operationalization for empirical study is arguably impossible. Even within the bounds of theory, Teicholz (1978) noted significant issues inherent in the structural model of narcissism. Specifically, the conspicuous concern of where exactly does the narcissistic issue come from? Although Jacobson (1964) and Kernberg (1975) insisted on it originating in the ego-super-ego dynamic, it is theoretically possible that the ego may struggle to reconcile demands against id-related instinctual drives that the ego struggles to reconcile against the demands of reality or, conversely, against the super-

ego's impositions. Either scenario would affect valuation of the actual experience when compared to the self-concept. To reiterate, certain instinctual impulses toward sex and aggression may not be satisfied in the person's current environment (i.e., demands of reality), prohibited by the super-ego's value system (e.g., "I can't be angry at my mother because that would make me a bad child"), or both. In yet another scenario, the ego, due to maladaptive defenses, may also have a distorted perception of the self, causing problems in valuation as the person measures lived experience to against the self-concept. Thus a person may exemplify in their behavior all of their values that define the self but, due to ego distortion, see themselves as constantly falling short. Given the abundance of possible causes, the root of primitive narcissism in the structural model is not clear.

Finally, these discrepancies have clinical implications as well. A narcissistic disturbance with origins in the id could assume an otherwise well-developed ego and super-ego and thus implicate a classical Freudian approach to treatment focused on de-repressing urges and affects, and a similar tack would be taken with the ego's perceptual issues of the actual self (McWilliams, 2011). The classical approach to treatment has, however, proved highly ineffective for the majority of patients who exhibit narcissistic issues precisely because it focuses on insight which assumes well-differentiated self and other boundaries (McWilliams, 2011); however, people exhibiting narcissism are characteristically deficient in these boundaries (Hamilton, 1999). Essentially, the structural model falls short in offering a precise understanding of how to approach narcissism.

### **The Functional Model**

His initial statements still partly embedded in the structural model, Kohut's (1971) formulation of narcissism marked a significant shift in both the theoretical understanding of and

clinical approach to narcissistic phenomena. Kohut agreed that narcissism is libidinal investment in the self, but he qualified this in stating that it is the *nature* of the libidinal investment that matters. He described the narcissistic libido as being comprised of an unrealistic, grandiose representation of self in relation to an idealized version of the other. In a subsequent formulation, however, the constraining meta-language of the structural model is set aside in favor a broad psychoanalytic reconceptualization of narcissism that emphasizes interpersonal process. Kohut (1977) asserted that the self is an essentially relational, bipolar, and nuclear construct intimately related to self-esteem with its origins in an immature grandiosity (i.e., the first pole) dependent on idealization from more powerful others (i.e., the second pole). Through tolerable developmental frustrations and disappointments, these two poles evolve into adult ambitiousness and mature submissiveness to adaptive ideals and important others, respectively. For the child, grandiosity is reinforced when parents express approval toward this nascent form of competency, and idealization is perpetuated when the parents act as a source of strength and comfort in the child's difficult moments. Furthermore, Kohut assumed that the boundaries between self and other in these initial stages were blurred. Through these processes of grandiosity and idealization, the child experiences the parents as part of the self, or as *selfobject* functions necessary for maintaining self-esteem.

Inevitable parental failures in meeting the child's narcissistic needs, provided they are not traumatic, allow the child to learn to internalize his or her own competency and self-soothe, increasing differentiation of self and other boundaries and internalizing a healthy sense of self-esteem, or what Kohut (1977) might call mature narcissism. Primitive narcissism (i.e., unhealthy narcissism) would evolve from a failure to internalize a healthy sense of self-esteem in response to frustration and disappointment. Put simply, parental failures that are too traumatic or the

parents' reluctance to give the child opportunities to self-soothe maintain primitive narcissistic processes. Although such a failure would result in persistence of the grandiose self, perhaps reflecting the discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal self, resulting from the ego-super-ego dynamic (Jacobson, 1964; Kernberg, 1975), Kohut locates the problem away from intrapsychic structures, positing that the real issue of clinical concern in primitive narcissism rests on the demand that the environment support the grandiose self in ideal ways. The point of intervention shifts from altering intrapsychic dynamics to understanding dysfunctional self-esteem maintenance inherent in interpersonal interactions between the person, significant others, and the environment. Put another way, the defining feature of primitive narcissism is the person's need to have others support an unrealistic, idealized, and highly vulnerable version of the self, resulting in interpersonally exploitative and entitled attempts to secure the praise necessary to facilitate fragile self-esteem. Kohut thus envisioned therapy for narcissistic issues not as a relentless confrontation of grandiosity, (e.g., Kernberg's [1975] approach, which Kernberg himself admitted was rarely successful), a method that very likely will only reinforce the primitive narcissistic dynamic, but as a reinstatement of the original grandiose and idealized dynamic between client and therapist, the therapist taking advantage of the inevitable frustrations of a real encounter between people and of life's misfortunes to slowly promote the internalization of self-esteem not so heavily contingent on others. Contemporary psychoanalytic practice generally endorses Kohut's approach for most narcissistic issues (McWilliams, 2011).

In light of Kohut's (1971; 1977) formulation, Stolorow (1975), one of the primary theorists in the contemporary relational psychoanalytic movement (e.g., Stolorow & Atwood, 1992; Stolorow, Brandchaft, & Atwood, 1987), provided a functional description of narcissistic phenomena distinct from the structural model. Stolorow (1975) stated that "mental activity is

narcissistic to the degree that its function is to maintain the structural cohesiveness, temporal stability and positive affective coloring of the self-representation” (p. 180). This definition clearly echoes the sentiments of Kohut (1971; 1977) and makes an additional clarification, namely the switch from self to self-representation. Stolorow (1975) indicated that the term *self-representation* is more specific and appropriate to Kohut’s theory, especially because Kohut conceived of less dysfunctional forms of unhealthy narcissism as having origin in underdeveloped aspects of the self that operate alongside a nuclear self with well internalized self-esteem. Moreover, Stolorow stated that the self-representation contributes to self-esteem but does not account for it entirely, unless the self-representation is experienced as central to character (i.e., Kohut’s nuclear self).

For this study, I adopted the functional psychoanalytic view of narcissism. I also stipulate that primitive narcissism, in varying degrees, primarily consists of patterns of interpersonal exploitation and entitlement aimed at supporting an unrealistic, idealized, and vulnerable self-representation that facilitates, but does not necessarily account for, self-esteem. Conversely, mature narcissism would be patterns that regulate self-esteem without requiring the environment to support an unrealistic, idealized, and vulnerable self-representation. An essential difference between primitive narcissism and mature narcissism is the degree to which others and the environment are allowed to frustrate the positive-affective coloring of the self-representation. In primitive narcissism, the environment must cater to the fragile self or currently active self-representation (e.g., one’s White ethnic identity), creating a small window for interpersonal feedback and opportunities to increase self-awareness. In mature narcissism, the self or self-representation can tolerate dystonic feedback from others, increasing self-awareness and awareness of others.

## **Empirical Studies on Narcissism**

The empirical literature has studied narcissism using two main instruments, the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Hall, 1979, 1981), including its revisions (Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006; Raskin & Terry, 1988), and the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; Pincus, Ansell, Pimentel, Cain, Wright, & Levy, 2009). Use of the NPI and its revisions has dominated the empirical study of narcissism; 77% of social and personality research on narcissism since 1985 utilizes the NPI (Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008). The use of the PNI is relatively new and, as will be discussed in detail (e.g., Roche, Pincus, Lukowitsky, Menard, & Conroy, 2013), marks a shift in the empirical measurement of narcissism that has key theoretical import to this study. The following sections will survey research on the NPI and PNI, illustrating that the NPI measures primarily mature (or adaptive) narcissism and that the PNI assesses primarily primitive (or maladaptive) narcissism. Roche and colleagues (2013) convincingly demonstrate evidence of these differences between the instruments, arguing that an accurate empirical measurement of narcissism in line with Kohut (1977) requires the use of both instruments, the method I adopted for this study.

**Research on the NPI.** The empirical literature on narcissism is dominated by the study of normal, or subclinical, narcissism measured via the NPI total scale score (i.e., as a unidimensional construct), which was used in this study. Subscales of the NPI are discussed to some extent here because research has shown their function to be instrumental in discerning the subclinical nature of the narcissism measured by the NPI, specifically the view that the NPI measures primarily an adaptive and assertive self-esteem, rather than primitive narcissism

Derived from the criteria for narcissistic personality disorder associated with the DSM-III Axis II disorder (APA, 1980), high scores on the NPI represent characteristics of dominance,

extraversion, exhibitionism, aggression, impulsivity, self-centeredness, subjective self-satisfaction, self-indulgence, and individualism (Raskin & Terry, 1988). The original 54-item measure has four components: (a) leadership/authority (LA), enjoying being a leader and being seen as an authority; (b) superiority/arrogance (SA), a sense of superiority and the arrogance to assert such superiority; (c) self-absorption/self-admiration (SS), enjoying focusing on and admiring oneself; and (d) exploitativeness/entitlement (EE), having expectations of favors from others and feeling justified in exploiting others for one's own needs. The NPI's total scale and components' reliability and validity have been supported in a number of studies (Emmons, 1984, 1987; Prifitera & Ryan, 1984; Watson, Grisham, Trotter, & Biderman, 1984; Watson, Hood, & Morris, 1984).

Later, Raskin and Terry (1988) reduced the NPI to 40-items, coming up with seven factors: (a) authority, (b) exhibitionism, (c) superiority, (d) entitlement, (e) exploitativeness, (f) self-sufficiency (reflecting an individualistic attitude), and (g) vanity (reflecting self-absorption and self-admiration). The reliability of all the NPI-40 scales except for the full-scale score and authority subscale were low enough to raise concern (.50 - .83), and a recent investigation of the NPI-40's psychometrics yielded identical concerns (del Rosario & White, 2005). Ames et al. (2006) also constructed a shortened, 16-item NPI (i.e., the NPI-16) that is unidimensional and found it exhibited a similar pattern and magnitude of correlations with other variables as the NPI-40 full scale score. For instance, the NPI-16's correlation with the NPI-40 was .90; the NPI-16 evidenced a .36 correlation with extraversion, slightly larger but similar to the NPI-40's .26 correlation with extraversion; and the NPI-16 had a correlation of -.23 with agreeableness, which is comparable to the NPI-40's correlation of -.25 with agreeableness.

The empirical literature identifies associations between versions of the NPI and both adaptive and maladaptive traits and behaviors. In terms of adaptation, all versions of the NPI have been found to consistently evidence a positive relationship with self-esteem (Emmons, 1984; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004; Roche et al., 2013). In addition, others have found the various version of the NPI to be related to higher extraversion (Bradlee & Emmons, 1992; Brown, Budzek, & Tambroski, 2009), higher openness to experience and lower neuroticism (Brown et al., 2009), lower social anxiety (Watson & Biderman, 1993), and less depression (Brown et al., 2009; Sedikides et al., 2004; Watson & Biderman, 1993;). In terms of maladaptive dimensions, higher NPI scores predicted controlling behavior and intense anger or aggression when expectations are not met (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Twenge & Campbell, 2003), grandiose self-enhancement styles that lead to hostility and interpersonal rejection (Paulhus, 1998), defensive derogation and devaluation in response to threats to the self (Kernis & Sun, 1994; Morf & Rhodewalt, 1993), less agreeableness (Bradlee & Emmons, 1992), greater propensity for extrinsic motivation (Kasser & Ryan, 1996), greater incongruence between self-assessment of positive attributes and others' assessment of such qualities (Park & Colvin, 2014), and social dominance orientation (Carnahan & McFarland, 2007; Hodson, Hogg, & MacInnis, 2009). In response to these findings, which suggest that the NPI is associated with both primitive (e.g., grandiose self-enhancement styles provoking hostility and rejection, defensive derogation and devaluation) and mature (e.g., self-esteem, lower social anxiety) aspects of narcissism, researchers focused their investigations on differentiating between primitive and mature dimensions of the NPI.

In two studies examining college students and high school students' ratings of parenting experiences in relation to personality dimensions, Horton, Bleau, and Drwecki (2006)

operationalized primitive narcissism by regressing NPI scores onto self-esteem and saving the residual narcissism score as primitive narcissism, thereby separating out the variance in the NPI associated with self-esteem. Horton et al. (2006) then found that the parenting dimension of psychological control, which is often associated with negative psychological health, predicted these newly created primitive narcissism scores. Similarly, Rosenthal and Hooley (2010) found that the relationship between NPI scores and psychological health is entirely accounted for by self-esteem, whereas the NPI's association with aggression was accounted for primarily by the NPI's exploitativeness/entitlement scale. The exploitativeness/entitlement scale was also strongly related to an alternative measure of narcissism based specifically on criteria for the DSM-IV narcissistic personality disorder. Rosenthal and Hooley recommended circumventing these issues by controlling for self-esteem when assessing the association between the NPI and other variables.

Another study examining the relationship between the NPI factors, self-esteem, and empathy found that exploitativeness/entitlement had no significant zero-order correlation with self-esteem and that leadership/authority (LA), superiority/arrogance (SA), and self-absorption/self-admiration (SS) had significant positive relationships with self-esteem (Watson, Little, Sawrie, & Biderman, 1992). However, exploitativeness/entitlement evidenced a significant negative correlation with self-esteem and a significant positive correlation with personal distress after controlling for variance from LA, SA, and SS. Furthermore, in both zero-order and partial correlations, significant negative relationships were observed with empathic concern and perspective taking.

Through multiple studies, Brown et al. (2009) also examined the NPI and other variables alongside separate measures of grandiosity and entitlement, which they viewed as the two central

dimensions of narcissistic characteristics. In Study 1, high scores on grandiosity and entitlement uniquely predicted higher NPI scores. In addition, the two dimensions interacted significantly to predict the highest NPI scores; notably, entitlement did not strongly relate to the NPI in the absence of high grandiosity. Like previous investigators, they found the exploitativeness/entitlement subscale of the NPI was negatively correlated with self-esteem. In Study 2, Brown et al. (2009) found a negative association between entitlement and mental health after controlling for gender and grandiosity, contrasting the zero-order association between entitlement and mental health and indicating that grandiosity suppressed (i.e., masked) the relationship. Furthermore, a mediation analyses revealed that self-esteem accounted for part, but not all of, the relationship between grandiosity and mental health; consistent with the hypothesis that entitlement is the primitive aspect of narcissism, self-esteem did not mediate the relationship between entitlement and mental health. Study 3 employed an experimental design to explore the dimensions of narcissism that predicted rationalized (i.e., intellectually justified) and deliberative (i.e., intentional misconduct) cheating. Results indicated that grandiosity, with its tendency to construe the self in a positive light, predicted rationalized, but not deliberate cheating. Conversely, entitlement was associated with deliberate, but not rationalized cheating, reflecting behavior consistent with a socially objectifying sense of self in relation to others. In addition, the total score of NPI only predicted rationalized cheating, pointing to its overall confound with grandiosity.

**Research on the PNI.** Although these studies helped clarify that the entitlement and exploitativeness aspects of the NPI model are perhaps most indicative of primitive narcissism, the fact remains that the NPI and its variants measure a mixture of such features and err toward the mature end of the continuum. Accordingly, the PNI, a measure of purely maladaptive, or

primitive, narcissism was created to address this gap in the measurement of narcissism. While the PNI can be used to measure dimensions of primitive narcissism, such as contingent self-esteem and exploitativeness, the total scale score can be used as a unidimensional construct measuring primitive narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009; Roche et al., 2013). This study employed the unidimensional, total score; accordingly, the following literature review considers the PNI as unidimensional measure of primitive narcissism.

An initial validation study using a college student population found the PNI to correlate negatively with self-esteem and empathy and positively with shame, interpersonal distress, aggression, and borderline personality organization (Pincus et al., 2009). To provide evidence of the PNI as measuring primitive narcissism dimensions distinct from the NPI's mature narcissism, Roche et al. (2013) proposed an integrated approach to measuring narcissism. Roche et al. stipulated that normal and pathological dimensions of narcissism are motivated by needs for admiration and recognition to bolster self-esteem but are distinguished via the maturity of the regulatory mechanisms used, reflecting Kohut's (1977) developmental view. Roche et al. used the NPI-16 (Ames et al., 2006) as a measure of mature narcissism, which has been shown to have very large correlation with the NPI-40 ( $r = .90$ ). Ames et al. also demonstrated that the NPI-16's pattern of correlations to other variables, including a positive relationship to self-esteem, is identical to the pattern of correlations between the NPI-40 and these variables. Correlations' effect sizes were also consistent and similar.

Roche et al. (2013) examined the effects of both the PNI and NPI-16 on 22 variables that included early childhood experiences, personality factors, mental health, affect regulation, and interpersonal regulation. Participants were spread across four samples ranging from 591 to 3,330 predominately White college students. Roche et al. found the NPI-16 was associated with

greater psychological vitality (e.g., high self-esteem, authentic pride, and extraversion, and low guilt and shame); that the PNI was associated with greater psychological dysfunction (e.g., low self-esteem and mental health, as well as higher neuroticism, shame, maladaptive dependency, insecure attachment [especially anxious attachment tendencies], interpersonal distress, aggression and borderline personality organization); and that some traits and tendencies were composed of a mixture of both high NPI-16 and PNI scores (e.g., openness, low empathy, disagreeableness, and hubristic pride). In short, this study provides convincing evidence for the NPI-16 as a measure of mature narcissism implicating successful self-esteem maintenance and for the PNI as a measure of primitive narcissism implicating unsuccessful self-esteem regulation strategies. A subsequent study by Barry and Kauten (2014) using this methodology obtained theoretically consistent results; primitive narcissism was associated with aggression, low self-esteem, internalizing problems, and poor interpersonal relationships in a sample of at-risk adolescents while mature narcissism was positively related to self-esteem and aggression but negatively related to internalizing problems.

### **Summary**

To summarize, Kohut's (1977) theory of narcissistic processes states that a narcissistic issue is characterized by the dominance of primitive narcissistic processes. The person struggling with the narcissistic issue requires others to frequently confirm a favorable but unrealistic self-image to avoid anxiety, frustration, and disappointment tied to their sense of self. Mature narcissistic processes, however, do not require others to constantly confirm this self-image, leaving room for increased self-awareness and relatedness. Furthermore, the empirical literature supports this conceptualization and suggests that primitive and mature narcissistic processes can be separately measured via the PNI and NPI, respectively, as two unidimensional

constructs. The following section focuses on the theoretical and empirical literature on Whiteness, most especially White racial identity development and White privilege, which will set up this study's central position that the process of developing a White racial identity is a narcissistic process.

### **Whiteness**

Whiteness in the United States is a racial identity typically associated with individuals identified as "Caucasian" and defined as a privileged and invisible identity (i.e., not typically socially recognized) organized around centuries of oppression of nonwhite groups (Delgado, 1995; McDermott & Samson, 2005; Roediger, 1991). The privileged position of White persons in the United States is tied to a long history of ethnocentric monoculturalism in which cultural norms of Whites have held a favored position of power that has become highly dysfunctional in the pluralistic society of the contemporary United States (Sue & Sue, 2008). Ethnocentric monoculturalism includes five components: belief in superiority of the dominant culture, belief in the inferiority of others, power to impose standards of the dominant culture, manifestation of these cultural values in institutions, and the invisible veil of such cultural values (i.e., such values appear normative because they are implicit and not subject to examination or discourse, being held as evident reality).

The dominant place of White people in the United States began with the European colonization of the Americas by England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands and these countries' enculturation of Native Americans, whom the Europeans viewed as savage and uncivilized (Barongan et al, 1997). Later, when the English colonists declared independence from Great Britain and formed the United States, the "Bill of Rights," despite its lofty language, only afforded benefit to White immigrants and descendants and ignored minority populations,

most notably African peoples brought to the United States through the slave trade (Barongan et al., 1997). As the United States grew in population through the arrival of immigrants, these diverse cultures faced pressure to assimilate and acculturate into the dominant White culture that held power, the often used metaphor of the “melting pot” becoming a code term for a kind of mass cultural genocide (Guthrie, 1997; Samuda, 1998).

Although the definition of Whiteness as a privileged and invisible identity stemming from a long history of ethnocentric monoculturalism is appropriate for the aims of this study, Frankenberg (1993) offers a multi-dimensional, process-oriented definition stipulating that Whiteness consists of three parts: (a) location of structural advantage and race privilege; (b) a perspective from which White people look at themselves, others, and society; and (c) a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed by White people and simply considered “normal.” Furthermore, Frankenberg views Whiteness as located in a position tied to dynamics of domination through historical, social, political, and cultural processes. The merit of this process-oriented definition will become clear in a next section examining the parallels between Whiteness and narcissism. Another concept falling under Whiteness, one central to this study, is White privilege, or the expression of institutional power manifesting as unearned advantages of being White in a racially hierarchical society that are largely unacknowledged by or unconscious to most White persons (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). With these definitions in mind, I discuss White racial identity with special emphasis on Helms’s White Racial Identity Development Model (WRID; Helms, 1990, 1995, 2005) and associated empirical findings, as well as White privilege in terms of research examining color-blind racial attitudes, psychosocial costs of racism for Whites people, and White privilege attitudes.

## **White Racial Identity**

Given the similarities among several different White racial identity development models, as well as space limitations, this review will focus primarily on Helms's WRID (1990; 1995; 2005), which is the only one that has been operationalized and empirically studied. Helms's model is extremely similar to the first White racial identity model proposed, Hardiman's White Identity Development Process Model (1982). In addition, the two subsequent models are based in Helms's WRID, extending it for the purpose of counselor training (Pontretto, 1988) and conceptualization of the process of White racial identity development specific to men (Scott & Robinson, 2001). On a separate but related note, Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) proposed, operationalized, and empirically studied an alternative model of White racial identity, called *White racial consciousness*; however, this model has fallen under serious criticism for its failure to specify awareness of racism and a healthy, socially progressive racial outlook as important for White persons in the United States (Spanierman & Soble, 2010). Indeed, omission with these elements is inconsistent with the conceptualization of Whiteness and White privilege adopted by this study, so Rowe et al.'s (1994) model will not be considered.

In a recent theoretical and empirical review of White racial identity, Spanierman and Soble (2010) stated that, generally speaking, the models of White racial identity development mentioned above address three areas (p. 284):

1. Perceptions of one's own racial group membership (i.e., White) and perceptions of people of color.
2. Awareness of institutional racism and White privilege.
3. White supremacist ideology.

Each model is multidimensional and dynamic, with growth toward a non-racist White racial identity predicated on dissonance-inducing critical incidents that facilitate movement toward more sophisticated stages. The goals of healthy White identity development entail increased critical consciousness of racial issues, greater ability to manage racial material flexibly and without sacrificing complexity, and a relinquishing of race-based entitlement; in other words, a movement toward greater cognitive and affective tolerance for the complexity of race leading to behaviors challenging White racial entitlement.

Helms's (1990, 1995, 2005) model focused on two general processes and is currently conceptualized as a theory of dynamic statuses, rather than linear stages. The two general processes are abandonment of racism and development of a healthy, nonracist White identity. The first of these processes, called phase one, includes the following statuses: (a) *contact*, characterized by adherence to the status quo and denial of White privilege and racism; (b) *disintegration*, the emergence of racial awareness that instigates anxiety and guilt, often resulting in motivated suppression of reminders of racism and ambivalence about change; and (c) *reintegration*, a status characterized by idealized identification with Whites that may coalesce as a defensive response to the uncomfortable experiences in the disintegration status. Reintegration may also involve devaluation of minorities in the form of anger and intolerance. The second process, the formation of a healthy and nonracist White identity, sometimes referred to as phase two, has the following three statuses: (a) *pseudoindependence*, an intellectualized approach to racial issues in which the White person seeks to help Black people, looks to Black people to explain racism, and experiences liberal guilt while employing selective valuations of the self to ward off racist self-attributions; (b) *immersion/emersion*, in which the White person comes to a deeper, more emotional understanding of racism, identifying with other similarly minded White

people and looking to change White attitudes rather than only help Blacks; and (c) *autonomy*, the ability to let go of racist attitudes and firmly commit to anti-racist action, a status rarely achieved.

Helms's model, including its six statuses, has been operationalized through the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990) and has received extensive empirical attention. Briefly, research shows that less developed, phase one statuses are associated with higher levels of racism (Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994) and use of primitive ego defenses (Utsey & Gernat, 2002). Phase two statuses predict higher levels of self-actualization (Tokar & Swanson, 1991), support for specific affirmative action policies (Jacob Arriola & Cole, 2001), positive reactions to interracial interactions in the work place (Block, Roberson, & Neuger, 1995), and achieved ego identity statuses in men, as opposed to moratorium, diffusion, and foreclosure statuses (Miville, Darlington, Whitlock, & Mulligan, 2005). College women tend to exhibit more developed statuses than college men (Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) also found that the Autonomy status was more common in participants over age 20 whereas Disintegration and Reintegration were more common for younger participants. Specific to the counseling situation, Helms and Carter (1991) found that higher disintegration and pseudoindependence statuses and lower autonomy predicted greater preference for White female counselors; increased disintegration and being a White male were associated with greater preference for a White male counselor. Along these lines, another study found Reintegration attitudes were inversely related to White clients' perceptions of the working alliance with a Black counselor, while contact and autonomy attitudes were positively related to perceptions of the working alliance (Burkard, Jaurez-Huffaker, & Ajmere, 2003).

It is worth noting that some investigators, most notably Behrens (1997), have argued that the WRIAS suffers from notable reliability and validity issues. Correlations between the disintegration, reintegration, pseudoindependence, and autonomy subscales (Tokar & Swanson, 1991) suggest that the scales are not independent and may be collinear. The Contact status subscale has been found to have very low reliability coefficients (Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994). Also, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of the WRIAS has repeatedly resulted in inadmissible solutions (Alexander, 1992; Bennet, Behrens, & Rowe, 1993; Pope-Davis, Dings, Stone, & Vandiver, 1995). In his meta-analytic examination of the WRIAS, Behrens (1997) concluded that the scale represents a unified construct that is not as complex as suggested by Helms' theory.

However, Helms's (1997) response to Behrens (1997) noted significant limitations in his approach to the analysis, pointing out that Behrens chose to interpret the data from past studies and his own analysis in favor of classical measurement theory rather than in light of WRID theory. Perhaps most important, Helms (1997) noted that Behrens (1997) did not include studies in his meta-analysis that support her theory and the validity of the WRIAS; such oversight may imply researcher bias. Finally, Helms (1997) noted that theory underlying the WRIAS is one of dynamic statuses, which alternate depending on context and personal history; hence, classical measurement theory, which is what the science of psychology has to offer, is not well suited to examining such a phenomenon. Personally, my final opinion falls in line with Helms's (1997) rebuttal. That is, the WRIAS has limitations, which must certainly be due partly to the complex, dynamic nature of the phenomenon it aims to measure, but such limitations should not entirely discount the validity of the scale. Indeed, as outlined above (and as further detailed below), the empirical data surrounding the WRIAS are generally consistent with its theory.

## **Facets of White Privilege**

Researchers examining White people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors regarding their racially privileged status in society have centered their inquiries on three related areas that stem from Helms's WRID (1995), including color-blind racial attitudes, psychosocial costs of racism for White people, and White privilege attitudes. Research indicates that color-blind racial attitudes, or beliefs that ideological and structural racism does not exist, are positively related to modern racism (i.e., subtle but negative views of Blacks), discriminatory attitudes toward race and gender, and belief in a just world among college students and community members (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), as well as social dominance orientation in college students (Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, & Hart, 2008). In a sample of psychology trainees, Gushue and Constantine (2007) found that less sophisticated WRID statuses (Disintegration and Reintegration) were positively associated with color-blind racial attitudes whereas more sophisticated statuses (pseudoindependence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy) evidenced negative associations. Additionally, greater denial of racial privilege, a subcomponent of color-blind racial attitudes, also predicted lower Contact status, perhaps because Contact represents a total lack of awareness of racism and overtly measuring denial of racial privilege would suggest some degree of racial consciousness that must be actively denied.

White racial identity statuses and colorblind racial attitudes, as well as other indices of racism, have been linked to psychosocial costs of racism to White people. Psychosocial costs of racism are conceived of as affective reactions including White empathic reactions to racism (i.e., feeling angry, sad, disturbed, or helpless about racism), White guilt (i.e., a sense of responsibility for racism), and White fear of others (i.e., discomfort and feeling unsafe around other races). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) found that White guilt and White empathy were negatively

related to colorblind racial attitudes, whereas White fear of minorities evidenced a positive relationship with colorblind racial attitudes. Furthermore, higher levels of White empathy and White guilt predicted higher racial awareness and cultural sensitivity; conversely, greater levels of White fear were associated with lower racial awareness, cultural sensitivity, and ethnocultural empathy. Other studies indicated that White empathy and guilt were positively related to multicultural education and openness to diversity, but White fear is negatively related to these areas (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008).

In terms of the relationship between psychosocial costs of racism and White racial identity, Sifford et al. (2009) discovered that college students who endorsed more White empathy and guilt also endorsed more immersion-emersion attitudes and less reintegration statuses. Greater endorsement of White fear was also associated with greater endorsement of reintegration statuses. Sifford et al. did not examine the relationship between White guilt, empathy, and fear with the other White racial identity statuses (i.e., contact, disintegration, pseudoindependence, and autonomy) because of reliability issues with these WRIAS subscales. Finally, a study of undergraduates found that persons higher in White empathy had lower Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration statuses and higher pseudoindependence and Autonomy statuses (Chao, Wei, Spanierman, Longo, & Northart, 2014).

The findings reviewed up to this point represent a general image of White privilege consisting of a less sophisticated White racial identity characterized by higher colorblind racial attitudes, racist attitudes, and White fear, as well as lower White guilt and White empathy. In an effort to create a comprehensive measure of White privilege attitudes addressing cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions, Pinterits et al. (2009) constructed and validated the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), consisting of four independent but positively related factors,

the amalgamation of which represent a developed, critically aware stance toward White privilege: (a) *Willingness to confront White privilege* (WTC), representing behavioral attitudes toward dismantling White privilege; (b) *anticipated costs of addressing White privilege* (AC), reflecting affective and behavioral attitudes about addressing White privilege; (c) *White privilege awareness* (WPA), typifying cognitive understanding of White privilege and racial inequities in the United States; and (d) *White privilege remorse* (WPR), representing affective responses such as shame and anger about having race-based privilege. Pinterits et al. demonstrated that willingness to confront related positively to White guilt and empathy and negatively to White fear, colorblind racial attitudes, modern racism, and social dominance orientation. Higher anticipated costs predicted higher White empathy, guilt, and fear and lower colorblind racial attitudes. White privilege awareness related positively to White empathy and guilt and negatively to colorblind racial attitudes, modern racism, and social dominance orientation. Finally, greater White privilege remorse predicted higher levels of White empathy and guilt and lower levels of White fear, colorblind racial attitudes, modern racism, and social dominance orientation.

### **Modern Racism**

Before discussing the relationship between Whiteness and narcissism, it is important to clarify the form of racism that I also examined in this study, specifically modern racism (McConahay, 1983). Modern racism is the contemporary form of racism that has emerged in the last three decades, the racism emanating from what Sue (2006) called the invisible cloak of Whiteness. Modern racism consists of subtle racist attitudes couched in the view that discrimination against minorities is a thing of the past and that institutions now pay far too much undeserved attention to minorities, elevating them to a status they do not deserve and endorsing

their manipulation of the system and society. This new form of racism contrasts traditional racism, the overt and openly discriminatory racism practiced by a large segment of American society in the pre-Civil Rights Movement (McConahay, 1983). Traditional racism encompasses stifled interracial social contact and blatant opposition to equal opportunity for minorities. Today, traditional racism is rarely displayed, the exception being extremist groups and White supremacist organizations. Essentially, modern racism has come to replace traditional racism as the new face of the dynamic of racism that persisted in spite of the advancements stemming from the Civil Rights Movement. Theory suggests that modern racism would be an attitude resulting from less developed White identity and related dimensions, and research supports this position. Modern racism has been found to be positively related to colorblind racial attitudes (Neville et al., 2000), positively related to social dominance orientation and right wing authoritarian attitudes (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012), and negatively related to support for affirmative action policies (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005). Blatz and Ross (2009) found that participants high in modern racism were less in favor of providing government support to adult survivors of child abuse when the vignette identified the survivor as a minority. Hogan and Mallott (2005) also demonstrated that completing a diversity course was associated with lower modern racism in a college student population.

### **Whiteness as a Primitive Narcissistic Process**

A close examination of the similarities between narcissistic developmental processes and White racial identity development suggests that the developmental trajectory in White racial identity is a fundamentally narcissistic process and that, by extension and virtue of the empirical literature on Whiteness, less advanced White privilege attitudes can be thought of as a primitive narcissistic phenomena organized around the White racial self-concept. Recall that Kohut's

(1977) theory describes the evolution of a grandiose sense of self, requiring an idealized social environment mirroring this grandiosity, to a mature form of adult ambition and submissiveness supported by an internalized sense of self-worth. Frustrations in which the grandiose self is not confirmed put emotional strain on the person and, provided they are not emotionally overloading, move this process forward. Furthermore, Kohut (as well as Stolorow [1975]) suggested that this process might have to be repeated for underdeveloped aspects of the self at later points in life. This developmental path parallels that of the White racial identity models (Helms, 1995; Spanierman & Soble, 2010). The White person is initially unaware of racism and any connection to it (i.e., the unconscious, grandiose, and vulnerable self); experiences a critical incident raising awareness of racism (i.e., frustration of the grandiose self); subsequently struggles with negative emotions and ambivalence toward change, sometimes disowning these feelings by blaming minorities or institutions (i.e., narcissistic splitting, an attempt to resolve anxiety and negative feelings about the self by locating them outside the self [Hamilton, 1999; McWilliams, 2011]); and eventually internalizes a healthy, complex, and critically conscious sense of White racial identity, displaying greater cognitive and emotional flexibility in response to racism (i.e., internalized self-esteem indicative of mature narcissism). To summarize, the early phases of White racial identity development, which the previously reviewed literature shows as typified by unelaborated White privilege attitudes, may represent primitive narcissistic processes, and the later phases of White racial identity development may exemplify mature narcissistic processes.

The link between White identity and narcissism has been elaborated in psychoanalytic writings. Altman (2006) views Whiteness in its rudimentary form as the symbolic absence of race, a way to disconnect from the racial problem and the painful reality it invites; in this sense,

Whiteness is a barrier propagating denial, distancing the White person from oppression and the suffering of non-White persons and, by effect, from his or her own suffering that would result from any such empathic response. The negative emotion associated with racist oppression is located outside the fragile White racial self-representation through the mechanism of a profound distortion of the non-White person's reality. In simplest terms, the need to maintain the invisibility of Whiteness invalidates and obliterates the reality of non-White experience, a fundamentally narcissistic organization of social roles. Miller and Josephs (2009), commenting specifically on the link between pathological narcissism and Whiteness, argue that Whiteness functions as a denied grandiosity, keeping unconscious fragile idealized self-representations and projecting de-idealized representations, colored primarily by guilt and shame, onto Blacks, devaluing the mind and experience of Blacks in the process.

In the contemporary era, microaggressions and colorblind racial attitudes allow White people to facilitate this narcissistic dynamic covertly and in a manner that is generally socially accepted. For instance, a White person may make several ostensibly positive comments surrounding ethnic specifics about a Black person's hair, and when the Black person expresses frustration at being racially objectified, the White person insists that they were just paying a compliment, other White persons coming to their support; in the end, the Black person could be left with inner conflict over whether or not their irritation was legitimate or simply feeling unheard, disrespected, and alienated from White peers. Miller and Josephs state that overcoming maladaptive Whiteness depends on the degree to which the person can tolerate identification with negative White racial self-representations while maintaining a generally positive sense of self. If the person can manage this tension, they eventually internalize a healthy sense of the self

as White with mixed positive and negative aspects, leading to a decrease in modern racist beliefs and attitudes, echoing the process described by Kohut (1977).

To date, only one empirical study (Corbett, 1995), an unpublished dissertation, has investigated the link between mature and primitive narcissism and White racial identity development in a college student sample. Consistent with theory, mature narcissism predicted more advanced White racial identity statuses, while primitive narcissism was associated with less developed statuses. Specifically, healthy grandiosity and healthy idealized images of the parent positively related to independence and autonomy statuses; defensive grandiosity positively related to reintegration. For women, contact and autonomy statuses correlated positively with healthy grandiosity, and for men, pseudo-independence and immersion/emersion related positively to healthy grandiosity. However, Corbett utilized a very under-studied and infrequently used measure of narcissism, the Inventory of Self-Psychology—Adolescent Adaptation (Slyter, 1989). This instrument was not referenced in any of the articles in my literature review of the empirical measurement of narcissism, and a Google Scholar search yields no results in which the instrument was actually used, save for a citation of the original study (Slyter, 1989), also an unpublished doctoral dissertation. Therefore a similar study utilizing widely studied and contemporary measures of narcissism in line is needed.

Other empirical studies point to a relationship between narcissism and racist attitudes. In an undergraduate Canadian sample, narcissism had a positive relationship with negative perceptions of immigrants and with modern racist attitudes toward immigrants (Hodson, Hogg, & MacInnis, 2009). Schnieders and Gore (2011) reported that American college students with higher levels of narcissism demonstrated a stronger relationship between frustration and prejudice than those at lower levels of narcissism; also, persons higher in narcissism professed

more prejudiced attitudes after reading an article about immigrants threatening job prospects. In contrast, Jonason (2015) failed to find a link between narcissism and prejudice in an Australian sample. These studies each used only one measure of narcissism, the first two (Hodson et al, 2009; Schnieders & Gore, 2011) relying on the NPI and Jonason (2015) utilizing a subscale measure of pathological narcissism from an inventory of dark triad personality traits (i.e., narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy) that had low reliability ( $\alpha = .60$ ). Thus these three studies are not as methodologically rigorous in their assessment of narcissism in light of the guidelines suggested by Roche et al. (2013), most especially the fact that the NPI is heavily associated with healthy self-esteem processes.

### **Rationale and Hypotheses**

Overall, the current state of the empirical literature examining the relationship between narcissism, White racial identity and privilege, and racism suffers from both adequate attention and methodological limitations. The complexity of narcissism, which Roche et al. (2013) showed convincingly to consist of primitive and mature aspects, remains unexamined in relation to White privilege attitudes, which relate to many dimensions of Whiteness. Pinterits et al.'s (2009) development of a comprehensive, reliable, and valid measure of White privilege attitudes (the WPAS) assessing affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions provides a unique opportunity to evaluate the way in which primitive and mature aspects of narcissism relate to White privilege attitudes. Based on the research to date and conceptual parallels, I assumed the WPAS to be a general measure of – that is, indicative of – White racial identity, with higher scores on its subscales implying a more advanced White racial identity. Following theory (Altman, 2006; Kohut, 1977; Miller & Josephs, 2009), I expected primitive narcissism to have a stronger positive relationship with White privilege attitudes compared to mature narcissism.

Furthermore, Pinterits et al. (2009) found White privilege attitudes to be inversely related to modern racism; in my view, it is possible primitive narcissism could account for this link. That is, primitive narcissism is the fundamental process explaining the dynamic between less developed White privilege attitudes (such as a lack of willingness to confront White privilege, greater anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, lower awareness of White privilege, and lack of remorse for White privilege) and higher alignment with modern racism.

Additionally, research has shown that age, gender, and educational level are often related to White privilege attitudes and modern racism. Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) found that older participants evidenced more advanced stages of White racial identity associated with lower racism compared to younger participants, who evidenced less advanced stages of White racial identity associated with higher racism. Pinterits et al. (2009) found that women evidenced greater willingness to confront, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse relative to men; Pope-Davids and Ottavi documented a parallel finding regarding White racial identity, with women evidencing more achieved identity statuses than men. Finally, Pinterits et al. (2009) found that graduate students scored higher than undergraduate students on willingness to confront, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse. Such findings point to the necessity of accounting for the effects age, gender, and educational level as covariates while examining the relationship between narcissism, White privilege attitudes, and modern racism.

To respond to these limitations and to advance a more theoretically elaborate model of White privilege as a manifestation of a primitive narcissistic process, I tested the following hypotheses:

1. Consistent with previous studies, aspects of White privilege attitudes (WTC, WPR, and WPA) will each be negatively related to modern racism, the exception being AC, which

Pinterits et al (2009) found to have no relationship to modern racism. Moreover, after controlling for gender, age, and educational level, primitive narcissism will be negatively related to four dimensions of White privilege attitudes, including (a) willingness to confront White privilege (WTC), (b) anticipated costs of confronting White privilege (AC), (c) White privilege remorse (WPR), and (d) White privilege awareness (WPA). Similarly, primitive narcissism will be positively related to modern racism after controlling for gender, age, and educational level.

2. Mature narcissism will evidence no significant relationship with the four dimensions of White privilege attitudes and modern racism after accounting for primitive narcissism.
3. After controlling for gender, age, and educational level, primitive narcissism will account for the relationship between each aspect of White privilege attitudes (WTC, AC, WPA, and WPR) and modern racism, providing evidence that primitive narcissism explains these relationships and is a phenomenon underlying the relationship between White privilege attitudes and modern racism. I also expected that AC would be related to modern racism after accounting for the effect of primitive narcissism, suggesting that primitive narcissism reveals the connection between these variables.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### **Sample Size and Power**

An a priori power analysis was run using G\*Power (Buchner, Erdfelder, Faul, & Lang, 2009) to determine the sample size needed to detect a medium effect ( $f^2 = 0.15$ ) for a multiple regression analysis at the  $\alpha = .05$  level for a total of five predictors (see Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 below). This analysis suggested that 107 participants would be required to detect an effect with a power of .95. Past research has found a small effect size for the relationship between mature narcissism and modern racism ( $r = .19$ ) (Hodson et al., 2009); however, this small effect size likely stemmed from the weak relationship between mature narcissism and modern racism implied by theory. In line with theory (Kohut, 1977; Miller & Josephs, 2009), a medium effect size was expected if primitive narcissism indeed explained a sizeable portion of the variance (i.e., accounts largely for the underlying dynamics) in White privilege attitudes and modern racism. To protect against the inherent issue of speculating effect size and family-wise error rates from running multiple analyses, I collected survey responses from 430 persons living in the United States, ultimately retaining 276 participants for the main analyses due to sampling issues (detailed in Chapter 3). A post-hoc power analysis was conducted after conducting the main analyses. The significance level for the study was  $\alpha = .01$  (i.e., this significance level was set to guard against family-wise error due to running several analyses); there were a total of eight predictors, including two tested predictors; the sample size was 276; and the observed effect size was small ( $f^2 = .02$ ). Given these parameters, the observed power was .30, or a 30% chance of

detecting an effect. This post-hoc power analysis may suggest the sample size was not large enough or (as detailed in the Chapter 4 below) improper instrumentation was used.

### **Participant Characteristics**

Participants provided their gender identity in response to an open-ended item. The present sample ( $n = 276$ ) was 42% male and 57% female. One participant identified their gender as non-binary, and another identified as “PA.” Two participants did not provide their gender. The average age was 37.97 years ( $SD = 12.89$  years) with a range of 18 to 80 years of age; one participant did not provide their age. The majority of the sample reported possessing an undergraduate degree (40%); 2% reported attending some high school, 22% reported having a high school diploma/ GED, 19% reported having an associate’s degree, and 17% reported having a graduate degree. One participant did not provide information about educational experience. The majority of the sample (62%) reported being employed, 19% reported part-time employment, 10% reported being a student, and 16% reported being unemployed. (Note that participants could select more than one employment category, which explains why the percentages total above 100%.)

Half of the sample identified their religious affiliation as Christian (50%), followed by no religious affiliation (26%), Agnostic (9%), Atheist (7%), Jewish (3%), Buddhist (2%), Pagan (1%), and Spiritual (1%), and the final 1% of the sample was comprised of participants identifying as Unitarian Universalist ( $n = 2$ ) and “Other” ( $n = 1$ ). In terms of participants’ family of origin’s socioeconomic status, less than 1% ( $n = 1$ ) reported being from an upper class family, 14% from an upper-middle class family, 49% from a middle class family, 30% from a working class family, and 7% from a lower class/ poor family. The average rated level of contact with racial/ ethnic minorities was 2.93 ( $SD = .90$ ) with a range of 1 (Low Contact) to 4 (High

Contact); this sample reported generally high contact, with 187 participants, or 68%, marking a 3 or 4 for level of contact. The average number of multicultural classes taken was 1 ( $SD = 2$ ) and ranged from 0 to 25; the mode was 0 (62% of participants). Note that two participants did not provide the number of multicultural classes taken.

## **Measures**

### **Demographics**

The demographic questionnaire (see Appendix A) asked for participants' age, gender, highest level of education completed (high school diploma/ GED, associates degree, undergraduate/ bachelors degree, or graduate degree), prior educational exposure to White privilege issues (number of multicultural courses and workshops taken in which White privilege was discussed), level of exposure to people of racial minority groups, and current employment status (employed, employed part-time, student, and unemployed). An item asking for racial/ ethnic identity was used to identify non-White persons who mistakenly participated in the survey.

### **Primitive Narcissism**

Primitive narcissism was measured using the Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI; Pincus et al., 2009; Wright, Lukowitsky, Pincus, & Conroy, 2010), a 52-item self-report measure with a hierarchical factor structure (see Appendix B). The overall factor is Pathological Narcissism. Within Pathological Narcissism are two second-order factors, Narcissistic Grandiosity (including first-order factors of Exploitativeness [5 items], Grandiose Fantasy [7 items], and Self-Sacrificing Self-Enhancement [6 items]) and Narcissistic Vulnerability (including first-order factors of Entitlement Rage [8 items], Contingent Self-Esteem [12 items], Hiding the Self [7 items], and Devaluing [7 items]). In line with Kohut (1977), the total scale

score measures both grandiose and vulnerable aspects of primitive narcissism (Pincus et al., 2009; Pincus et al., 2013). Participants respond to items using a 6-point scale ranging from 0 (*not at all like me*) to 5 (*very much like me*). I calculated the average item-level score for the total scale and did not examine subscales as per the hypotheses. Example items include statements such as “I often fantasize about being admired and respected” and “It’s hard for me to feel good about myself unless I know other people like me.”

Prior research suggests that the PNI total score is reliable and valid (Pincus et al., 2009; Roche et al., 2013). Studies using the PNI total score report excellent reliability ( $\alpha = .92 - .96$ ). For the current study, the PNI had an internal consistency estimate of .96, suggesting excellent reliability. In terms of concurrent validity, the PNI total score has evidenced negative correlations with self-esteem and empathy and positive correlations with shame, primitive defenses, identity diffusion, impaired reality testing, aggression, and endorsement of academic cheating (Pincus et al., 2009). The PNI was positively correlated with insecure attachment, interpersonal dependency, interpersonal distress, and aggression (Roche et al., 2013). The PNI demonstrated sizeable positive correlations ( $r = .51 - .62$ ) with two measures of hypersensitive narcissism, again supporting concurrent validity (Pincus et al., 2009). More support for concurrent validity is suggested by the PNI’s positive correlation with the report of and number of suicide attempts and a negative correlation with taking psychiatric medications in a clinical sample (Pincus et al., 2009). In support of discriminant validity, the PNI demonstrated a significant, but reduced, positive correlation with a measure of mature narcissism, the NPI-16, across four studies ( $r = .18 - .22$ ), suggesting that the domains have some common variance but are largely distinct. Another indication of discriminant validity is the absence of a significant relationship between PNI scores and measures of openness to experience and guilt, reflecting the

rigidity of perception and the deficit of guilt in light of overriding unconscious feelings of shame hypothesized by Kohut (1977). Finally, the PNI factor structure has been found to be gender invariant (Wright et al., 2010).

### **Mature Narcissism**

Mature narcissism was measured using the Narcissistic Personality Inventory – 16 (NPI-16; Ames et al., 2006), a unidimensional self-report instrument. The NPI-16 is an abbreviated form of the 40-item measure (NPI-40; Raskin & Hall, 1979; 1981) (see Appendix C). The scale has 16 items that measure self-ascribed authority, superiority, self-absorption, and entitlement, dimensions of what is often called subclinical narcissism; currently, the NPI-16 is thought to measure primarily adaptive grandiosity (Rosenthal & Hooley, 2010; Pincus et al., 2013), or what might be thought of as a healthy sense of assertive ambition and agency. Items are in a forced-choice format with participants choosing one of two paired items that best describes him or herself. The total number of responses in the narcissistic direction is summed to create a total score of narcissism. Example items include “I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so” versus “When people compliment me I sometimes get embarrassed,” and “I insist upon getting the respect that is due to me” versus “I usually get the respect that I deserve.” Indicative of convergent validity, the NPI-16 evidenced a .90 correlation with the NPI-40. In terms of concurrent validity, the NPI-16 exhibited an identical pattern of correlations of similar effect sizes as the NPI-40 with personality traits (i.e., openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism) and self-esteem. Specifically, the NPI-16 was positively correlated with openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, and self-esteem and negatively correlated with agreeableness and neuroticism. Acceptable reliability estimates were obtained for the NPI-16 in the initial validation study (.65 – .78); the NPI-16 demonstrated good test-retest

reliability over a five-week period ( $r = .85$ ). Roche et al. (2013) also obtained a similar range of reliability estimates across four studies ( $\alpha = .65 - .74$ ). For this study, the NPI-16 had internal consistency estimate of .84, which is good reliability. Finally, as discussed in detail previously, Roche et al. (2013) convincingly showed that the NPI-16 can be used as a measure of mature narcissism because its content predominately reflects adaptive narcissistic strivings.

### **White Privilege Attitudes**

White privilege attitudes were measured using the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009; see Appendix D). The WPAS is 28-item self-report scale containing four independent and positively related subscales assessing cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of White privilege attitudes. Participants respond to items on a 6-point response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*); some items are reverse scored. The total score or mean item scores for each subscale indicate higher endorsement of that particular aspect of White privilege attitudes. The Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WTC) subscale (12 items) reflects a behavioral dimension and measures participants' plans to explore their own White privilege (e.g., "I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege") or address White privilege (e.g., "I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege"). The Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege (AC) subscale (six items) reflects affective and behavioral dimensions and assesses fear about addressing White privilege (e.g., "If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends") or about losing one's privilege (e.g., "I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege."). The White Privilege Awareness (WPA) subscale (four items) reflects a cognitive dimension and measures degrees of consciousness and understanding of White privilege and racial inequities in the U.S. society (e.g. "Our social structure system

promotes White privilege”). The White Privilege Remorse (WPR) subscale (six items) reflects an affective dimension and assesses emotional responses such as shame and anger about having race-based privilege (e.g., “I feel awful about White privilege.”).

Pinterits et al.’s (2009) initial validation of the WPAS in an undergraduate and graduate student sample suggested that the subscales were reliable and supported concurrent, convergent, and discriminant validity. The range of internal consistency estimates for subscales were in the acceptable to excellent range across three studies: WTC ( $\alpha = .91 - .95$ ), AC ( $\alpha = .73 - .83$ ), WPA ( $\alpha = .74 - .84$ ), and WPR ( $\alpha = .87 - .91$ ). In this study, the internal consistency estimates for the subscale were in the good to excellent range: WTC ( $\alpha = .95$ ), AC ( $\alpha = .86$ ), WPA ( $\alpha = .89$ ), and WPR ( $\alpha = .95$ ).

In terms of criterion validity, prior educational exposure to White privilege issues was associated with higher scores on WTC, WPA, and WPR; similarly, less exposure to racial minorities was associated with lower scores on WTC and WPR. A later study also found that all four dimensions of White privilege attitudes increased in response to a 15 session course on Whiteness (Paone, Malott, & Barr, 2015). Women scored higher than men on WTC, WPA, and WPR, which was interpreted by Pinterits et al (2009) as reflecting women’s increased awareness of privilege stemming from the experience of negotiating the effects of sexism in society. Graduate students also scored higher than undergraduates on WTC, WPA, and WPR. In regards to concurrent validity, colorblind racial attitudes, modern racism, and social dominance orientation were negatively correlated with WTC, WPA, and WPR; colorblind racial attitudes also displayed a negative correlation with AC. White empathy and White guilt were positively related to all subscales. White fear evidenced negative correlations with WTC and WPR, as well as a positive correlation with AC. Subsequent studies found the WTC, WPR, and WPA

dimensions to relate positive to multicultural counseling knowledge and awareness (Mindrup, Spray, Lamberghini-West, 2011) and to social justice interest and commitment (Todd, McConnell, & Suffrin, 2014; Todd, Suffrin, McConnell, and Odahl-Ruan, 2015). Discriminant validity of the WPAS was supported by no significant correlation of the scale scores with a measure of social desirability.

### **Modern Racism**

Modern racism was measured via the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986) (see Appendix E). The MRS is a seven item self-report scale that assesses subtle racism thought to be indicative of contemporary racist attitudes in White individuals' attitudes toward individuals of African descent (e.g., "Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have"). The MRS utilizes a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the initial validation study, the MRS demonstrated good internal consistency in college samples ( $\alpha = .81 - .86$ ), as well as high test-retest reliability at six weeks (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). The MRS has demonstrated convergent validity, exhibiting positive correlations with a measure of old-fashioned racism. Moreover, Pinterits et al. (2009) found that the MRS was positively related to color-blind racial attitudes, social dominance orientation, and White fear, as well as negatively related to White guilt and White empathy. In Pinterits et al.'s study, the wording of the MRS was changed to reflect the increasing diversity of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States; the word "Blacks" was changed to "racial/ethnic minorities." I employed this same modification to the MRS wording. In Pinterits et al.'s study, the MRS demonstrated acceptable internal consistency with this change of wording ( $\alpha = .75$ ), and I used an identical alteration in this study. For this study, the MRS had an internal consistency estimate of .92.

## **Social Desirability**

Social desirability was measured with the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale-Form A (M-C Form A; Reynolds, 1982) (see Appendix F). The M-C Form A is an eleven item self-report scale that assesses the degree to which participants respond in a socially desirable manner; the scale was used to determine if participants' responses to other measures may be confounded by social desirability. Developed as shortened measure of the original 33 item Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), the M-C Form A was chosen for this study to reduce survey time and because it was employed by Pinterits et al. (2009) to rule out the relationship between the WPAS and social desirability. The M-C Form A utilizes true-false items; higher scores represent a lack of willingness to report information that may be viewed as socially undesirable. An example item is "I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake," the socially desirable response being "true." In the initial validation study, the M-C Form A demonstrated acceptable internal consistency in a sample of undergraduate students ( $\alpha = .74$ ); Pinterits et al. found internal consistency estimate of .62; and for the present study, the M-C Form A had an internal consistency estimate of .74. The M-C Form A has demonstrated convergent validity, exhibiting very large positive correlations with the original scale; it has also shown concurrent validity, indicated by a similar pattern of correlation as the original scale with the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (Edwards, 1957).

## **Procedure**

Participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a website where surveys and other tasks requiring human responses are posted for completion with a small fee as payment. The MTurk posting was limited to those participants with IP addresses within the United States. Participants clicked on the survey posting in MTurk (see Appendix G for

invitation), which provided instructions for the survey and a link to REDCap, a separate online data collection application used to collect responses. The study was anonymous and no identifying information was recorded. The survey posting discussed the voluntary nature of the study, the requirement that only persons identifying as White participate (though no specific definition of “White” was provided), the potential risks and benefits of participation, a brief description of the study, and a clear statement that clicking the link to begin the survey indicated informed consent. Also, the posting noted that survey participants would be compensated \$1 for their efforts and stipulated that those participants completing the survey too quickly (i.e., in 10 minutes or less) would not be compensated. That being said, the time cutoff proved to have limitations (discussed in the next chapter), and MTurk does not have any way to screen participants’ ethnicity or whether or not they actually completed the survey because MTurk worker IDs are not directly linked to data. Due to these limitations in MTurk, all participants who took the survey, whether or not their responses were retained for the final data set, were ultimately compensated \$1.

Upon clicking on the survey link, participants completed the survey measures in the following order: the demographic form, PNI, NPI-16, WPAS, MRS, and M-C Form A. I collected information on participant ethnicity to ensure that participants were White. In addition, two validity check items were imbedded in the survey, one each in the PNI and WPAS (e.g., “Select ‘Strongly Disagree’ [1] for this item), to verify that participants were responding in an intentional manner. Participants had to mark the correct response for both validity check items in order for their responses to be considered valid.

## CHAPTER 3

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### **Data Preparation**

##### **Validity Check**

I collected a total of 430 survey responses via MTurk. I removed participants who indicated on the demographic form that they were not White ( $n = 76$ ), who responded to both the validity check items incorrectly ( $n = 30$ ), and who only completed one or two survey measures ( $n = 22$ ), resulting in 302 remaining participants. In regards to survey completion, no participant responses used in this study involved survey measures with completely missing data. I then examined time to survey completion for the remaining 302 participants.

##### **Time to Survey Completion**

Originally, I believed that the survey would take at least 15 minutes to complete thoughtfully given the extensive nature of the PNI, so the 10 minute cut-off was intended to dissuade participants from simply clicking through the survey to garner payment without focused effort. However, after examining the data set based on survey completion time, it became apparent that removing all participants who completed the survey in 10 minutes or less would decrease the sample to 167 responses, potentially limiting the data. Furthermore, for the 302 participants remaining prior to exclusion due to completion time, the average completion time was 11.64 minutes ( $SD = 7.8$  minutes) with a minimum time of 2 minutes and a maximum of 69 minutes, suggesting that the 10 minute cutoff may be too rigid. Although one study examined the utility of participant responses collected via MTurk (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011),

finding that MTurk participants are more demographically diverse, that compensation rates do not affect data quality, and that MTurk yields data at least as reliable as traditional participant recruitment methods, no studies to date have examined the effect of survey completion on data obtained using MTurk.

To address this issue, I consulted my research group and a faculty member adept in research methodology and then individually examined descriptive statistics for all participants who completed the survey in less than 10 minutes. Four colleagues from my research team took the survey thoughtfully and recorded their completion times, reporting completion times of 17 minutes, 15 minutes, 10 minutes, and 9 minutes, indicating that the 10 minute cutoff was too rigid. After further consultation with my research team and the faculty member mentioned above, I concluded that participants who completed the survey in 10 minutes should stay in the data set because MTurk workers are accustomed to taking surveys regularly and are internally motivated to do so (Buhrmester et al., 2011), making them, more or less, professional survey participants.

Finally, to analyze responses from participants completing the survey in less than 10 minutes ( $n = 135$ ) for patterns indicating a failure to respond to the survey conscientiously (e.g., marking the same response for every measure), I transposed the data set (i.e., participant cases become variables that can be analyzed) and ran the stem and leaf plots and histograms to analyze response patterns across the measures for each participant. The participants who demonstrated an extreme lack of variation (i.e., all or all the same response, except for one to three items answered differently) among responses to the survey measures ( $n = 26$ ), suggesting a lack of thoughtful effort and rushing through the survey, were dropped from the data set. Additionally, I ran an identical analysis on 25 randomly selected cases from participants completing the survey

in 10 minutes or more to check my assumption that they had taken the survey thoughtfully; none of these participants' response patterns indicated a lack of thoughtful responding. Thus I retained 276 total participants for the preliminary and main analyses; the average time for survey completion for this final group was 12.22 minutes ( $SD = 7.8$ ) with a minimum time to completion of 4 minutes and a maximum of 69 minutes.

### **Missing Data**

To address missing data at the level of scale items, I used expectation maximization (EM), in which estimates for missing data are determined by an algorithm using an iterative process. Little's Test was conducted on all scale items; results were not significant,  $\chi^2(6954) = 7077.08, p = .15$ , suggesting that data were missing completely at random (MCAR) and that values are not missing due to a specific reason. Therefore I retained missing values computed via EM imputation for the subsequent analyses.

### **Factor Analyses**

Because the present sample had a more diverse age range than past studies using these measures, the factor structure of each measure was analyzed to determine the degree to which the measures were functioning as theorized. I used exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to examine the factor structure of the PNI, NPI-16, WPAS, and MRS. See Table 1 for the structural characteristics of all instruments. For measures with significant skew (NPI-16, MRS, and WPAS), principal axis factoring was used for factor extraction; for measures with no significant skew (PNI), maximum likelihood factor analysis was used (Costello & Osborne, 2005). When appropriate, as in the case of the PNI and WPAS, promax was employed as the rotation method because it allows factors to correlate. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling

adequacy was deemed acceptable at .8 or higher, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was considered significant at  $p < .05$  (Field, 2005).

Table 1. Structural Characteristics of Instruments

Scale	N	# Items	KMO	Bartlett's Test	% Explained	$\alpha$
PNI	276	52	.93	9335.45(1326)*	32%	.96
NPI-16	276	16	.84	1197.52(120)*	27%	.84
MRS	276	7	.90	1262.42(21)*	62%	.92
WPAS	276	28	.95	7355.01(378)*	68%	-
WTC	276	12	-	-	-	.95
AC	276	6	-	-	-	.86
WPA	276	4	-	-	-	.89
WPR	276	6	-	-	-	.95

*Note.* KMO = Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin;  $\alpha$  = Cronbach's Alpha; PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI-16 = Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 16; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale; WTC = Willingness to Confront White Privilege Attitudes; AC = Anticipated Costs of Confronting White Privilege; WPA = White Privilege Awareness; WPR = White Privilege Remorse. \* =  $p < .001$ .

**PNI.** An EFA using maximum likelihood (ML) was conducted on PNI scores to examine evidence for one higher order factor, pathological narcissism, in line with Pincus et al.’s (2009) initial construction and validation study and Wright et al.’s (2010) study of the higher order factor structure of the PNI, as well as Roche et al.’s (2013) use of the total scale score in their study detailing an integrated assessment of narcissism. This EFA yielded an adequate KMO and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant, indicating that it would be appropriate to proceed with a factor analysis. The EFA suggested a seven-factor solution explaining 55.25% of the item variance based on the Kaiser’s eigenvalue greater than 1 criterion. Visual inspection of the scree plot indicated a five or six factor model. These results are consistent with the hierarchical factor structure of the PNI (Pincus et al., 2009; Wright et al., 2010), but the total score of the PNI can

also be used as one higher order factor. Most relevant to the hypothesized higher order factor of pathological narcissism, the first factor had an eigenvalue of 16.75 and explained 32.21% of the variance; this eigenvalue is just over four times larger than that of the second factor, which was 3.93. Also, the scree plot supported the presence of a higher order factor, with one major break occurring at factor two, then again at factor five or six. All but four of the 52 items had loadings of .32 or higher on this higher order factor, and 41 of the items loaded at .40 or higher. These results strongly support the presence of a higher order factor of pathological narcissism, so the full 52-item scale was retained for the main analyses. The PNI yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .96, suggesting strong reliability.

**NPI-16.** Three EFAs using principle axis factoring (PAF) were conducted to examine the factor structure of the NPI-16. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was acceptable, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, indicating that it would be appropriate to proceed with a factor analysis of the proposed variables. The first PAF with an unspecified number of factors yielded a five-factor solution explaining 44.03% of the item variance based on the Kaiser's eigenvalue greater than 1 criterion. However, visual inspection of the scree plot appeared to indicate a one-factor model consistent with intended factor structure of the NPI-16 (Ames et al., 2006).

Accordingly, a second factor analysis using PAF and specifying a one-factor solution was conducted. The one factor solution explained 26.43% of the item variance. Cronbach's alpha was .84, suggesting good reliability. Items 6, 8, and 10 had factor loadings less than .30, with the lowest factor loading being item 6 at .22. A close examination of these items suggested no unifying construct, and they appeared to have face validity. These items were dropped for a third factor analysis using PAF with the remaining 13 items.

For the third factor analysis, KMO measure of sampling adequacy was acceptable at .84; and Bartlett's test of sphericity was also significant ( $\chi^2 = 1091.66$ ,  $df = 78$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The one-factor solution with 13 items explained 31.05% of the variance. All but two items had factor loadings above .50. The two items that did not have factor loadings above .50 were 4 and 7, although the factor loadings for these items were close at .49 and .48, respectively, indicating that they should be retained. In addition, dropping items 6, 8, and 10 led to a very minor improvement in Cronbach's alpha to .85 (13 item solution) from .84. Overall, the results of the third factor analysis indicated an improved internal structure for the NPI-16. Dropping the three items based solely on the statistics of the sample would equate to favoring sample statistics over theory and to reducing generalizability of these results.

A comparison of the results of these analyses to the NPI-16's initial validation study using a sample of 776 undergraduate university students with a mean age of 20.50 years ( $SD = 2.64$ ) (Ames et al., 2006) provided direction. Ames et al. (2006) obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .72 for the NPI-16, and the one-factor solution explained 19.9% of the variance with factor loadings ranging from .13 to .66. When these findings are compared to the one-factor 16-item solution tested here (i.e., the second EFA), it is clear that the results I obtained parallel and are statistically superior to those obtained by Ames et al. (2006). Moreover, the eigenvalue for the first factor was 4.42, four times as large as the eigenvalue for the second factor, which was 1.01; the scree plot also clearly supported a one-factor solution, with a clear break at the second factor (see Figure 1). Given the comparison between the factor analytic results of this study and those of Ames et al. (2006), as well as the benefit of preserving generalizability, I chose ultimately to retain the full 16 item scale for the main analyses.

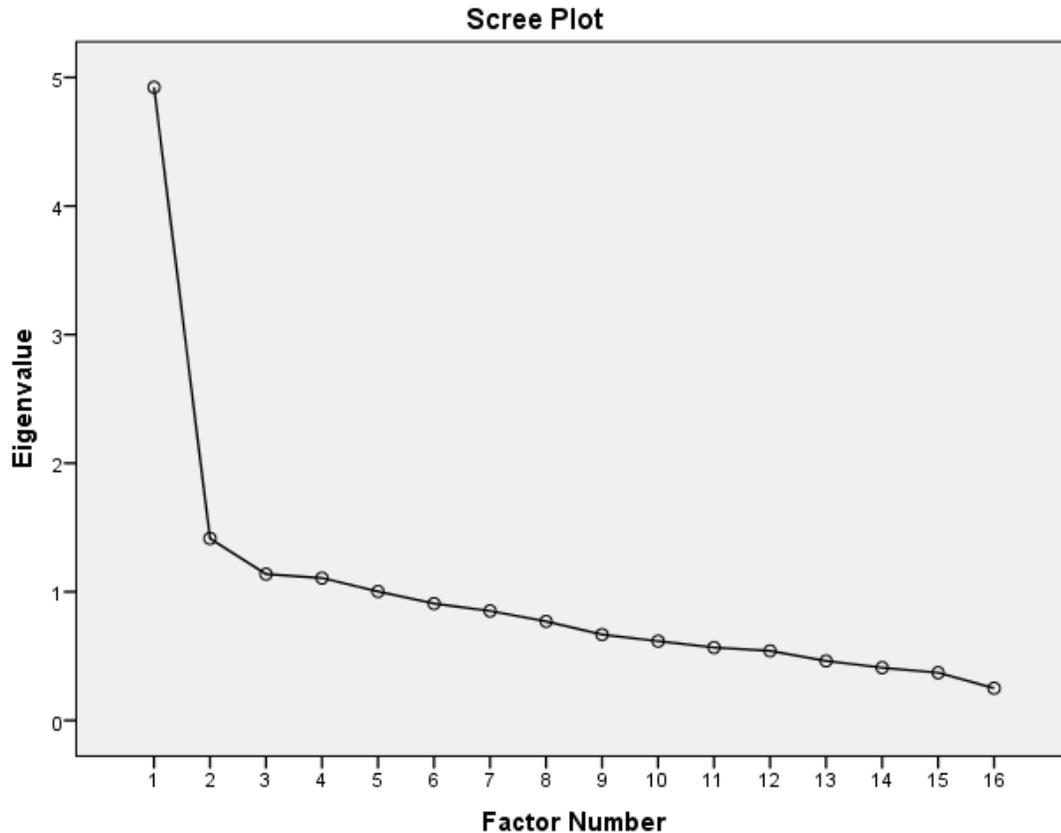


Figure 1. Scree plot of eigenvalues for NPI-16 exploratory factor analysis.

**MRS.** An EFA using principle axis factoring (PAF) was conducted to examine the factor structure of the MRS. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was acceptable, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, indicating that it would be appropriate to proceed with a factor analysis of the proposed variables. This EFA yielded a one-factor solution explaining 61.63% of the item variance based on the Kaiser's eigenvalue greater than 1 criterion. Visual inspection of the scree plot also indicated a one-factor model consonant with intended factor structure of the MRS (McConahay, 1986). Factor loadings ranged from .67 to .87. Additionally, the MRS yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .92. These results suggest strong factor structure for the MRS, so the original scale was retained for the main analyses.

**WPAS.** Two EFAs using principle axis factoring (PAF) were conducted to examine the factor structure of the WPAS. For the first EFA, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy was acceptable, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, indicating that it would be appropriate to proceed with a factor analysis of the proposed variables. This EFA yielded a four-factor solution explaining 67.49% of the item variance based on the Kaiser's eigenvalue greater than 1 criterion. Visual inspection of the scree plot also indicated a possible two-factor or four-factor model.

A second EFA using a promax rotation and stipulating four factors was conducted to explore item loadings on factors for the WPAS in this sample and compare the pattern of loading to the hypothesized four-factor structure. This EFA demonstrated that items loaded as expected on anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse. However, all but three items hypothesized to load onto willingness to confront White privilege cross-loaded frequently at .32 or higher on White privilege awareness and White privilege remorse. The factor correlation matrix supported this observed pattern of cross-loadings, evidencing large correlations between willingness to confront and White privilege remorse ( $r = .73$ ) and between willingness to confront and White privilege awareness ( $r = .74$ ). White privilege awareness and White privilege remorse also demonstrated a similarly high correlation ( $r = .74$ ). These results indicated two important possibilities. First, the willingness to confront factor is unstable in this sample and all conclusions derived from analyses involving this scale must be interpreted cautiously. Second, given the high correlation between these three factors, as well as the observed cross-loadings for willingness to confront, it is possible that, specific to this sample, the willingness to confront, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse scales all constitute a single factor when factor analyzed separately

from anticipated costs. For the main analysis, all subscales of the WPAS were retained, and results involving the willingness to confront subscale were interpreted cautiously.

### **Data Screening**

Univariate outliers for all variables were examined for undue influence on the distribution of each variable; no such outliers were found. Skewness and kurtosis was examined for all variables. The recommendations of Kline (2011) for determining skewness and kurtosis were applied: Skewness statistics greater than an absolute value of 3.0 indicated problematic skew, and kurtosis statistics greater than 10 indicated problematic kurtosis. Skewness and kurtosis statistics for all variables were within these limits, suggesting no problematic skew or kurtosis.

### **Preliminary Analyses**

A series of analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) tests were employed to check for homogeneity of regression to account for possible interactions between gender and the main predictor variables and between educational level and the main predictor variables. Specifically, gender and the main predictor variables were entered as independent variables, along with their interaction term, with each dependent variable from the main analyses entered as dependent variables (i.e., willingness to confront, anticipated costs, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse). To protect against family wise error rate, an alpha level of .01 was used to determine if interactions were significant. No significant interactions were found; homogeneity of regression was supported.

As for control variables, educational level was dummy coded because there is no evidence that educational level has a linear relationship with the variables of interest. This created four control variables (some high school, high school diploma, associate's degree, and

graduate degree) with participants holding an undergraduate degree serving as the reference group. When combined with age and gender, six control variables remained for each analysis.

Social desirability scores (i.e., M-C Form A) evidenced significant relationships ( $p < .01$ ) with only primitive narcissism ( $r = -.39$ ) and mature narcissism ( $r = -.17$ ) scores. An increase in primitive narcissism and mature narcissism scores was associated with a decrease in social desirability (see Table 2). Social desirability scores did not evidence significant relationships with willingness to confront, anticipated costs, White privilege awareness, White privilege remorse, and modern racism scores (see Table 2). These results suggested social desirability was not influencing participant responses to items related to White identity and racism; therefore, social desirability scores were not included in any of the main analyses.

Multicollinearity and multivariate outliers were assessed for all main analyses. For the nine hierarchical regression analyses for the main analyses, all VIF statistics were less than 10, and all tolerance statistics were greater than .2. These statistics suggest no evidence of multicollinearity (Field, 2005). Assessment of multivariate outliers involved investigating cases with Mahalanobis distances greater than 26, Cook's distances greater than 1, and leverage values greater than three times the average for a given hierarchical regression (Field, 2005). The Mahalanobis distance was determined by using Barnett and Lewis's (1978) criterion for 8 predictors (i.e., in this case, six control variables and two predictor variables for each hierarchical regression). Multivariate outliers, consisting of Mahalanobis distances greater than 26 and leverage values greater than three times the average, were found for all hierarchical regression analyses, and these outliers were the same five cases, constituting the entire group of participants that identified as having some high school education ( $n = 5$ ). Removing these cases lead to a change of results when willingness to confront was the dependent variable (hypothesis 1 and 2);

these cases did not prove influential in the other regression analyses. Accordingly, these multivariate outliers were removed for the regression analysis with willingness to confront as the dependent variable.

The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were assessed via visual examination of plots of ZRESID and ZPRED scores, as well as histograms and normal probability plots. Mild heteroscedasticity was found for the following hierarchical regression analyses: anticipated costs as the dependent variable in hypothesis 1 and 2, modern racism as the dependent variable in hypothesis 1 and 2, and the third regression analysis in hypothesis 3 (modern racism as the dependent variable with white privilege remorse as an independent variable). Removal of multivariate outliers did not lead to improvement of mild heteroscedasticity. Accordingly, the results of these regression analyses were interpreted with some caution. There was no evidence of non-linearity for any regression analysis.

## **Main Analyses**

### **Hypothesis 1 and 2**

Hypotheses one and two were tested by five hierarchical regression analyses and by obtaining correlations among all variables. To protect against the risk of error inflation, alpha was set to  $p < .01$ . Recall that hypothesis one predicted that aspects of White privilege attitudes would each be negatively related to modern racism, the exception being anticipated costs of confronting White privilege. Furthermore, primitive narcissism would be negatively related to aspects of White privilege attitudes, including (a) Willingness to confront White privilege (WTC), (b) anticipated costs of confronting White privilege (AC), (c) White privilege remorse (WPR), and (d) White privilege awareness (WPA), after controlling for age, gender, and educational level. Similarly, primitive narcissism (PNI scores) would be positively related to

modern racism after controlling for age, gender, and educational level. Hypothesis two postulated that mature narcissism (NPI-16 scores) would not evidence a significant relationship with aspects of White privilege attitudes and modern racism after accounting for primitive narcissism.

To test hypothesis 1, bivariate correlations obtained in the preliminary analyses were examined to verify the significant ( $p < .01$ ) relationships between White privilege attitude subscales and modern racism. The significance of the simple effects of primitive narcissism scores on each WPAS subscale score and on modern racism scores was examined in each regression analysis. Before assessing the hypothesis, the  $F$  test for the regression model was examined for significance at the  $p < .01$  level. The regression coefficient ( $b$ ) and its corresponding  $t$  statistic were examined to determine if these control variables are significant at  $p < .01$ . Primitive narcissism scores were entered in the second block, testing hypothesis one; the  $R^2$  change statistic along with its corresponding  $F$  change statistic for the second block was examined to determine if this step was significant at  $p < .01$ . To test hypothesis 2, mature narcissism scores were entered in the block following primitive narcissism scores of the regression analyses used to test hypothesis one. The  $R^2$  change statistic along with its corresponding  $F$  change statistic for the third block were examined to determine if mature narcissism scores accounted for additional variance in the dependent variables.

The next five sections describe the results of hypotheses 1 and 2 when willingness to confront, anticipated costs, White privilege awareness, White privilege remorse, and modern racism scores were the dependent variable. For all analyses, college educated males served as the reference group. Across all analyses, four participants were not included because they did not provide gender or age; for the analysis with willingness to confront scores as the dependent

variable, an additional five participants identified as influential multivariate outliers were also dropped from the analysis.

**WPAS subscale scores and modern racism scores.** Table 2 shows the relationship between WPAS subscale scores and modern racism scores. As hypothesized, modern racism scores evidenced a significant negative relationship ( $p < .01$ ) with willingness to confront, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse scores; also, contrary to the findings of Pinteritis et al. (2009), modern racism scores evidenced a significant negative relationship ( $p < .01$ ) with anticipated costs scores. As modern racism scores increased, willingness to confront, anticipated costs, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse scores decreased. The effect size for the relationship between modern racism scores and willingness to confront, White privilege awareness, and White privilege remorse scores was large with  $r$  being greater than or equal to .50. The effect size for the relationship between modern racism scores and anticipated costs scores was approaching medium ( $r = -.26$ ). These results indicated partial support for hypothesis one.

Table 2. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Variables ( $N = 276$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PNI	-	.32**	-.06	.14*	.25**	.03	.11	-.39**
2. NPI-16		-	.09	.03	.01	.00	-.05	-.17**
3. MRS			-	-.66**	-.26**	-.78**	-.54**	.03
4. WTC				-	.45**	.78**	.79**	-.06
5. AC					-	.36**	.47**	-.10
6. WPA						-	.65**	-.11
7. WPR							-	.03
8. M-C Form A								-
<i>M</i>	1.91	1.24	2.16	3.14	2.27	3.74	2.54	2.02
<i>SD</i>	.82	.23	.98	1.27	1.05	1.47	1.28	.25
Minimum	.12	1.00	.81	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	4.37	1.94	5.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	5.83	2.02

Note. PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI-16 = Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 16; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale; WTC = Willingness to Confront White Privilege Attitudes; AC = Anticipated Costs of Confronting White Privilege; WPA = White Privilege Awareness; WPR = White Privilege Remorse; M-C Form A = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale - Form A. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

**Willingness to confront scores as the dependent variable.** Table 3 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis predicting willingness to confront scores. The regression model with only control variables was significant,  $F(5, 261) = 3.15, p = .009$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .06, a small to medium effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model with primitive narcissism scores in the second step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 260) = 7.20, p = .008$  the  $R^2$  change statistic was .03, a small effect size. Primitive narcissism scores significantly predicted willingness to confront scores; an increase in primitive narcissism scores was associated with an increase willingness to confront scores. This result did not support hypothesis one; it suggested a positive relationship between primitive narcissism and willingness to confront scores, rather than the hypothesized negative relationship. The regression model with mature narcissism scores entered into the third step was

not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 259) = .03, p = .88$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .00. Mature narcissism scores had no significant effect on willingness to confront scores after accounting for primitive narcissism scores. The observed power for this regression model was .87. In summary, these results do not support hypothesis 1 and 2.

Table 3. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Willingness to Confront ( $N = 267$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.06	.009				
Age			-.001	.01	-.01	.88
Female			.40	.16	.16	.01
High School Diploma/ GED			-.20	.20	-.06	.35
Associate's Degree			-.001	.21	.00	.99
Graduate Degree			.49	.22	.14	.03
Step 2	.03	.008				
Age			.004	.006	.05	.48
Female			.40	.16	.16	.01
High School Diploma/ GED			-.22	.20	-.07	.26
Associate's Degree			-.06	.21	-.02	.76
Graduate Degree			.45	.22	.13	.04
PNI			.26	.10	.17	.008
Step 3	.00	.88				
Age			.004	.01	.04	.49
Female			.40	.16	.15	.01
High School Diploma/ GED			-.23	.20	-.07	.26
Associate's Degree			-.07	.21	-.02	.76
Graduate Degree			.46	.22	.14	.04
PNI			.27	.10	.17	.01
NPI-16			-.06	.37	-.01	.88

Full Model  $R^2 = .08$

**Anticipated costs scores as the dependent variable.** Table 4 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis predicting anticipated costs scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = .67, p = .68$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was

.02, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was significant with primitive narcissism scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 18.35, p < .001$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .06, a small to medium effect size. As primitive narcissism scores increased, anticipated costs scores increased. This result did not support hypothesis one; it suggested a positive relationship between primitive narcissism and anticipated costs scores, rather than the hypothesized negative relationship. The regression model with mature narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = 2.06, p = .15$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. Mature narcissism scores had no significant effect on anticipated costs scores after accounting for primitive narcissism scores. The observed power for this regression model was .91. In summary, these results do not support hypotheses 1 and 2.

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Anticipated Costs ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.02	.68				
Age			-.004	.01	-.05	.40
Female			.01	.13	.002	.97
Some High School			-.29	.48	-.04	.55
High School Diploma/ GED			-.30	.17	-.12	.08
Associate's Degree			-.07	.18	-.03	.68
Graduate Degree			-.05	.19	-.02	.79
Step 2	.06	.00				
Age			.003	.01	.03	.60
Female			.00	.13	.00	.99
Some High School			-.33	.47	-.04	.48
High School Diploma/ GED			-.35	.17	-.14	.04
Associate's Degree			-.16	.17	-.06	.37
Graduate Degree			-.10	.18	-.04	.59
PNI			.35	.08	.27	.00
Step 3	.01	.15				
Age			.002	.01	.02	.70
Female			-.04	.13	-.02	.74
Some High School			-.36	.47	-.05	.45
High School Diploma/ GED			-.37	.17	-.15	.03
Associate's Degree			-.17	.17	-.06	.33
Graduate Degree			-.06	.18	-.02	.74
PNI			.38	.08	.30	.00
NPI-16			-.43	.30	-.09	.15

Full Model  $R^2 = .09$

**White privilege awareness scores as the dependent variable.** Table 5 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis predicting White privilege awareness scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 1.99, p = .07$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .04, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was not significant with primitive narcissism scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = .42, p = .51$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .002, a very small effect

size. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant simple effect on White privilege awareness scores. The regression model with mature narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = .01, p = .91$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .00. Mature narcissism scores had no significant effect on White privilege awareness scores after accounting for primitive narcissism scores. The observed power for this regression model was .54. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypotheses 1 or 2.

Table 5. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting White Privilege Awareness ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.04	.07				
Age			-.003	.01	-.03	.66
Female			.38	.18	.13	.04
Some High School			-.04	.67	-.003	.96
High School Diploma/ GED			-.10	.24	-.03	.68
Associate's Degree			-.29	.25	-.08	.24
Graduate Degree			.46	.26	.12	.08
Step 2	.002	.52				
Age			-.002	.01	-.01	.84
Female			.38	.18	.13	.04
Some High School			-.05	.67	-.004	.95
High School Diploma/ GED			-.11	.24	-.03	.65
Associate's Degree			-.31	.25	-.08	.21
Graduate Degree			.45	.26	.12	.08
PNI			.08	.12	.04	.52
Step 3	.00	.91				
Age			-.002	.007	-.01	.83
Female			.37	.19	.13	.05
Some High School			-.05	.67	-.004	.94
High School Diploma/ GED			-.11	.24	-.03	.64
Associate's Degree			-.31	.25	-.08	.21
Graduate Degree			.45	.26	.12	.08
PNI			.08	.12	.04	.51
NPI-16			-.05	.43	-.01	.91

Full Model  $R^2 = .05$

**White privilege remorse scores as the dependent variable.** Table 6 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis predicting White privilege remorse scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = .91, p = .49$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .02, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was not significant with primitive narcissism scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 3.59, p = .06$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant simple effect on White privilege remorse scores. The regression model with mature narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = 2.15, p = .14$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. Mature narcissism scores had no significant effect on White privilege remorse scores after accounting for primitive narcissism scores. The observed power for this regression model was .40. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypotheses 1 or 2.

Table 6. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting White Privilege Remorse ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.02	.49				
Age			-.01	.01	-.05	.47
Female			.24	.16	.09	.14
Some High School			.05	.59	.01	.94
High School Diploma/ GED			-.13	.21	-.04	.55
Associate's Degree			-.09	.22	-.03	.68
Graduate Degree			.27	.23	.08	.23
Step 2	.01	.06				
Age			-.001	.01	-.01	.92
Female			.23	.16	.09	.15
Some High School			.02	.59	.003	.97
High School Diploma/ GED			-.15	.21	-.05	.47
Associate's Degree			-.14	.22	-.04	.53
Graduate Degree			.25	.23	.07	.28
PNI			.19	.10	.12	.06
Step 3	.01	.14				
Age			-.002	.01	-.02	.81
Female			.18	.16	.07	.28
Some High School			-.01	.59	-.001	.99
High School Diploma/ GED			-.18	.21	-.06	.39
Associate's Degree			-.16	.22	-.05	.48
Graduate Degree			.30	.23	.09	.20
PNI			.24	.11	.15	.03
NPI-16			-.55	.38	-.10	.14

Full Model  $R^2 = .04$

**Modern racism scores as the dependent variable.** Table 7 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis predicting modern racism scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 2.23, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .05, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was not significant with primitive narcissism scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 2.36, p = .13$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. Primitive

narcissism scores had no significant simple effect on modern racism scores. The regression model with mature narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = 2.36, p = .13$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. Mature narcissism scores had no significant effect on modern racism scores after accounting for primitive narcissism scores. The observed power for this regression model was .78. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypotheses 1 or 2.

Table 7. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Modern Racism ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.05	.04				
Age			-.003	.01	-.04	.55
Female			-.26	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.40	.44	-.06	.36
High School Diploma/ GED			.04	.16	.02	.82
Associate's Degree			.30	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.18	.17	-.07	.28
Step 2	.01	.13				
Age			-.01	.01	-.07	.29
Female			-.25	.12	-.13	.04
Some High School			-.39	.44	-.05	.38
High School Diploma/ GED			.05	.16	.02	.74
Associate's Degree			.33	.16	.13	.05
Graduate Degree			-.17	.17	-.06	.33
PNI			-.12	.08	-.10	.13
Step 3	.01	.06				
Age			-.004	.01	-.06	.38
Female			-.20	.12	-.10	.10
Some High School			-.36	.44	-.05	.42
High School Diploma/ GED			.08	.16	.04	.60
Associate's Degree			.35	.16	.14	.04
Graduate Degree			-.21	.17	-.08	.22
PNI			-.16	.08	-.13	.04
NPI-16			.52	.28	.12	.07

Full Model  $R^2 = .07$

### **Hypothesis 3**

Four hierarchical regression analyses were used to test hypothesis three. Hypothesis three stated that, after controlling for gender, age, and educational level, the simple effect of WPAS subscale scores on modern racism scores will be reduced or absent after inclusion of primitive narcissism scores. I also expected that anticipated costs scores would be related to modern racism after including primitive narcissism. To test this hypothesis, the significance of the simple effects of primitive narcissism scores on modern racism scores were tested after controlling for gender and educational level and for WPAS subscale scores; also, I anticipated that the simple effect of WPAS subscale scores would be reduced or absent after inclusion of primitive narcissism scores. Before assessing the hypothesis, the  $F$  test for the regression model was examined for significance at  $p < .01$ . The control variables of age, gender, and education were entered in the first block. Each WPA subscale score was entered in the second block, followed by primitive narcissism scores in the third block. The  $R^2$  change statistic along with its corresponding  $F$  change statistic for the third block was used to determine if this step was significant at  $p < .01$ . In addition, the regression coefficients ( $b$ ) and their corresponding  $t$  statistics for each WPAS subscale were examined to determine if effects are reduced due to the inclusion of primitive narcissism scores. A reduction in WPAS subscale score effects would suggest that primitive narcissism scores account for the effects of WPAS subscale scores on modern racism scores, supporting hypothesis three. As also mentioned above, the relationship between anticipated costs scores and modern racism scores was expected to shift from nonsignificant to significant after including primitive narcissism scores.

**Willingness to confront scores predicting modern racism scores.** Table 8 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis with willingness to confront scores predicting

modern racism scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 2.23, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .05, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was significant with willingness to confront scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 199.40, p < .001$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .40, a large effect size. Willingness to confront scores had a significant simple effect on modern racism scores; as willingness to confront scores increased, modern racism scores decreased. The regression model with primitive narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = .04, p = .84$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .00. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant effect on modern racism scores after accounting for willingness to confront scores. The observed power for this regression model was 1.0. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypothesis 3.

Table 8. Hierarchical Regression Analysis  
Willingness to Confront Predicting Modern Racism ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.05	.04				
Age			-.003	.01	-.04	.55
Female			-.26	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.40	.44	-.06	.36
High School Diploma/ GED			.04	.16	.02	.82
Associate's Degree			.30	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.18	.17	-.07	.28
Step 2	.41	.00				
Age			-.003	.003	-.05	.33
Female			-.06	.09	-.03	.55
Some High School			-.43	.34	-.06	.20
High School Diploma/ GED			-.06	.12	-.03	.61
Associate's Degree			.30	.12	.12	.02
Graduate Degree			.06	.13	.02	.63
WTC			-.51	.04	-.66	.00
Step 3	.00	.84				
Age			-.003	.004	-.04	.39
Female			-.06	.09	-.03	.55
Some High School			-.43	.34	-.06	.20
High School Diploma/ GED			-.06	.12	-.03	.60
Associate's Degree			.30	.13	.12	.02
Graduate Degree			.06	.13	.02	.63
WTC			-.51	.04	-.66	.00
PNI			.01	.06	.01	.84

Full Model  $R^2 = .46$

**Anticipated costs scores predicting modern racism scores.** Table 9 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis with anticipated costs scores predicting modern racism scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 2.23, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .05, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was significant with anticipated costs scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 20.54, p < .001$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .07, a small to

medium effect size. Anticipated costs scores had a significant simple effect on modern racism scores; as anticipated costs scores increased, modern racism scores decreased. The regression model with primitive narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = .20, p = .66$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .001, a very small effect size. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant effect on modern racism scores after accounting for anticipated costs scores. The observed power for this regression model was .99. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypothesis 3.

Table 9. Hierarchical Regression Analysis  
Anticipated Costs Predicting Modern Racism ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.05	.04				
Age			-.003	.01	-.04	.55
Female			-.26	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.40	.44	-.06	.36
High School Diploma/ GED			.04	.16	.02	.82
Associate's Degree			.30	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.18	.17	-.07	.28
Step 2	.07	.00				
Age			-.004	.004	-.05	.40
Female			-.25	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.47	.43	-.07	.27
High School Diploma/ GED			-.04	.15	-.02	.80
Associate's Degree			.29	.16	.11	.07
Graduate Degree			-.20	.17	-.08	.23
AC			-.25	.05	-.26	.00
Step 3	.001	.66				
Age			-.004	.01	-.06	.34
Female			-.25	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.47	.43	-.06	.28
High School Diploma/ GED			-.03	.15	-.01	.84
Associate's Degree			.29	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.19	.17	-.07	.25
AC			-.24	.06	-.26	.00
PNI			-.03	.08	-.03	.66

Full Model  $R^2 = .12$

**White privilege awareness scores predicting modern racism scores.** Table 10 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis with White privilege awareness scores predicting modern racism scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 2.23, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .05, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was significant with White privilege awareness scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 384.93, p < .001$ ; the

$R^2$  change statistic was .57, a large effect size. White privilege awareness scores had a significant simple effect on modern racism scores; as White privilege awareness scores increased, modern racism scores decreased. The regression model with primitive narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = 2.62, p = .11$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .004, a very small effect size. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant effect on modern racism scores after accounting for White privilege awareness scores. The observed power for this regression model was 1.0. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypothesis 3.

Table 10. Hierarchical Regression Analysis  
 White Privilege Awareness Predicting Modern Racism ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.05	.04				
Age			-.003	.01	-.04	.55
Female			-.26	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.40	.44	-.06	.36
High School Diploma/ GED			.04	.16	.02	.82
Associate's Degree			.30	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.18	.17	-.07	.28
Step 2	.57	.00				
Age			-.004	.003	-.06	.15
Female			-.06	.08	-.03	.42
Some High School			-.42	.28	-.06	.14
High School Diploma/ GED			-.01	.10	-.01	.89
Associate's Degree			.15	.11	.06	.14
Graduate Degree			.05	.11	.02	.64
WPA			-.51	.03	-.77	.00
Step 3	.004	.11				
Age			-.01	.003	-.08	.06
Female			-.06	.08	-.03	.42
Some High School			-.41	.28	-.06	.15
High School Diploma/ GED			-.004	.10	-.002	.97
Associate's Degree			.17	.11	.07	.10
Graduate Degree			.06	.11	.02	.58
WPA			-.51	.03	-.77	.00
PNI			-.08	.05	-.07	.11

Full Model  $R^2 = .62$

**White privilege remorse scores predicting modern racism scores.** Table 11 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis with White privilege remorse scores predicting modern racism scores. The regression model with only control variables was not significant,  $F(6, 265) = 2.23, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .05, a small effect size. No control variables evidenced significant simple effects. The regression model was significant with White privilege remorse scores in the second step,  $F_{change}(1, 264) = 106.71, p < .001$ ; the  $R^2$  change

statistic was .27, a large effect size. White privilege remorse scores had a significant simple effect on modern racism scores; as White privilege remorse scores increased, modern racism scores decreased. The regression model with primitive narcissism scores entered into the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = .39, p = .54$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .001, a very small effect size. Primitive narcissism scores had no significant effect on modern racism scores after accounting for White privilege remorse scores. The observed power for this regression model was 1.0. In summary, these results do not provide support for hypothesis 3.

Table 11. Hierarchical Regression Analysis  
 White Privilege Remorse Predicting Modern Racism ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.05	.04				
Age			-.003	.01	-.04	.55
Female			-.26	.12	-.13	.03
Some High School			-.40	.44	-.06	.36
High School Diploma/ GED			.04	.16	.02	.82
Associate's Degree			.30	.16	.12	.07
Graduate Degree			-.18	.17	-.07	.28
Step 2	.27	.00				
Age			-.01	.004	-.06	.24
Female			-.16	.10	-.08	.12
Some High School			-.38	.38	-.05	.31
High School Diploma/ GED			-.01	.13	-.01	.92
Associate's Degree			.27	.14	.11	.06
Graduate Degree			-.07	.15	-.03	.61
WPR			-.40	.04	-.53	.00
Step 3	.001	.54				
Age			-.01	.004	-.07	.19
Female			-.16	.10	-.08	.12
Some High School			-.38	.38	-.05	.31
High School Diploma/ GED			-.01	.13	-.003	.95
Associate's Degree			.28	.14	.11	.05
Graduate Degree			-.07	.15	-.03	.63
WPR			-.40	.04	-.53	.00
PNI			-.04	.07	-.03	.54

Full Model  $R^2 = .32$

### Post-Hoc Analyses: The Moderating Effect of Generational Membership

The overwhelming majority of research on White privilege and racial identity has been studied in college student populations. Furthermore, while generational differences in regards to these areas has yet to be explored empirically, cultural critics and artists (Hsu, 2015; Vargas, 2015; Zimmerman, 2015) have noted a rise in White people's awareness of their racial privilege

associated with the millennial generation and the Obama Presidency. Though age has been treated as a continuous variable up to this point, looking at age in terms of cohort group (millennial vs. not millennial) may help detect variance in primitive and mature narcissism, as well as White privilege attitudes and modern racism, that pools around such cohort groups. As such, the role of generation in determining relationships among primitive and mature narcissism, White privilege attitudes, and modern racism was further examined in this sample.

A categorical variable was created to denote millennial participants (i.e., ages 18 to 35, as per the PewResearchCenter [2017]) and non-millennial participants (i.e., ages 36 and older). A bivariate correlation analysis was executed to check this variable's relationship with all other variables (see Table 12); notably, only the relationship between the millennial variable and primitive narcissism scores was significant,  $r = .24, p < .001$ . Being a millennial was associated with higher primitive narcissism scores. To check if being a millennial affected the relationship between variables, the file was split by generation (i.e., millennial and not-millennial). Table 13 shows the relationships among variables for non-millennial participants, in which primitive narcissism scores have no significant relationship with the WPAS subscale scores or modern racism scores. In contrast, Table 14 shows that for millennial participants primitive narcissism scores have a significant relationship ( $p < .01$ ) with willingness to confront ( $r = .21$ ) and anticipated costs ( $r = .27$ ) scores. These results suggested that generation has a moderating effect on the relationships between primitive narcissism scores and willingness to confront and anticipated costs scores, strengthening these associations.

Table 12. Correlations between Millennial Status and Variables ( $N = 275$ )

	<i>Millennial</i>
PNI	.24***
NPI-16	.09
MRS	.03
WTC	.03
AC	.02
WPA	.02
WPR	.07
M-C Form A	-.20**

*Note.* PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI-16 = Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 16; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale; WTC = Willingness to Confront White Privilege Attitudes; AC = Anticipated Costs of Confronting White Privilege; WPA = White Privilege Awareness; WPR = White Privilege Remorse; M-C Form A = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale - Form A. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 13. Correlations for Non-Millennials ( $N = 122$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PNI	-	.36**	.06	.05	.23*	-.06	-.02	-.46**
2. NPI-16		-	.08	.04	-.02	.07	-.08	-.26**
3. MRS			-	-.65**	-.18*	-.76**	-.49**	-.04
4. WTC				-	.43**	.78**	.78**	-.07
5. AC					-	.26**	.42**	-.06
6. WPA						-	.64**	-.09
7. WPR							-	.08
8. M-C Form A								-

*Note.* PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI-16 = Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 16; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale; WTC = Willingness to Confront White Privilege Attitudes; AC = Anticipated Costs of Confronting White Privilege; WPA = White Privilege Awareness; WPR = White Privilege Remorse; M-C Form A = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale - Form A. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 14. Correlations for Millennials ( $N = 153$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PNI	-	.25**	-.17*	.21**	.27**	.09	.19*	-.25**
2. NPI-16		-	.10	.02	.04	-.05	-.03	-.06
3. MRS			-	-.67**	-.31**	-.79**	-.59**	.12
4. WTC				-	.47**	.78**	.80**	-.03
5. AC					-	.44**	.51**	-.14
6. WPA						-	.66**	-.12
7. WPR							-	.02
8. M-C Form A								-

*Note.* PNI = Pathological Narcissism Inventory; NPI-16 = Narcissistic Personality Inventory - 16; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale; WTC = Willingness to Confront White Privilege Attitudes; AC = Anticipated Costs of Confronting White Privilege; WPA = White Privilege Awareness; WPR = White Privilege Remorse; M-C Form A = Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale - Form A. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

To test for the moderation effect of generation, an interaction term between generation and primitive narcissism scores was created, and two hierarchical regression analyses were executed with willingness to confront and anticipated costs scores as the dependent variable. Primitive narcissism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs scores were mean centered. The first step involved entering millennial status and primitive narcissism scores; the second step involved entering the interaction term between primitive narcissism scores and being a millennial. Non-millennials were used as the reference group in all analyses. As with the main analyses, the  $R_{change}$  statistic and  $F$  test for the regression model was examined at each step for significance, and the simple effects of each variable were evaluated at each step by examining the regression coefficient ( $b$ ). Like the main analyses, statistical significance was set at the  $p < .01$  level. Note that including generation required participants to identify their age. Because one participant did not identify age and three others did not identify for gender, the sample size for these analyses decreased to 272.

### **Moderation Effect on Willingness to Confront Scores**

Table 15 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis testing the moderation effect on willingness to confront scores. The first step of the regression model was not significant,  $F(5, 266) = 3.13, p = .009$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .06, a small effect size. However, the simple effects for gender and educational level were not significant. The second step of the regression model was no significant,  $F_{change}(2, 264) = 3.26, p = .04$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .02, a small effect size. The simple effects of being a millennial and primitive narcissism scores were not significant. The regression model with the interaction term entered in the third step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = 2.29, p = .13$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. The interaction term did not significantly predict willingness to confront scores; this result suggested that being a millennial does not affect the relationship between primitive narcissism and willingness to confront scores. The observed power for this regression model was .91.

Table 15. Moderation of Generation on Willingness to Confront ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.06	.009				
Female			.39	.15	.15	.01
Some High School			-.04	.57	-.004	.94
High School Diploma/ GED			-.19	.20	-.06	.35
Associate's Degree			.00	.21	.00	.99
Graduate Degree			.49	.22	.14	.03
Step 2	.02	.04				
Female			.40	.15	.16	.01
Some High School			-.09	.57	-.01	.87
High School Diploma/ GED			-.22	.20	-.07	.27
Associate's Degree			-.06	.21	-.02	.79
Graduate Degree			.47	.22	.14	.03
PNI			.23	.10	.15	.02
Millinéal			.05	.16	.02	.77
Step 3	.01	.13				
Female			.41	.15	.16	.01
Some High School			-.04	.57	-.004	.94
High School Diploma/ GED			-.21	.20	-.07	.28
Associate's Degree			-.04	.21	-.01	.87
Graduate Degree			.48	.22	.14	.03
PNI			.07	.14	.05	.60
Milleneal			.06	.16	.02	.71
Milleneal*PNI			.29	.19	.13	.13

Full Model  $R^2 = .09$

### Moderation Effect on Anticipated Costs Scores

Table 16 shows the results from the hierarchical regression analysis testing the moderation effect on anticipated costs scores. The first step of the regression model was not significant,  $F(5, 266) = .66, p = .65$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .01, a small effect size. The simple effects of gender and educational level were not significant. The second step of the regression model was significant,  $F_{change}(2,264), p < .001$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .07, a small

to medium effect size. The simple effects of primitive narcissism scores were significant; as primitive narcissism scores increased, anticipated costs scores increased. However, the simple effects of being a millennial were not significant. The regression model with the interaction term entered in the second step was not significant,  $F_{change}(1, 263) = .08, p = .78$ ; the  $R^2$  change statistic was .00, an extremely small effect size. The interaction term did not significantly predict anticipated costs scores; this result suggested that being a millennial does not affect the relationship between primitive narcissism and anticipated costs scores. The observed power for this regression model was .86.

Table 16. Moderation of Generation on Anticipated Costs ( $N = 272$ )

	$\Delta R^2$	$p$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$p$
Step 1	.01	.65				
Female			-.01	.13	-.003	.96
Some High School			-.27	.48	-.03	.58
High School Diploma/ GED			-.30	.17	-.12	.08
Associate's Degree			-.07	.18	-.03	.68
Graduate Degree			-.07	.19	-.02	.72
Step 2	.07	.00				
Female			-.001	.13	.00	.99
Some High School			-.34	.47	-.04	.47
High School Diploma/ GED			-.34	.17	-.13	.04
Associate's Degree			-.16	.17	-.06	.35
Graduate Degree			-.09	.18	-.03	.61
PNI			.35	.08	.27	.00
Millinéal			-.11	.13	-.05	.40
Step 3	.00	.78				
Female			.001	.13	.00	.99
Some High School			-.33	.47	-.04	.48
High School Diploma/ GED			-.34	.17	-.13	.04
Associate's Degree			-.16	.17	-.06	.36
Graduate Degree			-.09	.18	-.03	.62
PNI			.33	.12	.25	.01
Milleneal			-.11	.13	-.05	.41
Milleneal*PNI			.04	.16	.03	.78

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

Overall, the results obtained in this study do not generally support the hypotheses and thus do not provide strong support for the theory that less developed White privilege identities and modern racism are characterized by primitive narcissistic processes, at least in the sense initially conceptualized above. In the following sections, I summarize the study's findings, then propose two theoretical models to make sense of the results and inform direction for future studies. The first model, the essentialist model, considers the results in light of the initially proposed theory that White privilege and modern racism are essentially organized around primitive narcissistic dynamics, arguing that possible limitations in how White privilege and White identity were assessed in this study contributed to the findings. The second model, the complexity model, diverges from this viewpoint, proposing that White privilege attitudes and modern racism are sensitive to one's pre-existing degree of primitive narcissism. In addition, tentative practical applications and the present study's limitations are outlined.

#### **White Privilege Attitudes and Modern Racism**

As hypothesized, all indices of White privilege attitudes related negatively to modern racism. Persons who do not as strongly endorse modern racist assumptions are more likely to report a propensity to address White privilege or explore their own White privilege (i.e., willingness to confront White privilege). They are more likely to report fear and anxiety about the response of other White persons if they address White privilege or, as result of addressing

such privilege, to report fear about losing the benefits of privilege (i.e., anticipate costs to addressing White privilege). They are more likely to report cognitive awareness of their White privilege and understand how it works (i.e., White privilege awareness), and they are more likely to report shame and anger about their race-based privilege (White privilege remorse). Furthermore, willingness to confront, anticipated costs, White privilege attitudes, White privilege remorse, and modern racism did not evidence any relationship with social desirability, suggesting participants' responses to these scales were not influenced by socially desirable responding.

These findings are largely consistent with those of Pinterits et al. (2009). However, Pinterits et al. did not find a relationship between anticipated costs of addressing White privilege and modern racism, noting that the lack of a relationship could be evidence that the anticipated costs subscale reflects a fear of challenging the racist status quo rather than one's attitudes about it. The present finding suggests that anxiety about addressing White privilege is related to one's attitudes about challenging the racist status quo. One explanation for this divergence may be in sample characteristics. Pinterits et al. studied anticipated costs in an undergraduate and graduate student population; the present study, as evidenced by the sample's descriptive statistics, represents a broader range of socioeconomic, educational, and occupational backgrounds, not to mention a greater age range. Potentially, anticipated costs were not related to modern racism in Pinterits et al.'s study because university students' anxiety and fear around addressing White privilege is not as strongly connected to the racist status quo, especially with the academy generally being an environment that largely endorses liberal, socially progressive cultural values. Indeed, anticipated costs in a graduate student was not found to have a significant relationship with multicultural knowledge and awareness in later study (Mindrup et al., 2011), and critical

theorists have noted how the academic discourse surrounding White privilege is kept safe in the academy from its real-world implications (Lensmire et al., 2013). The social world outside of the academy is where the racist status quo thrives, so the negative association between anticipated costs and modern racism found in this study may reflect the real risk, psychological and social, that White persons face in confronting White privilege in a more or less White world.

### **Narcissism, White Privilege Attitudes, and Modern Racism**

After accounting for the effects of age, gender, and educational level, primitive narcissism did not have significant negative relationships with modern racism or any dimensions of White privilege attitudes; these results did not support the hypothesis 1. In addition, mature narcissism did not evidence any relationship to modern racism and White privilege attitudes after accounting for primitive narcissism; these results did not support hypothesis 2. Finally, no empirical support was obtained for the third hypothesis that primitive narcissism explains the link between White privilege attitudes and modern racism.

In testing hypothesis 1, primitive narcissism evidenced positive relationships with willingness to confront and anticipated costs after controlling for age, gender, and education. In short, increased primitive narcissism was tied to an increased willingness to confront White privilege and increase anticipation of costs for addressing White privilege. One possibility is that higher levels of primitive narcissism, with its grandiose and vulnerable components, can lead to a greater willingness to challenge the social status quo around Whiteness, which would be consistent with the grandiose dimension of seeing oneself as special and powerful, while being simultaneously fearful of the consequences, which would be consistent with the vulnerable dimension.

### **Generational Differences**

Post-hoc analyses suggested a possible generational difference in the relationship between primitive narcissism and White privilege attitudes. Specifically, for millennial participants primitive narcissism was positively related to willingness to confront White privilege and anticipated costs of addressing White privilege; however, these relationships were not present for non-millennial participants. Put simply, for millennial participants, greater primitive narcissism was linked to greater reported willingness to engage in behaviors challenging White privilege and greater concern about the psychosocial costs of engaging in such behaviors. Such differences in correlations among cohort groups may suggest a moderating variable. However, generational membership was not found to moderate the relationships between primitive narcissism and these two dimensions of White privilege attitudes; being a millennial was not found to be significant determinate of the relationship between primitive narcissism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs. Also, it is worth noting that mature narcissism evidenced no change in its relationship with the other variables when examining generational differences.

### **Theoretical Speculations: Two Models**

To briefly summarize the findings, all indices of White privilege attitudes were negatively related to modern racism; primitive narcissism evidenced a positive correlation with willingness to confront and anticipated costs after controlling for the effects of age, gender, and educational level; and primitive narcissism was positively related to willingness to confront and anticipated costs in participants from the millennial generation, though generation was not found to moderate these relationships in the overall sample. Of course, one obvious conclusion about the results is that they demonstrate that the theory proposed here has little foundation, the observed results representing spurious statistical relations among variables, the stuff of chance.

Yet another conclusion is that the phenomena were inadequately measured (see Limitations section below), and still another conclusion would be that the phenomena may exist only in some specific instances (e.g., overtly racist individuals), their study better served by case studies or qualitative research. Setting these possible conclusions aside, I will speculate – that is, move well beyond the present evidence and offer theoretical possibilities – about two theoretical models that might inform future research.

The first model, termed the essentialist model, states that White privilege attitudes and modern racism are characterized by a primitive narcissistic process but that the current study suffers from limitations in construct measurement. The second model, called the complexity model, proposes that the psychological processes underlying White privilege attitudes and modern racism are actually quite distinct from primitive narcissistic processes and that the degree of a person's pre-existing primitive narcissism affects the level of White privilege attitudes and modern racism they endorse. The difference between these models can be simply illustrated by the degree to which they consider primitive narcissism to be integral to White racial identity. The first model, consistent with the integration of self-psychology (Kohut, 1977; Stolorow; 1975), White racial identity development (Helms 1990; 1995), and similarly minded psychoanalytic writings (Altman, 2006; Miller & Josephs, 2009), views primitive narcissism as integral to White identity and privilege. The second model sees primitive narcissism as a separate psychological phenomenon, tied more intimately to the person's overall psychological functioning, that can affect White identity and privilege and modern racism.

### **First Model: The Essentialist Model**

Returning to hypothesis one, primitive narcissism's positive relationship to willingness to confront and anticipated costs is contrary to the hypothesis, which assumed that greater

willingness to confront and anticipated costs of addressing White privilege reflected a more developed White privilege identity and thus would be related to lower levels of primitive narcissism. On the contrary, the positive relationship between willingness to confront, anticipated costs, and primitive narcissism suggests that there may be a link between higher levels of primitive narcissistic processes, willingness to confront White privilege, and greater anxiety about confronting that privilege. Considering the ambiguity of what the WPAS subscales indicate in terms of White racial identity points to an important area of further inquiry.

Although higher scores on the WPAS subscales are assumed to represent greater levels of non-racist White identity development, there is no empirical evidence to back this position beyond the assumptions derived by implication of the subscales' inverse relationship with modern racism found in this study and by Pinterits et al. (2009), as well as Pinterits et al.'s finding that the WPAS subscales are inversely related to colorblind racial attitudes. When the WPAS is viewed through the theoretical lens of the WRID (Helms, 1990; 1995), the argument can be made that elevations on each of the WPAS subscales could occur in both phase one and two White racial identity statuses. For instance, willingness to confront White privilege attitudes could be indicative of the ambivalent self-examination in the Phase 1 disintegration stage, which according to an integration of Kohut (1977) and Helms would be characterized by primitive narcissistic processes, or it could be indicative of any of the Phase 2 stages (pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy), thereby being more characteristic of a mature narcissistic process. Likewise, anticipating social costs for addressing White privilege could be present in Phase 1 or Phase 2 statuses in Helms' model. In the disintegration status, such concerns could dominate a White person's thoughts about their privilege; in the immersion/emersion status, a White individual struggling to actualize a solid, non-racist White

identity could also be dealing with such anxiety as they navigate their socio-cultural context. Such a lens, combined with the theory that primitive narcissistic processes dominate Phase 1 statuses, suggests that the positive relationship between primitive narcissism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs may have arisen due to a predominance of Phase 1 processes in the sample.

However, this perspective overlooks the inverse association between modern racism and anticipated costs in relation to previous findings regarding phase one White racial identity statuses and racism. Other studies have found that Phase 1 White racial identity statuses are associated with higher racism (Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Viewed from this angle, the negative relationship between modern racism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs appears to be more indicative of phase two processes. If these relationships were positive, with greater endorsement of modern racism being associated with less willingness to confront and greater fears about the repercussions of confronting White privilege, this would support the speculation that much of the sample is in Phase 1. In conclusion, while this finding does not support the hypotheses as stated above, it points to the necessity of Helms' scale (1990; 1995) in providing clarity about the specific meaning of the relationships (or even the lack of relationships) between primitive narcissism and White privilege attitudes.

Thus further studies investigating these speculations could examine primitive and mature narcissism's relationship to Helms' (1990; 1995) White racial identity statuses, as well as the way these statuses affect the relationship between primitive narcissism and mature narcissism and other indices of White racial identity and privilege (i.e., colorblind racial attitudes and psychosocial costs of addressing racism). Further inquiry into these areas may help clarify whether or not the essentialist model is empirically accurate, refining theory. If such studies do

not provide evidence for the essentialist model, then the complexity model, discussed in the next section, may be an alternative.

### **Second Model: The Complexity Model**

The complexity model views primitive narcissism as a separate psychological phenomenon that is not integral to but is nevertheless affected by one's White identity and privilege. Specific to this line of thought, first consider the different relationships observed in millennial participants between primitive narcissism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs. Research has found that narcissism is on the rise among the current college student population compared to prior generations (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008a; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008b; Twenge, Miller, & Campbell, 2014), and Twenge (2014) has argued that this increase in narcissism is a function of a broader cultural shift among millennials toward exclusively individualistic and competitive attitudes. It is important to note that the empirical data in these studies is based on the NPI, which, as detailed extensively above (e.g., Roche et al., 2009), has been shown to measure an assertive variant of self-esteem and individualism rather than primitive narcissism per se.

That being said, the NPI-16 has been found to share some variance with aspects of primitive narcissism (Roche et al., 2009), likely due primarily to variance from exploitativeness and entitlement items retained from the original NPI (Brown et al., 2009; Horton et al., 2006; Watson et al., 1992). Though the precise degree of influence of exploitativeness and entitlement cannot be gleaned from the NPI-16, the NPI-16's positive relationship to primitive narcissism may imply this or, at the very least, demonstrate such shared variance in this study. Indeed, the fact that millennials had higher primitive narcissism scores in this study (see Table 13) suggests that millennials may be more primitively narcissistic, the measurement limitations of the NPI-16

aside, thereby supporting Twenge's (2014) position. Also, note that generational membership did not correlate with any other variables in this study (including mature narcissism), suggesting the only difference between millennials and non-millennials in this study was the degree of primitive narcissism. Finally, recall that generational membership did not moderate the relationships between primitive narcissism, willingness to confront, and anticipated costs, suggesting that generational membership is not the reason for the shift among the relationship in variables. While low statistical power may be a factor in not finding evidence for the moderating effect of generation, the results imply that generational membership is not affecting the relationships between primitive narcissism, White privilege attitudes, and modern racism; rather, it is the degree of primitive narcissism that explains these observed relationships, with millennials happening to have more of it.

One core aspect of primitive narcissism is a sensitivity to being perceived in a negative light, a prominent and festering need to manage self-image. Such a need would make it important to align with values for the sake of self-image maintenance rather than intrinsic motivation. Accordingly, the importance of endorsing responses consistent with a more developed White privilege identity may be an appealing way for those with greater primitive narcissism to avoid the labels of being racist or archly conservative, deeply pejorative in our current times, and thus reflect self-image management. This argument is also bolstered by the fact that, for millennials, primitive narcissism was not related to White privilege awareness, White privilege remorse, or modern racism. Consistent with primitive narcissism, these participants endorsed favorable social behaviors regarding their White identity and identified with their concerns about engaging in such behaviors but lacked deep emotional or cognitive insight into the meaning of these behaviors and fears. Contrary to argument for self-image

maintenance is the fact that social desirability was negatively related to primitive and mature narcissism and evidenced no relationship to White privilege attitudes or modern racism. The more primitively narcissistic participants were, the less they cared about appearing socially desirable, suggesting self-image management is not part of primitive narcissism, assuming the M-C Form A is tapping contemporary social norms (i.e., what if participants are trying to appear socially desirable in a way not accurately measured by the M-C Form A).

In other words, primitive narcissism may be a more distinct process that, along with other variables, affects the way individuals respond to their White identity and privilege. Primitive narcissism may not be essentially related to White identity; it may be complexly interacting with it, shaping one's sense of or experience of Whiteness. The complexity view would lend itself well to studies of the moderating effect of primitive narcissism on the relationship between indicators of White racial identity and privilege and other variables, such as contact with non-White minorities, social activism, endorsement of affirmative action policies, and counseling process research examining White and non-White dyads. Additionally, using experimental design to make White identity salient, then measure primitive narcissism, related constructs (e.g., social dominance orientation), or behavioral indicators of primitive narcissism, may shed further light on how primitive narcissism interacts complexly with White identity. Experimental design could also have the added advantage of circumventing social desirability. Moreover, future studies could also examine the specific subscales of the PNI and the way they relate to other variables and moderate relationships. For instance, the dimension of narcissistic vulnerability, which is centered on positive self-image management through deftly evoking positive responses from others, might be especially tied to indices of White identity and privilege in the current

social climate and in counseling training programs. Finally, the complexity model has an advantage of the essentialist model in that it is less theoretically rigid but equally parsimonious.

### **Practical Applications**

The lack of support for the hypotheses, as well the theoretical issues described above, dramatically limits suggestions for practical applications. However, some suggestions can be made despite the vagueness of the findings. First, when training White counselors in cultural competency or working with White persons confronting their racial privilege, professionals should be mindful that the anxiety and fear around the losses associated with confronting White privilege may evoke features of primitive narcissism, such as a need to be seen as acting morally, justly, or in a generally favorable manner (i.e., narcissistic grandiosity), or a need to be reassured of their overall goodness as person, along with interpersonal maneuvers to obtain this assurance (i.e., narcissistic vulnerability). Confronting one's White privilege often involves stepping into a limbo of accepting and tolerating (sometimes for sustained periods) honest but emotionally difficult feedback from non-White persons while simultaneously being misunderstood and, in various ways, discouraged by White persons who are not confronting their privileged identity. Occupying this space is bound to put pressure on one's self-integration and evoke varying degrees of distress, as suggested by past research (Stephan et al., 2002; Utsey Gernat, & Hammar, 2005), and this study provides some support for this notion. Therefore, it may be especially important for White individuals negotiating this process to seek support from another White individual with a relatively achieved non-racist White identity. Alternatively, non-White confidants that provide substantial amounts of supportive empathy, rather than challenge, around this process, may also be instrumental, provided they are not tasked with rescuing the White

individual from the process and reinforcing racist positions, thereby being subjected to a repetition of oppression themselves.

Second, non-White therapists working with White persons, both to explicitly address White privilege and to address other psychological concerns (e.g., in a White and non-White therapy dyad focusing on depression and anxiety), should be mindful that addressing differences in racial identity may evoke more than just fears circumscribed to the White person's privileged identity. Consistent with Utsey and Gernat's (2002) finding that less developed White identities are associated with primitive defense mechanisms, which are often enacted interpersonally (McWilliams, 2011), addressing racial differences may elicit deeper self-esteem and interpersonal issues as well. For instance, a non-White counselor addressing racial differences with a White client may evoke behaviors, thoughts, and feelings associated with primitive narcissism, making the therapy relationship tricky to manage. The White client may begin seeking reassurance of their inherent worth through extensive self-criticism or demanding re-establishment of wholly positive, perhaps even colorblind White self-image; they may project excessively hostile images onto the non-White counselor; and they may all together deny the existence of such differences and any indication of their relevance. Not only would this reaction put strain on the therapeutic alliance and the therapy endeavor, it may leave the non-White counselor absorbing the intensity of micro and macro-aggressions and struggling with distressing doubt about their perceptions, depending on their own level of racial/ ethnic identity development. It is recommended that non-White counselors engaging White clients and organizations around privilege maintain awareness that such reactions may often have more to do with the White client's core sense of self and their racial identity than themselves.

### **Limitations**

The limitations of this study concern statistical and measurement issues, construct validity, and possible issues with external validity. Prior to discussing these areas, the research design of this study, which is quantitative descriptive, offers no advantages in terms of internal validity, meaning temporal and cause-and-effect relationships among variables cannot be determined in any way.

In terms of statistical issues, the hierarchical regression analyses violated the assumption of homogeneity of variance; instead, three of the analyses evidenced mild heteroscedasticity, or unequal variance in the dependent variables across levels of the predictors. The results concerning primitive narcissism's relationship to anticipated costs and modern racism should be interpreted cautiously (hypothesis 1), and the same caution should be applied to the finding that primitive narcissism did not explain the link between White privilege remorse and modern racism (hypothesis 3). Second, although error rate was controlled for by adopting the more stringent  $p < .01$  significance level, fourteen hierarchical regression analyses were executed, yielding a family-wise error rate of  $p = .131$ , or a 13.1% chance of making a Type I error, threatening the validity of the current findings. Note that changing the alpha level to .0036 in line with a Bonferonni correction would drop family-wise error rate to the desired 5.0% of making a Type 1 error, rendering the findings regarding willingness to confront non-significant but increasing confidence around the findings regarding the link between primitive narcissism and anticipated costs. Third, the heterogeneity of the sample population, which spans a range of educational and socio-economic status, may affect the validity of the findings or lack of findings, especially when one considers the fact that the WPAS has been studied solely in college student populations and that the WPAS factor structure, specifically for the willingness to confront subscale, was not stable in this sample.

Fourth, while the EFA of the NPI-16 clearly indicated a one factor solution, the percent of variance explained by this factor was quite low, suggesting that the NPI-16 may not be operating effectively and calling into question the analyses involving it. Fifth, the lack of findings in regards to hypothesis 2 and the general lack of correlation between the NPI-16 and White privilege attitudes and modern racism may be due to a lack of power, especially because a prior study (Hodson et al., 2009) found small effect for the relationship between the NPI and modern racism. The current sample size may not have been large enough to detect this small effect. Fifth, the low reliability of the M-C Form A (i.e., social desirability) may account for its observed pattern of relationships with primitive narcissism, mature narcissism, and anticipated costs.

As for construct validity, speculation about the lack of support for the hypotheses has been partly considered a function of not using the WRIAS to measure White racial identity status and privilege (i.e., the essentialist model). My decision not to include this scale and assume that the WPAS, which is conceptually similar but certainly distinct, would broadly account for the effects of White racial identity status reflects inadequate explication of the construct of White racial identity and privilege, especially in relation to the theory guiding the hypotheses. Second, all variables were measured by one instrument, leaving room for mono-operation bias, though the relationships between White privilege attitudes and modern racism are consistent with the past literature and suggest otherwise in this specific regard. Third, mono-method bias is an issue because all variables were measured via self-report; there is no evidence in this study that participants' self-report matches their actual behavior in terms of primitive and mature narcissism, White privilege attitudes, and modern racism.

In terms of external validity, a strength of this study is the broad and diverse sample of White participants, representing a range of age, educational achievement, socioeconomic background, religious orientation, and gender. That being said, the study is comprised entirely of MTurk workers, who are a unique population subset in their own right, calling into question the generalizability of these findings. In contrast perhaps to the average participant in a psychological study, MTurk workers are well accustomed to completing social science research and may be sensitized to instruments, specific types of questions, or thinking about themselves in fixed ways that enhance their survey taking speed. Future studies should examine these relationships or theoretically related ones (e.g., primitive and mature narcissism's relationship to White racial identity statuses) in a non-MTurk sample.

### **Conclusion**

This study did not find support the majority of its hypotheses, except for some evidence that higher levels of primitive narcissism were associated with greater willingness to confront White privilege and anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, both of which are compromised by psychometric and statistical limitations, respectively. Accordingly, any new information about the question of who White people are in the United States is debatable. If the findings are taken at face value, one might say that, the more inflated and vulnerable their egos (perhaps especially if they are of the millennials), the more they feel a need address the oppression of their dominant ethnic group yet, at the same time, fear the consequences of it, these motivations regarding their ethnicity being divorced from and of no current relation to their awareness and remorse around their privilege. In other words, this study may have captured the currents of the contemporary times or of a generation coming into the very early dawn of its middle adulthood. While such a conclusion might be tempting to settle on (and to me, appears

quite accurate in my own experience), it disregards approximately half of those participants who were not of the millennial generation and the limitations. In the final analysis, this study can only offer some additional conjectures about what lies beneath the invisible cloak of Whiteness, who White people are, but perhaps this will lay the ground work for more incisive questions in the future. At minimum, these results suggest that something is beneath the fabric.

APPENDIX A

Demographic Form

Please respond to the following items:

1. Please state your gender.

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Age \_\_\_\_\_ (Fill in blank)

3. Highest level of education completed.

1. Some high school
2. High school diploma/ GED
3. Associates degree
4. Undergraduate degree/ bachelors degree
5. Graduate degree

4. How many multicultural courses or workshops have you taken in which White privilege was discussed? \_\_\_\_\_ (Fill in blank)

5. Rate your level of contact with people from minority groups using the following scale:

Little Contact

High Contact

1

2

3

4

6. Current employment status (check all that apply)

1. Employed
2. Employed part-time
3. Student
4. Unemployed

7. Race/Ethnicity

1. White
2. Black/ African American
3. Asian
4. Hispanic
5. American Indian/ Alaskan Native
6. Multiracial
7. Other \_\_\_\_\_

8. Please provide your religious affiliation

\_\_\_\_\_

9. What was the socioeconomic status of your family of origin?
  1. Lower class/ poor
  2. Working class
  3. Middle class
  4. Upper class

## APPENDIX B

### Pathological Narcissism Inventory (PNI)

Please rate the degree to which each statement describes you:

Question	0 (Not at all like me)	1	2	3	4	5 (Very much like me)
1. I often fantasize about being admired and respected.						
2. My self-esteem fluctuates a lot.						
3. I sometimes feel ashamed about my expectations of others when they disappoint me.						
4. I can usually talk my way out of anything.						
5. It's hard to feel good about myself when I'm alone						
6. I can make myself feel good by caring for others.						
7. I hate asking for help.						
8. When people don't notice me, I start to feel bad about myself.						
9. I often hide my needs for fear that others will see me as needy and dependent.						
10. I can make anyone believe anything I want them to.						
11. I get mad when people don't notice all that I do for them.						
12. I get annoyed by people who are not interested in what I say or do.						
13. I wouldn't disclose all my intimate thoughts and feelings to someone I didn't admire.						
14. I often fantasize about having a huge impact on the world around me.						
15. I find it easy to manipulate people.						

16. When others don't notice me, I start to feel worthless.						
17. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm concerned that they'll disappoint me.						
18. I typically get very angry when I'm unable to get what I want from others.						
19. I sometimes need important others in my life to reassure me of my self-worth.						
20. When I do things for other people, I expect them to do things for me.						
21. When others don't meet my expectations, I often feel ashamed about what I wanted.						
22. I feel important when others rely on me.						
23. I can read people like a book.						
24. When others disappoint me, I often get angry at myself.						
25. Sacrificing for others makes me the better person.						
26. I often fantasize about accomplishing things that are probably beyond my means.						
27. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm afraid they won't do what I want them to.						
28. It's hard to show others the weakness I feel inside.						
29. I get angry when criticized.						
30. It's hard to feel good about myself unless I know other people admire me.						
31. I often fantasize about being rewarded for my efforts.						
32. I am preoccupied with thoughts and concerns that most people are not interested in me.						
33. I like to have friends who rely on me because it makes me feel important.						

34. Sometimes I avoid people because I'm concerned they won't acknowledge what I do for them.						
35. Everybody likes to hear my stories.						
36. It's hard for me to feel good about myself unless I know other people like me.						
37. It irritates me when people don't notice how good a person I am.						
38. I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve.						
39. I try to show what a good person I am through my sacrifices.						
40. I am disappointed when people don't notice me.						
41. I often find myself envying others' accomplishments.						
42. Select "Very much like me" (5) for this item.						
43. I often fantasize about performing heroic deeds.						
44. I help others in order to prove I am a good person.						
45. It's important to show people I can do it on my own, even if I have some doubts inside.						
46. I often fantasize about being recognized for my accomplishments.						
47. I can't stand relying on other people because it makes me feel weak.						
48. When others don't respond to me the way that I would like them to, it is hard for me to still feel ok with myself.						
49. I need others to acknowledge me.						
50. I want to amount to something in the eyes of the world.						

51. When others get a glimpse of my needs, I feel anxious and ashamed.						
52. Sometimes it's easier to be alone than to face not getting everything I want from other people.						
53. I can get pretty angry when others disagree with me.						

## APPENDIX C

### Narcissistic Personality Inventory – 16 (NPI-16)

Please select from the statement pairs below the one that best describes you:

1.	I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so.	When people compliment me I sometimes get embarrassed.
2.	I like to be the center of attention.	I prefer to blend in with the crowd.
3.	I think I am a special person.	I am no better or worse than most people.
4.	I like having authority over people.	I don't mind following orders.
5.	I find it easy to manipulate people.	I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people.
6.	I insist upon getting the respect that is due to me.	I usually get the respect that I deserve.
7.	I am apt to show off if I get the chance.	I try not to be a show off.
8.	I always know what I am doing.	Sometimes I am not sure of what I am doing.
9.	Everybody likes to hear my stories.	Sometimes I tell good stories.
10.	I expect a great deal from other people.	I like to do things for other people.
11.	I really like to be the center of attention.	It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention.
12.	People always seem to recognize my authority.	Being an authority doesn't mean that much to me.
13.	I am going to be a great person.	I hope I am going to be successful.
14.	I can make anybody believe anything I want them to.	People sometimes believe what I tell them.
15.	I am more capable than other people.	There is a lot that I can learn from other people.
16.	I am an extraordinary person.	I am much like everybody else.

## APPENDIX D

### White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Please rate how much you agree with statements below using the following scale:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Slightly Disagree
- 4 = Slightly Agree
- 5 = Agree
- 6 = Strongly Agree

Question	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege.						
2. Our social structure system promotes White privilege.						
3. I am angry that I keep benefiting from White privilege.						
4. I take action against White privilege with people I know.						
5. I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites.						
6. I feel awful about White privilege.						
7. I accept responsibility to change White privilege.						
8. I am ashamed of my White privilege.						
9. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White.						
10. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing.						
11. Select "Strongly Disagree" (1) for this item.						
12. I am angry knowing I have White privilege.						

13. If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends.						
14. I have not done anything about White privilege.						
15. I look forward to creating a more racially equitable society.						
16. White people have it easier than people of color.						
17. I intend to work toward dismantling White privilege.						
18. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White.						
19. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White privilege.						
20. I'm glad to explore my White privilege.						
21. I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege.						
22. I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege.						
23. Plenty of people of color are more privileged than Whites.						
24. I take action to dismantle White privilege.						
25. White people should feel guilty about having White privilege.						
26. If I address White privilege, I might alienate my family.						
27. I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege.						
28. I worry about what giving up some White privileges might mean for me.						
29. I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that Whites have.						

## APPENDIX E

### Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

Please rate how much you agree with the statements below using the following scale:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

Question	1	2	3	4	5
1. Discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities is no longer a problem in the United States.					
2. It is easy to understand the anger of racial/ethnic minorities in America.					
3. Racial/ethnic minorities have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.					
4. Racial/ethnic minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.					
5. Racial/ethnic minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted.					
6. Over the past few years, racial/ethnic minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.					
7. Over the past the few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to racial/ethnic minorities than they deserve.					

APPENDIX F

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Form A  
(M-C Form A)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Please read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it applies to you. For each item, please mark TRUE or FALSE.

	Statement	TRUE	FALSE
1	It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.		
2	I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.		
3	No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.		
4	There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.		
5	I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.		
6	I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.		
7	I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.		
8	I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.		
9	There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.		
10	I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.		
11	I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.		

## APPENDIX G

### MTurk Invitation and Posting

Dear potential participant,

My name is Adam B. Hinshaw, and I am a Counseling Psychology doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. You are invited to participate in my research study examining attitudes about White privilege and personality traits. This study has been approved by the UMKC Institutional Review Board (816-235-5927).

**You will be asked to complete a few questionnaires, which should take approximately 15-20 minutes.** There will be no identifying information asked of you on any part of the survey, so your responses are completely anonymous and confidential in this regard. That being said, there is a possibility for a breach of confidentiality because MTurk is connected to your Amazon account, leaving an electronic record of your participation with Amazon, but the researchers will not be linking Amazon accounts to participant's responses. There is no known risk in participating in this study, and you are free to withdraw your participation at any time. There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. However, the information acquired from this study will help to extend knowledge regarding factors that contribute to White privilege. **In order to participate, you must identify as a White/Caucasian/European American person.**

**For completing this HIT, you will be compensated \$1 via Amazon MTurk.**

**Please complete the entire survey in a thoughtful manner. If you complete the survey too quickly (e.g., 10 minutes), suggesting that you did not answer the questions thoughtfully, you will not be compensated.**

**This HIT is periodically re-posted. If you've already completed this HIT previously, please do not complete it a second time. You will not be compensated a second time.**

If you have any questions about this study, you can email me at: hinshawab@umkc.edu.

**If you are interested in participating, please click on the survey link below and follow the directions on the first page. Clicking this link and beginning the survey indicates that you have read the description of the study and agree to participate.**

**At the end of the survey, you will receive a code to paste into the box below to receive credit for taking the survey. Make sure to leave this window open as you complete the survey. When you are finished, you will return to this page to paste the code into the box.**

Thank you in advance for your help and part in expanding psychological science!

Sincerely,

Principal Investigator:  
Adam B. Hinshaw, M.A.

Counseling Psychology Doctoral Candidate  
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## VITA

Adam Breakey Hinshaw was born on July 13, 1986 in Dallas, Texas, the only child of Karen and Chester Hinshaw. He earned his high school diploma at Jesuit College Preparatory School of Dallas in May 2005 and received his Bachelor of Arts in May 2009 from Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where he majored in psychology and English (Creative Writing), minored in philosophy, and received honors in English. During his undergraduate education, he studied abroad in Bath, England and Derry, Northern Ireland. From June 2009 to July 2011, Adam worked as a freelance writer, lacrosse coach, and crisis hotline counselor, among other things. In August 2011, he began studying for his Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology at the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC); he received his M.A. in Counseling and Guidance (General Emphasis) from UMKC in May 2015. While at UMKC, he worked as an office assistant in the Division of Counseling and Educational Psychology, a research assistant in the Office of Institutional Research and Assessment, and as adjunct instructor, teaching psychological development and psychological assessment. For his clinical practicums at UMKC, he worked as a therapist at Community Counseling and Assessment Services (CCAS), the UMKC Counseling Center, Benilde Hall, and the Kansas City Art Institute. His predoctoral psychology internship was at The University of Iowa's University Counseling Service from August 2016 thru July 2017. In February 2014 he was selected as a graduate student scholar of the Division of Psychoanalysis (Division 39) of the American Psychology Association. His professional publications are as follows:

Ross, A. S., **Hinshaw, A. B.**, & Murdock, N. L. (2016). Integrating the relational matrix: Attachment Style, differentiation of self, triangulation, and experiential avoidance. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 38(4), 400-411. doi: 10.1007/s10591-016-9395-5

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