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# Construct Validation of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale for Ashkenazic Jews in the United States

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CONSTRUCT VALIDATION OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL COSTS OF RACISM TO WHITES  
SCALE FOR ASHKENAZIC JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy of Counseling Psychology  
Seton Hall University  
2015

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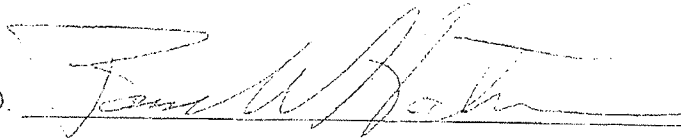
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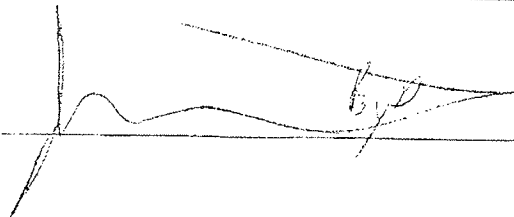
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I would like to express my love for the diverse ethnic and cultural fabric that constitutes my people. The diversity of our colors, customs, and expressions transcend time and civilizations, and inspire me daily. Specifically, my family and friends in the Hillside, NJ Jewish community have been an invaluable support to me. Lastly, I thank HaShem (G-d) for giving me the perseverance to embark on and complete this project.

## DEDICATION

This work is foremost dedicated to my parents, whose Jewish family narratives exposed me to the complexities of our European past and American tale from an early age. My parents imbued me with the confidence to wonder, ask, and seek the truth. My mother, Myra Hushansky, exemplified how to contribute to, and be part of, a community. She has embodied humility, dedication, and sensitivity throughout my life. My father, Otto M. Berk, taught me to seek what I sense is beyond my immediate reality. He taught me how to trust myself and to love my people. I also want to recognize my step-mother, Sara Berk, whose sensibilities, patience, and perceptiveness inform more of my Jewish identity than she knows.

This work, by extension, is also dedicated to my grandparents. My mother's parents, Benjamin and Goldy Hushansky, were the children of Eastern European Jews who immigrated to the United States at the turn of the 20th century. They valued education, hard work, and kindness above all else and imbued these values in my mother. My father's parents, Paul and Imu Berkowitz (whom I did not know), were Eastern European Holocaust survivors who immigrated to the United States in 1949. They educated my father in the nuances of anti-Semitism and how to survive it. My grandparents experienced remarkably different lives as Jews in this world. May their memory be a blessing for generations.

## ABSTRACT

This study is a construct validation of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) with Orthodox and non-Orthodox Ashkenazic (of European descent) American Jews. While Jewish-American biculturalism has been explored at length, there is a dearth of psychological research on Jewish-White biculturalism (Langman, 1999). Furthermore, the literature has yet to explore the impact of Jewish religious diversity on Ashkenazic-American self-perception as racially White beneficiaries of unearned privilege.

The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW) measures three dimensions of White racial attitudes: White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others. The PCRW has been validated on multiple university samples (Sifford, Ng & Wang, 2009; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) as well as with an employed post-university sample (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008). This study tests the psychometric validity of the PCRW factor structure with racially White Jews (Research Question 1) and examines differences in the factor structures of Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples (Research Question 1).

Using confirmatory factor analyses, the results indicated that the original PCRW factor structure is statistically valid for non-Orthodox Ashkenazic American Jews (i.e., those who identify as Conservative or Reform) but not with their Orthodox counterparts. Subsequent exploratory factor analyses revealed that item loadings for the non-Orthodox sample were nearly identical to the original PCRW model, while fewer items loaded on smaller factors for the Orthodox sample. The factor orders of the two samples also varied. While a factor identical to the White Guilt subscale accounted for the most variance explained in the non-Orthodox group, a factor composed of similar items accounted for the least variance explained in the Orthodox sample. The study discusses limitations, implications, and directions for future research.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the development of White racial identity models, psychometric instruments have tended to examine White racial attitudes using predominantly Christian samples. These measures may not accurately assess White people whose cultural, ethnic, or religious identities are more salient than their racial self-concept. Ashkenazic American Jews are one such White group whose racial attitudes may not accurately be captured and measured by an instrument normed on a non-Jewish White sample.

During the last four decades, psychological scholarship has seen an increase in research related to racial attitudes and identity development. Models of racial identity have tended to focus on the intersections of racism, privilege and ethno-cultural identity. The historically oppressed and structurally disenfranchised circumstances which befell African Americans imparted a specific theoretical perspective through which subsequent racial identity models developed. A core theoretical assumption of these models was that visible racial or ethnic groups (VREGs) experience a sense of reference to a White-normative, White-dominant U.S. society (Helms, 1990). This power differential aptly explains how covert and structural racism has remained a pervasive reality for many people of color in a post-Civil Rights multicultural U.S. society.

Models of White racial identity and White racial attitudes began to gain scholarly attention in the late 1980s. Influenced by the existing literature on African American identity, models of White identity inherited the theoretical assumption that a racial self-concept is grounded in an oppression-adaptive model (Choney & Behrens, 1996). As the dominant racial

group in the United States, White identity models became anchored in the assumption that racial self-actualization involves a process of recognizing one's unearned White privilege (Choney & Behrens, 1996; Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). This avenue of scholarship has played a foundational role in exploring how White racial identity and unearned covert privilege impacts diverse educational, professional, and civic settings. While White racial psychometric instruments have intended to promote multicultural competence in psychology literature, they have examined Whiteness from a specific theoretical perspective that may only be applicable to certain segments of the White population.

Developing culturally sound psychosocial instruments for use in clinical, occupational and educational settings helps ensure a pluralistic and just U.S. society. The psychosocial impact of White racial attitudes is an important aspect of understanding how multicultural settings affect mental health outcomes (Todd, Spanierman, & Aber, 2010). Instruments intended to measure White racial attitudes must account for within-group differences among the White population (Pope-Davis et al., 1999). One potentially unique, yet often racially invisible, White population is Ashkenazic Jews. Jews of European descent (i.e., Ashkenazic) are of particular interest because their visible racial appearance is generally similar to the dominant White Christian population, while their ethnic and religious heritage has been historically singled out as different (Schlosser, 2006; Shapiro, 1960). This dual identity is grounds to question the validity of using White racial attitude measures which were normed on Christians, with White Jews.

### **Theoretical Rational**

**Psychometrics.** The accuracy with which a psychometric instrument measures a psychological construct is predicated on the assumption that such a construct exists in the participants' psychological reality. When an instrument claims to possess external validity (i.e.,

to generalize from a sample to a population) its normative properties must account for variations in the broader population, which it claims to measure (Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 1991). Further research is needed to explore whether White racial attitude constructs developed on White Christians accurately measure the same constructs for White Jews.

The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), henceforth the PCRW, is a psychometric instrument that measures how racist and privileged attitudes among White people negatively impact their psychosocial wellbeing. The PCRW consists of three constructs: White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism ( $\alpha = .78 - .79$ ), White Guilt ( $\alpha = .70 - .73$ ), and White Fear of Others ( $\alpha = .63 - .69$ ). As with many quantitative psychometric instruments, these constructs were developed through exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. The PCRW was normed using two studies that consisted of White undergraduate participants ( $N = 361$  and  $N = 366$ ), of which 3% and 4% of the sample identified as Jewish, respectively. While this proportion is roughly reflective of the national Jewish population in the United States (U.S. Census, 2008), the much larger Christian and non-Jewish portions of the sample overshadow any potential to reveal distinct Jewish perspectives on White racial attitudes. Furthermore, it is plausible to consider that a sizable portion of the sample that identified their religious affiliation as “None” or “Other” may in fact come from Christian backgrounds or were socialized in the dominant U.S. Christian culture.

Revalidation of the PCRW was successfully conducted with another undergraduate sample in a different region of the United States (Sifford, Ng & Wang, 2009) as well as with a working adult population (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008), however, religious affiliation was not reported in these studies. To date, no further normative variations have tested the breadth of the

PCRW's application to diverse White samples, and specifically whether it accurately measures the psychosocial costs of racism to Jewish White people.

**Jews as White.** The salience of Jewish identity among American Jews is expressed in an expansive range of diverse practices, beliefs, and affiliations (Schlosser, 2006). Regardless of this diversity, recognition and identification of Jewish heritage and distinctness from Christians is a relative constant among Jews (Altman, Inman, Fine, Ritter, & Howard, 2010). Langman (1999) outlines how generations of American assimilation has fostered ambivalence and internalized anti-Semitism in the Jewish consciousness. Whether insular or assimilatory, Ashkenazic Jews may very well experience racial Whiteness differently from White Christians (Cutler, 2006), especially as many Jews continue to feel distinct from the dominant Christian majority (Langman, 1999).

Ashkenazic Jews (i.e., Jews who trace their lineage to Europe) share a historical and cultural narrative that is significantly defined by Christian European anti-Semitism (Langman, 1999). The horrors of the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, Russian and Eastern European pogroms, and the Holocaust are but hallmarks in the consistently violent history of European Christendom. Langman (1999) outlines an extensive record of expulsions, acts of violence, discriminatory ordinances and anti-Semitic beliefs and accusations, which characterize European Christendom for at least the last millennium (pp. 98-111). In response, generations of Ashkenazic Jews have accrued a sense of distrust for, and distinction from, European host societies (Langman, 1999). In America, this sense of otherness persists in shaping aspects of Jewish identity (Altman et al., 2010). As such, it challenges the assumption that Ashkenazic Jews identify with the descendants of their European persecutors or readily experience their racial Whiteness as a primary identity. Furthermore, it questions whether the presumed association



between White privilege and racial identity is salient for Ashkenazic Jews. As a cultural entity that has endured the status and identity of an oppressed minority group by (White) Christian European societies for 2000 years, it is feasible that Ashkenazic Jews may not identify with the dominant European Christian population or their North American White descendants. Based on these foundational cultural disparities, it is plausible that Ashkenazic Jews would respond to the PCRW questions differently than would White Christians.

**Jewish values as unique.** Jews have been defined as a religious group, ethnic group, culture, and race (Altman et al., 2010). Regardless of their definition, Judaism as a religion and Jews as a cultural enclave emphasize social justice ideals that are relevant to contemporary multicultural issues. The Torah commands the Children of Israel to “love the stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt” (Deuteronomy 10:17-19). This principle is associated with other Scriptural directives which compel empathy for vulnerable populations (Deuteronomy 24:17-20). Collective reflection on past suffering is also interpreted by contemporary Torah scholars to be a psychological foundation for empathy towards others (Davis, Scherman, Zlotowitz, & Blinder, 2010). Charity and compassion for the downtrodden and oppressed, as well maintenance of a justice system (Deuteronomy 16:19-21) are ethical principles that pervade not only Scripture, but contemporary Jewish educational and social institutions as well (Union for Reform Judaism 2011). Since the turn of the twentieth century, American Jews have been disproportionately active in social justice movements geared towards protecting the rights of immigrants, African Americans, women, children, and low-income workers (Brodkin, 2003). Jewish cultural values which promote the wellbeing of diverse U.S. populations are evident from secular and religious perspectives.

While the popular depiction of America's foundational values espouse "Judeo-Christian" tenets, for segments of the Jewish population these social principles may have little to do with Americanism and ostensibly nothing to do with Christianity. Much of Jewish socialization stresses the distinction between Jews and their host societies (Altman et al., 2010; Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011) including religious directives to maintain a separation from non-Jewish cultures (Leviticus 20:23-24). While Ashkenazic Jews may not comprise a visible racial/ethnic group (VREG) in the White-dominant U.S. racial context, assumptions about how White Jews view themselves appears open to further examination. American Ashkenazic Jews experience an identity that is simultaneously part of a racial mainstream and a tribal minority (Altug, 2011), simultaneously dominant and non-dominant.

**Diversity within U.S. Jewry.** Among American Jews, the cultural lifestyle differences between Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and secular populations demarcate broad yet significant within-group difference in Jewish expression and self-perception (Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011; Miller & Lovinger, 2000; Shapiro, 2002). The social and Halachic (see Definition of Terms section) differences between these groups are plausible grounds to suspect significant differences in their sensibilities towards White racial identity and attitudes. While significant differences in White racial attitudes may exist between White Jews and non-Jewish White people, differences between Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and secular Ashkenazic Jews may be equally informative.

### **Significance of Study**

This study examines the construct validity of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) on an exclusively U.S. Ashkenazic Jewish sample. Through examining the factor structure of the PCRW, I seek to reveal which, if any, of its three psychosocial constructs (White Empathic

Reactions Towards Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others) exist for White Jews. This study will contribute to the body of research on White racial identity as well as explore the intersection of Jewish and racial identities. As the nation becomes more diverse, what Whiteness means, and to whom, must continually be reexamined.

A second layer of this study will examine intra-Jewish diversity. Through running separate analyses on Orthodox, non-Orthodox, and secular participants, this study may reveal how broad differences in Jewish lifestyles relate to Ashkenazic White racial identity. Specifically, I hope to generate questions about how participation and visibility of Jewish practice and affiliation impacts Ashkenazic Jews' attitudes towards their Whiteness. Lastly, this study may contribute to the broader discourse on biculturalism and multiple identities.

### **Definition of Terms**

**Jew/Jewish.** For the purposes of this study, a Jew is defined as someone with at least one Jewish parent (which is not consistent with matrilineal Jewish Law, but is generally reflective of the broader Jewish population in the United States). People who identify as Jewish but have one parent who is not Jewish will be included in the data analysis so long as they also indicate that Judaism constitutes their primary religious identity and that their non-Jewish parent identifies as White (see Appendix C for Demographic Questionnaire).

**Ashkenazic.** Ashkenazic (colloquially Ashkenazi) refers to the ethnic and cultural distinction of Jews whose lineage can be traced to Europe. While the etymology of the word *Ashkenaz* is often linked to the region of present-day Germany (Roth, 1971), Ashkenazic Jews settled in Eastern and Western European lands. Ashkenazic Jews include those whose immediate ancestors resided in non-European locations (e.g., South America, Australia, Israel, South Africa) so long as emigration to those regions was preceded by residence in Europe (Roth,

1971). In the United States, most Jews are ethnically Ashkenazic (Miller & Lovinger, 2000).

***Sephardic exclusion criterion.*** As a result of the Spanish Inquisition, the Jews who relocated in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern lands that included North African and Arab societies became known as Sephardic (Langman, 1999). To a lesser extent, smaller Sephardic communities developed in France, Holland, England (Shapiro, 1960) and southern Italy (Roth, 1971). Colloquially included in the term Sephardic are various Jewish communities and cultures from Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia who trace their lineage to the Babylonian exile by Assyria (Shapiro, 1960). In contrast to Ashkenazic Jews, this latter division shares many of the religious and social customs of the Spanish Jews' descendants, which is why both groups receive the same ethnic nomenclature of Sephardic (Langman, 1999). For the purposes of this study, all Sephardic Jews are excluded from the sample. In addition, people with one Ashkenazic parent and one Sephardic parent are excluded as a theoretical assumption of this study requires a homogenous sample of racially White and ethnically Ashkenazic Jews.

**White.** Inclusion criteria require that participants identify their race as White. White is defined as self-identifying as Caucasian, European-American, American of European Ancestry, and White. White identification refers to a racial group and includes Ashkenazic Jews.

**Halacha/Halachic.** Halacha refers to Jewish Law. Halacha affects many aspects of Jewish life, attitudes, and social beliefs (Rabinowitz, 2000). Halacha is observed as a religious obligation for Orthodox Jews, whereas it is interpreted as a more flexible tradition for non-Orthodox Jews (Rabinowitz, 2000; Schlosser, 2006). Halachic refers to the implications which Jewish Law imposes on a given situation or person.

**Independent variables.** The independent variables for this study consist of three subsamples of Ashkenazic Jews: Orthodox, non-Orthodox Practicing, and secular.

*Jewish subsample overview.* This study examines whether differences in White racial attitudes exist between White Jewish and White non-Jewish populations. While Ashkenazic Jewry ostensibly represents White Jewry, differences in religious practice shape significant cultural differences between Jews. Differences in Jewish identity, such as variations in Jewish ethnocentric worldviews, may have a crucial impact on how ethnically Ashkenazic, yet culturally disparate, Jewish subgroups view their Whiteness. As such, three broad groups of American Ashkenazic Jews will be distinguished and termed “Orthodox”, “non-Orthodox practicing”, and “secular.” Christian denominations that pose as or appear to be Jewish, such as Messianic Synagogues or Jews for Jesus, are excluded from any definition of Jewish, as they inherently are proselytizing Christians.

*Orthodox.* The term *Orthodox* refers to Orthodox Jews. Inherent in the operational definition of an Orthodox Jew is the commitment to and participation in a lifestyle that conforms to Jewish Law and the theological belief that the Torah and certain subsequent Scriptures are immutable (Rabinowitz, 2000). Schlosser (2006) identifies observance of kosher dietary laws and the Sabbath as key elements of Orthodoxy. In contrast to Conservative and Reform populations, the nearly total enrollment of Orthodox children in Jewish religious private schools denotes an important sociocultural feature of this population (Rabinowitz, 2000). Orthodoxy is a category which can include a range of cultural expressions such as Hassidic, Modern-Orthodox and Yeshiva seminary students (Rabinowitz, 2000).

*Non-Orthodox practicing.* Non-Orthodox practicing Jews are defined as people who identify as either Conservative or Reform Jews. Miller and Lovinger (2000) highlight the “considerable consistency between Reform and Conservative Jews, as compared with Orthodox Jews, in beliefs about social and moral issues” (p. 269). While Conservative Judaism retains

more rabbinic traditions than the Reform movement, both sects observe significantly less ritual and Jewish Law than Orthodoxy (Miller & Lovinger, 2000). Consistent with this religious behavioral approach, Miller and Lovinger (2000) describe that “Reform or Conservative Jews may interpret Jewish law at a symbolic level rather than at the literal level” (p. 269) as well as emphasize their ethnic connection to Judaism rather than their religious practice.

*Secular.* Secular Jews are defined as people who have Jewish lineage and identify as Jews, but do not subscribe to any religious observance. Malkin (2005) explains that:

The concept of “secular Judaism”...refers to the section of the Jewish people who do not feel bound by any observance of religious commandments, and also to the extensive body of culture and creative work produced by secular Jews over the past 250 years” (p. 106)

References to Yiddish culture and humanism tend to predominate contemporary American secular Jewry (Malkin, 2005), while Yiddish language fluency and Zionism played a central role during the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century (Zhitlowky, 1976). The defining characteristic of secular Jews is the absence of any religious observance.

**Dependent variables.** The dependent variables are twofold. First, multiple tests of model fit (CFI, GFI, AGFI, RMSEA) through confirmatory factor analysis will answer whether each of the three samples fits the original PCRW three-factor model. Subsequent exploratory factor analyses with Jewish samples that do not fit the original PCRW factor structure will reveal if unique factor structures (composed of factors with an eigenvalue  $\geq 1.0$ ) exist for that group.

**PCRW.** The PCRW refers to the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), which is a quantitative psychometric instrument measuring White racial attitudes. The constructs which comprise the PCRW are based on three factors.

*White Empathic Reaction Towards Racism.* The first factor on the PCRW is called White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism. This construct reflects the presence of empathic emotional reactions (anger, sadness, helplessness) that White people experience in response to racism that affects people of color. The exploratory factor analysis revealed strong eigenvalues ( $\lambda = .45 - .75$ ) for this six-item factor and showed acceptable internal consistency during test development (EFA  $\alpha = .78$ ; CFA  $\alpha = .79$ ).

*White Guilt.* The second factor on the PCRW is referred to as White Guilt. White Guilt refers to a White person's sense of guilt and shame about the unearned privileges that current institutional and structural racism affords them. It is a five-item factor ( $\lambda = .50 - .72$ ), which showed acceptable internal consistency (EFA  $\alpha = .73$ ; CFA  $\alpha = .70$ ) during test development.

*White Fear of Others.* White Fear of Others is a five item factor ( $\lambda = .36 - .82$ ) which measures White peoples' fear and distrust of people of color. This construct is conceptualized as a result of socialized cognitive distortions and learned affective responses to racial stimuli. White Fear of Others showed less than preferable internal consistency during the exploratory (EFA  $\alpha = .63$ ) and confirmatory (CFA  $\alpha = .69$ ) factor analyses but was found to be acceptable ( $\alpha = .78$ ) during a two-week test-retest administration ( $n = 35$ ).

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

**Research question 1.** Research Question 1 explores differences in White racial attitudes between Ashkenazic Jews and non-Jewish White people. Collective Jewish consciousness about Christian European anti-Semitism, historically discriminatory and oppressive U.S. policies, and Jewish values emphasizing social justice foster a distinct worldview within an American cultural context (Altman et al., 2010; Altug, 2011; Brodtkin, 2003; Dubow, Pargament, Boxer, & Tarakeshwar, 2000; Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005; Schlosser, 2006). As such,

Research Question 1 is concerned with the emergence of factor structures that do not fit the original three-factor PCRW model.

**Hypothesis 1.** Hypothesis 1 states that at least one Jewish sample will not fit the original PCRW three-factor model as evidenced by poor model-fit index results for one or more confirmatory factor analyses (see Data Analysis section).

**Research question 2.** Research Question 2 explores cultural diversity within American Ashkenazic Jewry. Orthodox Jewish values tend to emphasize religious rather than racial identity, whereas non-Orthodox communities tend to promote pluralistic rather than Judeo-centric values. Jews identifying as secular tend to focus on humanistic values and cultural aspects of being Jewish rather than religious or ritualistic observance. Since racial identity may be less salient for some Jewish groups than for others, it is plausible that White racial attitudes constitute a less relevant psychosocial construct for these Jews. As such, Research Question 2 examines whether unique PCRW factor structures exist for Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and/or secular Jewish samples.

**Hypothesis 2.** Hypothesis 2 is based on the condition that at least one Jewish sample CFA shows a poor fit with the original three-factor PCRW model (Hypothesis 1). Hypothesis 2 states that a unique factor structure will emerge for a subsequent exploratory factor analysis (EFA) conducted with a Jewish sample's PCRW response data.

## **Summary**

White racial attitude measures have largely evolved in response to oppression-adaptive models of non-White racial identity. As such, White identity models have focused on constructs related to unearned White privilege. The PCRW is one such model that possesses good psychometric properties on three factors related to this theoretical foundation.



The PCRW factor structure has not, to date, been validated on a White Jewish sample. This study aims to explore the factor structure of the 16-item PCRW on an entirely Ashkenazic Jewish sample. Furthermore, distinction between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews will be examined in hopes to elucidate any potential findings related to cultural differences between these broad Jewish subsets.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Mental Health Benefits of Multicultural Psychology**

Conceptualizing and treating patients struggling with mental health concerns requires understanding their inner difficulties and their contextual circumstances. One such necessary external consideration is the patient's cultural worldview. Belief systems, interpersonal norms, and self-perception are all influenced by cultural worldview. With regards to psychotherapy, Ivey, D'Andrea, Ivey, and Simek-Morgan (2007) argue that a common limitation of the psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioral, and humanistic-existential paradigms is the inherent cultural biases of the model, and therefore the clinician. Clinically relevant multicultural factors which commonly present in the psychotherapeutic relationship, such as perceived racial, gender, and socioeconomic similarities between client and counselor (Helms & Carter, 1991), warrant further scholarly attention to the role of cultural identity (Tokar & Swanson, 1991) in mental health assessment and intervention.

#### **Culturally Valid Psychometric Assessment**

As multicultural psychology becomes an increasingly accepted and integral factor in psychological intervention (Miller & Sheu, 2008), the need for culturally sensitive assessment becomes more apparent. Areas of psychological adjustment related to acculturation, bicultural competence, and racial and ethnic identity represent burgeoning areas of important clinical assessment. Clinician biases related to dominant-culture assumptions, such as an individualistic European-American worldview, may jeopardize the validity of clinical assessment (Kwan, 2001) including the development and use of psychometric instruments (Cozby, 2001; Miller & Sheu,

2008). Culturally varied and appropriate normative psychometric development is therefore not only a social justice issue, but a statistical necessity.

**Factor analysis.** Factor analysis is a widely used statistical technique employed to identify psychologically unique and conceptually homogenous items among a pool of generally relative questions. These conceptually distinct groupings are referred to as factors, which are composed of statistically related items. Through subsequent statistical analyses, each factor is distilled to represent conceptually unique constructs. For example, mood disorders and anxiety disorders are both broad syndromes that share some common areas of mental health dysfunction. They are composed of diagnostic symptoms, which, while often overlapping, are distinct enough from each other to be conceptualized as different mental health disorders.

If a factor analysis is conducted on a sample whose participants share a common culture, then the symptoms they exhibit will be psychosocially normative for that culture. Symptoms related to mood disorders or anxiety disorders may present differently, however, for members of racially and ethnically disparate groups (Miller & Sheu, 2008). As such, when psychosocial constructs are developed on a particular sample, it is critical to recognize that a cultural worldview is also being captured through factor analysis used in test development.

***Cultural considerations of factor analysis.*** The cultural composition of a normative sample can be a strength or weakness of factor analysis in social science research. If the instrument claims to measure psychological characteristics of the members of the group on which it was normed, then its homogenous normative sample lends it increased external validity. If, however, this instrument claims to measure psychosocial phenomena in a broader population, utilizing a homogeneous normative sample ultimately thwarts its external validity. When utilized

with an underrepresented population, this instrument may become open to psychometric scrutiny and considered culturally biased.

As factor analysis becomes more culturally sensitive, scholarship must revisit the question of within-group differences when exploring racial attitudes. Despite America's rich history of European immigration, European-Americans tend to be conceptualized as White Americans. This generalization fails to incorporate significant cultural differences between ethnically diverse subgroups of the White population, particularly for Ashkenazic Jews.

### **American Jewish Identity**

Sociological literature on American Jewish identity abounds. Scholarship in the psychological canon is much sparser and research on Jews in multicultural psychology is peculiarly lacking (Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011; Schlosser, 2006). The definition of Jews has been described as more than a religious affiliation and often as an ethnic group that maintains its identity across host societies (Altman et al., 2010; Friedlander et al. 2010). Schlosser (2006) highlights that Jews can come from different races, so while anti-Semitic persecutors, such as Adolf Hitler, have referred to a Jewish race, trans-societal Jewish identity may be better described as an ethno-religious (Park, 2012) nationality.

The majority of psychological research on American Jewish identity has explored this group from a historically European-American point of view (Friedman et al, 2005; Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011; Schlosser, 2006). While the overwhelming majority of American Jews are of Ashkenazic descent, the United States also hosts large Sephardic communities in New York, New Jersey, and California, as well as smaller enclaves dispersed throughout other Jewish communities. Psychological scholarship pertaining to American Jewish identity has, however, assumed a decidedly Ashkenazic ethnic lens reflecting the remnants of a distinctly European

Jewry. Over generations, these Ashkenazic Jews have tended to experience a decrease in European identity and an adaptation to an American-Jewish biculturalism (Rosner, Gardner, & Hong, 2011), and by default a White-Jewish duality (Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011). Jews of European descent can often pass for White (Schlosser, Talleyrand, Lyons, & Baker, 2007) in an American multicultural society that is hypervigilant about racial diversity.

The bicultural tensions and adaptations which frequent psychological scholarship on American Jewish identity (Dubow et al., 2000; Friedlander et al., 2010; Friedman et al., 2005; Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011) seem to describe a dual national identity rather than an overlap of ethno-religious and racial identities. While the majority of American Jews are racially labeled White (Friedman et al., 2005; Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011; Schlosser, 2006; Schlosser et al., 2007), no empirical research to date has specifically examined Jewish and White racial biculturalism. Interestingly, the American Religious Identification Survey (2009) reported that “The Jewish religious population is in slow decline due mainly to a movement towards [not identifying a religion] among young ethnic Jews... [that is] part of a general trend among younger white Americans” (p. 7). Thus, exploration of White racial identity among American Ashkenazic Jews seems appropriate for examination.

**Elements of Jewish-American biculturalism.** As a group, American Jews appear to identify with more than religious tenets and traditions. Altman et al. (2010) found six qualitative themes related to Jewish group membership among Conservative Jews:

- (a) perception of Jewish identity based in multiple influences, (b) personalization of a Jewish identity, (c) reinforcers of a Jewish identity, (d) challenges in holding on to Jewish identity, (e) critical incidents necessitating the expression of one's Jewishness, and (f) critical incidents necessitating the denial of one's Jewishness. (p. 163)

Friedman et al. (2005) revealed related qualitative themes in their analysis of Jewish American identity. Among others, notable general themes included “generativity in practice and culture; feeling marginalized; aware of discrimination” (pp. 79 – 80) and typical themes included “experience of discrimination; cultural identity is environment-sensitive; sense of pride; cultural identity and religious practice are congruent” (p. 80). Common elements related to in-group membership and mainstream alienation can be seen across both of these studies.

***Duality.*** Many qualitative themes relate to the struggle between promotion and concealment of Jewish expression. Accounts of tension, contrast, and struggle between American and Jewish identities (Altman et al., 2010) often allude to a sense of selection between identities based on social context. Friedman et al. (2005) specifically identified “cultural identity is environment-sensitive” as a central theme. Drawing from participant data, they cite a tendency for American Jews to shift between identities (p. 80). This duality appears to be a seminal element of bicultural identity negotiation for American Jews across studies.

***Xenophobia.*** Another common theme found in qualitative scholarship is the recognition of historical anti-Semitism and a collective awareness of contemporary, albeit subtle, discrimination. Certain studies have revealed separate themes for direct experiences with anti-Semitism and awareness of discrimination towards other Jews (Friedman et al., 2005), whereas other studies have found a single construct pertaining to an awareness of Jewish discrimination (Altman et al., 2010). The shared narrative of historical persecution also affects younger Jews in America. Dubow et al. (2000) found that “many Jewish early adolescents continue to experience tension, worry, and discomfort in relation to the larger Christian culture” (p. 433). This collective awareness that historic and contemporary trends of xenophobia towards Jews appears to be a consistent formative element in Jewish American identity.

***Marginalization.*** Qualitative themes such as “challenges to holding on to Jewish identity” (Altman et al., 2010) illustrate the subtleties and realities of feeling underrepresented in the dominant American culture. Variant themes seemed to cluster around a sense of needing to educate others about Judaism, recognizing a lack of awareness about Jewish culture in mainstream America, and experiencing a cultural tension that non-Jewish Americans are perceived to not experience. Friedman et al. (2005) found maladaptive psychosocial outcomes associated with the general theme “feeling marginalized”, noting that “all respondents mentioned at least one incident in their lives in which they felt inferior and, consequently, ‘bad’ about themselves” (p. 80) in contrast to mainstream U.S. culture.

***Positive themes.*** Positive bicultural characteristics have been found across qualitative studies. Experiences such as feeling a connection with Israel, engaging in Jewish traditions, a desire to pass Jewish heritage to the next generation, feelings of belongingness, attachment, a shared history and values system, as well as a sense of Jewish pride indicate that healthy elements of Jewish-American bicultural identity exist (Altman et al., 2010; Schlosser, 2006). This minority identity may also offer a buffering effect that protects Jews’ self-esteem from negative messages experienced from mainstream culture (Kakhnovets & Wolf, 2011). The multicultural social dilemmas that American Jews face seem to provide both challenging and rewarding psychosocial experiences that contribute to American Jewish identity.

***Jewish identity and mental health.*** Research has pointed to several correlations between salience of Jewish identity and mental health issues. Kakhnovets and Wolf (2011) found that Jewish ethnic salience was positively correlated with self-esteem and life satisfaction and negatively correlated with depression. Through the initial development of the American Jewish Identity Scale, Friedlander et al. (2010) found that “participants who identified most strongly as

Jews reported greater private collective self-esteem on the one hand but felt more stress in relating to non-Jews” (p. 356). Dubow et al. (2000) found that higher salience of Jewish identity was associated with higher vigilance to bicultural tension, but also with increased utilization of religion, spirituality and their Jewish community as coping resources. Participants identified seeking God’s support and direction, seeking cultural/social support and spiritual struggle as mechanisms through which they coped. Consistent with Altman et al. (2010), these studies indicate that bicultural Jewish identity is not only contextually sensitive, but also highly personalized and relevant to mental health outcomes.

**Jewish-White biculturalism.** References in psychological research have been made to the overlap in White racial identity and Ashkenazic Jewish identity. To date, scholarship has not targeted these constructs as the focus of empirical quantitative investigation. Anecdotal references in qualitative studies, literature reviews, and non-empirical articles have discussed Jewish Whiteness in America, raising provocative questions about this bicultural identity.

The dearth of multicultural research on Jewish and White racial identity may be related to what Kakhnovets and Wolf describe as the “perception of Jews as just mainstream White Americans, and the perceived high economic status of Jews” (2011, p. 501). Stereotyped higher socioeconomic status may also play a role in a perceived association between Jews and dominance in society. Citing Goldberg, as well as Rosen and Weltman, Friedman et al. suggest that since “ethnicity in the United States is viewed in relation to access to power and wealth, and because Jews are represented at all socioeconomic levels, they tend not to be viewed in the same way as other minority groups” (2005, p. 77). Accordingly, Kakhnovets and Wolf warn that:

The label “White” implies a shared set of values, a common history, and the same sense of privilege among all members of the group [and that] this kind of categorization may



confuse race with culture and/or ethnicity, perpetuating thinking that marginalizes entire groups of people. (2011, p. 501)

The perceived associations between wealth, power, and race are evident in the literature yet fail to account for an Ashkenazic Jewish self-perception of their own White racial identity.

*Christian privilege.* The subtle yet ubiquitous overlap in Christian and White mainstream American cultures is fundamental to exploring Jewish perceptions of Ashkenazic Whiteness. Schlosser (2006) outlines the role which Christian privilege plays in fostering an invisible Jewish identity. Comparing White privilege to Christian privilege, Cutler (2006) found that Jews in a Southern Christian culture perceived mainstream Christianity in a similar way to mainstream Whiteness. Dubow et al. (2000) found Jewish adolescents experienced a “tension associated with religious minority status in the predominantly Christian society in the United States” (p. 433). Interestingly, Sinclair and Milner’s (2005) qualitative study of British Jewish identity contrasted Jews with “White English” citizens (p. 105), implying that Jews were not perceived as White in this culture. The role that Christianity plays as an unofficial, yet culturally normative, religion in American mainstream society seems to have an important influence on the bicultural experience of Ashkenazic Jews’ ethnic and racial identities.

**Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews.** Differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews demarcate arguably the most significant lifestyle rift in American Jewry. While both camps are host to a range of subcultures (Schlosser, 2006), practical differences in observance of Jewish Law define these two broad categories. Historically, the American Conservative Jewish movement expected Orthodoxy to dissipate with time and exposure to American culture (Shapiro, 2002). In the last half century, the sustained development of Orthodox communities and infrastructure has created new challenges within the community and fostered an ideological

shift to the right. Shapiro (2002) illustrates the cultural dichotomy of an Orthodox Judaism and American materialism that Modern Orthodox communities have continually sought to balance.

Non-Orthodox sects, commonly Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist congregations are markedly more integrated and assimilated into American society than many Orthodox Jews. Schlosser (2006) notes that non-Orthodox Jews partake in Jewish customs as a tradition, rather than as a Commandment or religious Law. Furthermore, he illustrates Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist denominations' emphasis on progressive (i.e., Western, Liberal) interpretations of Jewish teachings and creativity in adapting Jewish practices and values to fit modernity. Somewhat conversely, Schlosser highlights that Orthodox populations emphasize:

Keeping kosher, observing the Sabbath,... following the laws of family purity (which address sexual relations and ritual cleanliness)... [belief] that the Torah is the word of G-d,... men and women sit separately during religious services...[and] [conduct services] entirely in Hebrew. (pp. 426-427)

The contrast between Orthodoxy and non-Orthodox Jewish cultures is reflected in how they relate to secular mainstream American life as well. Shapiro (2002) illustrates the gradations of insularity and assimilation with which both camps respond to American culture. While Jewish diversity is multifaceted and complex, lifestyle differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews are particularly pronounced.

*Psychosocial differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews.* The aforementioned differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jewish factions may impact how these groups perceive their White racial identity. Schachter (2002) revealed a qualitative theme termed “identity must allow for mutual recognition” in his study with Modern Orthodox

young adults. Findings indicated that these Jews experienced difficulty developing bicultural identity when they felt unrecognized by American mainstream culture. Conversely, Dubow et al. (2000) found that Jewish adolescents with lower Jewish ethnic salience experienced fewer stressors related to bicultural themes.

The notion that Orthodox Jewish identity assumes a higher Jewish ethnic salience is not farfetched. Friedman et al. (2005) found that Jewish religious observance was highly correlated with Jewish cultural identity and that Jewish identity salience was more prevalent than American identity for these participants. In contrast, this study found that Jews who reported less Jewish ethnic salience or identified as unaffiliated experienced higher American identity salience. Citing Goodman, Kakhnovets and Wolf (2011, p. 504) summarize that “Orthodox Jews tended to score higher than Conservative and Reform Jews on 3 of 4 subscales of the collective self-esteem measure (private self-esteem, membership, and importance to self-concept).” These findings indicate that Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews experience American identity salience differently and that these bicultural differences are implicated in psychosocial outcomes.

The bicultural ambiguities which Ashkenazic Jews face when navigating American and White identities may likely be further confounded when introducing Orthodox and non-Orthodox cultural factors. Implications for mental health outcomes seem related to context, ethnic, and religious salience. Racial identity, particularly White racial identity, is the least explored bicultural aspect of American Jewish identity, especially as it pertains to mental health outcomes and psychological scholarship.

### **White Racial Identity**

Racial identity is comprised of multifaceted aspects of a group’s heritage, cultural ideologies, geographic origin, sociopolitical narratives, religious ideology, interpersonal

customs, and assumptions (Ivey et al., 2007). White racial identity development, however, has been conceptualized largely through person-environment models that measure cognitive-affective development about attitudes towards non-White racial stimuli (Helms, 1997). Such conceptualizations purport an inextricable relationship between White identity and White people's historical dominance in the United States. One way White racial identity development has been conceptualized over the last three decades is as a process of self-actualization and awareness of White privilege (Helms & Carter, 1991; Sue et al., 1998). In a post-Civil Rights era, contemporary theories of White racism tend to reflect a tension between superficial egalitarianism and covert prejudice (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee & Browne, 2000).

**White privilege.** White privilege is a worldview that assumes social justice can exist while simultaneously treating European Americans as a reference group. White privilege fosters structural and covert social discrimination through which White people benefit directly and indirectly (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). It is predicated on forms of covert and subtle racial discrimination against people of color, and by which White people, while often unaware, nonetheless benefit. In the 1980s, research began to explore psychological constructs related to White racial attitudes about White privilege in a post-civil rights era (Choney & Rowe, 1994).

### **Foundational Assessment Models of White Racial Identity**

**White Racial Identity Development.** Janet Helms' 1984 model of White racial identity development (WRID) is the most prominently reviewed and accessible model of White racial ego status (Choney & Behrens, 1996). Helms's model is predicated on the assumption that White people are socialized to believe that they are entitled to certain social privileges, which are covertly protected by the maintenance of a racial status quo (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Accordingly, healthy ego development is dependent on White people accepting the falsity of

their historical dominance (Pope-Davis et al., 1999) and moving towards egalitarian humanistic self-actualization. Helms assigns information process strategies (IPS) for each ego status. IPSs are cognitive mechanisms through which White people interpret racial stimuli. As a formative and impactful step in White racial identity development literature, a brief overview of Helm's 1984 model follows:

**WRID stages.** The *Contact* stage is marked by obliviousness to societal injustices, including White privilege, and includes racial IPSs such as denial and avoidance. The *Disintegration* stage represents a point of significant moral dilemma surrounding race and racism. Disintegration provokes anxiety in White people that causes them to evaluate the options of loyalty to their own racial group or potential egalitarian changes. During disintegration, racial IPSs include ambivalence and suppression of racial stimuli interpretation. The *Reintegration* stage depicts a reactive and purposeful regression to xenophobic negative appraisals of people of color and an inflated identification with one's White identity. Reintegration IPSs are marked by absolutist cognitive distortions about racial stimuli. *Pseudo-Independence* follows reintegration and is characterized of a superficial identification with Whiteness and an intellectualized tolerance of people of color. Pseudo-Independent IPSs include conditional regard and cognitive restricting about racial stimuli.

The final three stages of Helms's WRID ego status identity model signal a genuine relinquishment of White-privilege schemata. During the *Immersion* stage Helms depicts a process of questioning and exploration about White privilege and racism. Immersion IPSs are hypervigilant and cognitive-affective and appear to seek reconciliation between one's identity and remorse about White-privilege. Subsequently, *Emersion* appears to describe a resettled sense of awareness and security about White racial identity. It moves beyond the rejection of

Whiteness and focuses on congruence and acceptance. Hallmarks of Emersion are participation in likeminded multicultural communities, lifestyle changes that incorporate awareness, and rejection of privilege. The last stage is *Autonomy*, which is marked by internally driven, humanistic appraisals of others and self, rather than racist and privileged interpersonal rubrics.

Generally, Helms's model of White racial identity development progresses from denial about White privilege, to defensiveness and superficial White identity, to acceptance and exploration of White privilege, and finally to a commitment to humanism. Helms and Carter's (1991) White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) was originally conceptualized as a linear stage model instrument. Subsequently, this psychometric scale was redefined as a dynamic ego status model (Helms, 1997; Pope-Davis et al., 1999).

**White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale.** The WRIAS is composed of 50 items, across five factors (Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, and Autonomy). Summarizing two of Helms and Carter's (1991) validation studies, Pope-Davis et al. (1999) highlight the WRIAS's moderate to strong subscale reliability ( $\alpha = .55$ ,  $\alpha = .77$ ,  $\alpha = .80$ ,  $\alpha = .71$ ,  $\alpha = .67$ , and  $\alpha = .67$ ,  $\alpha = .76$ ,  $\alpha = .75$ ,  $\alpha = .65$ ,  $\alpha = .65$ ). The WRIAS is not only the most widely referenced scale of White racial attitudes (Sue et al., 1998), but it represents a foundational step in White identity conceptualization and psychometric development. Criticism of the WRIAS factor structure and intercorrelations (Behrens, 1997) led to reexamination and discussion of Disintegration and Reintegration statuses, as well as Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy statuses, as single constructs.

**Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale.** The Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale-Preliminary (ORAS-P) was developed by Choney and Behrens (1996) and offers an alternative to Helms and Carter's WRIAS. The ORAS-P conceptualizes White racial consciousness as opposed to identity

development. The main variables considered are exploration of ethnicity and commitment to ethnic group; combinations of various statuses of these variables define different racial outlooks and consciousness.

**ORAS-P statuses.** Choney and Behrens (1996) distinguished between *achieved* and *unachieved* statuses of White racial consciousness. Initial factor analysis confirmed what their theoretical background proposed: three constructs of unachieved White racial consciousness and four constructs of achieved status. Unachieved consciousness included *avoidant* (neither explored nor committed to their ethnic background), *dependent* (committed but not exploring, i.e., dependent on a stereotypical sense of racial identity), or *dissonant* (exploring racial/ethnic heritage but ambivalent about their identity definition as a White person) categories. These unachieved consciousnesses all share some aspect of an incomplete or unfulfilled sense of White racial self-reflection.

The achieved status includes four White racial consciousness constructs. The *dominative* type is marked by ethnocentric commitment and foreclosed exploration of White and other racial group history and heritage. The *conflictive* White racial attitude is described as not overtly racist but not covertly non-racist. This attitude opposes discrimination, but simultaneously perpetuates the racial status quo in subtle ways. The *reactive* type of achieved status reacts to White privilege awareness by identifying with ethnic minority groups and rejecting Whiteness. This construct appears high in ethnic exploration but tends to be reactionary rather than intentional regarding identity commitment. The final achieved status is *integrative*, which is marked by an awareness of White racial privilege, while being simultaneously committed to social justice.

**ORAS-P validity.** The factor analysis for the ORAS-P yielded good reliability ( $r = .46 - .76$ ) over a 4-week test-retest interval. The individual constructs showed good internal

consistency ( $\alpha = .68 - .82$ ). The item loadings ranged from  $r = .36 - .94$ , with the exception of two items ( $r = .25$  and  $r = .29$ ), which loaded on relatively larger subscales (7 and 8 items respectively). Overall, factor analysis of the ORAS-P confirmed its theoretical basis that a White racial consciousness scale can offer a valid alternative to White racial identity process or ego status.

**Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale.** The Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000), referred to as the CoBRAS, was developed to explore dimensions of cognitive evasion about racial prejudice. Three factors revealed constructs labeled Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues. The factors showed good reliability ( $\alpha = .70 - .83$ ) and acceptable concurrent validity with subscales from a measure examining Belief in a Just World ( $\alpha = .39 - .61$ ).

**CoBRAS factors.** The first factor, Racial Privilege ( $\lambda = 6.84$ ) accounted for 31% of the variance. The Racial Privilege subscale measures awareness or denial of White privilege (e.g., "White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin"). Institutional Discrimination ( $\lambda = 2.46$ ) accounted for 8% of variance. The Institutional Discrimination subscale examined awareness or denial of structural forms of discrimination (e.g., "Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people"). Blatant Racial Issues ( $\lambda = 1.84$ ) accounted for 6% of the variance. The Blatant Racial Issues subscale focused on general awareness of racial tensions and issues in current U.S. society (e.g., "Social problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations"). Overall, the CoBRAS constructs conceptualize racial privilege on a cognitive continuum of awareness, where higher scores indicate endorsing greater colorblind racial attitudes, and therefore greater denial of contemporary covert and institutional racial discrimination.



***CoBRAS implications for future White racial attitudes research.*** Neville et al. (2000) found that non-White groups scored lower on the CoBRAS than White samples, indicating that the racial and ethnic minority samples possessed greater awareness of privilege inequality than did the White sample. The authors noted that further empirical research is needed to validate “whether the CoBRAS factor structure is similar for various populations” (p. 69). The descriptive statistics for CoBRAS did not include information about religious affiliation, indicating that interactions with religious minority identities, such as Jewish identity, have yet to be examined on this scale.

**White Privilege Attitude Scale.** The White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS) was developed by Pinterits et al. (2009). The WPAS is a 28-item instrument that examines White privilege attitudes across affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions. The authors outline that the affective experiences of White privilege awareness include fear, guilt, and anger. The cognitive dimension includes thought processes ranging from rationalization and minimization about racial inequalities, to non-defensive exploration of one’s beliefs about privilege. The theoretical underpinnings of the behavioral component to the WPAS include a range of behaviors such as avoidance of people of color and a preference for White social spheres on one hand, and active participation in social justice oriented causes and multiculturally inclusive activities on the other hand.

**WPAS factors.** The WPAS exploratory factor analysis revealed four factors. Willingness to Confront White Privilege ( $\lambda = .52 - .89$ ) focuses on behavioral ramifications of holding White privilege attitudes such as “participants’ plans to address White privilege... [and] work towards dismantling [it]” (Pinterits et al., 2009, p. 421). The second construct, *Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege* ( $\lambda = .52 - .78$ ) deals with emotional and behavioral aspects of White

privilege. The authors indicate that this factor reflected “trepidation about addressing White privilege” since it “will hurt [a person’s] relationships with other Whites” (p. 421). The third factor, White Privilege Awareness ( $\lambda = .54 - .79$ ), focuses on recognizing and understanding White privilege and structural racism. The last factor, White Privilege Remorse ( $\lambda = .54 - .70$ ), examined emotional responses such as “shame and anger about having race-based privilege” (pp. 421–422).

The WPAS was developed with a specific focus on racial attitudes impacted by White privilege. As such, it examines White racial attitudes from an oppression-adaptive perspective rather than White consciousness or European heritage standpoint. Socioeconomic, sexual-orientation, and religious demographics were not reported for the WPAS validation sample, and as such, may limit generalizability to White participants with salient minority identities, such as Ashkenazic Jews. Examination of the WPAS on diverse White populations is indicated for future research (Pinterits et al., 2009; Poteat & Spanierman, 2008).

**Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale.** The WPAS was developed in response to an earlier scale co-developed by Lisa Spanierman and Mary Heppner referred to as the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (2004), henceforth the PCRW. The PCRW is a psychometric instrument that measures how racist and privileged attitudes among White people negatively impact their psychosocial wellbeing (p. 249). As seen in the earlier literature, the PCRW is predicated on the principle that racism has subtle yet detrimental psychological outcomes for White individuals.

**PCRW theoretical background.** The authors note that Kivel coined the phrase “The costs of racism to White people” to include “loss of culture, distorted picture of history, loss of relationships, distorted sense of danger and safety, lower self-esteem, and spiritual depletion” (as

cited in Spanierman & Heppner, p. 250) as repercussions of benefiting from a racist social worldview. The authors illustrate how members of dominant groups experience various deleterious effects as a result of racist oppression. Citing Goodman, Spanierman and Heppner outline the costs of racism to affect various aspects of mental health and wellbeing:

Psychological (i.e., loss of mental health and authentic sense of self), social (i.e., loss and diminishment of relationships), moral and spiritual (i.e., loss of moral and spiritual integrity), intellectual (i.e., loss of developing full range of knowledge), and material and physical (i.e., loss of safety, resources, and quality of life). (p. 250)

This theoretical pretext lays the groundwork for the PCRW's assessment of the maladaptive endorsement of a privilege-based White racial identity. Spanierman and Heppner contend that covert and structural racism infuses White people with racial attitudes that are detrimental to their own psychosocial wellbeing.

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) focus specifically on cognitive, behavioral, and affective aspects of White racial attitudes. Emotional repercussions include “fear, anger and guilt” whereas cognitive beliefs are said to be impacted by a “distorted perception of reality, lack of knowledge of others [and] confusion regarding the coexistence of democracy and racial inequality” (p. 250). The authors describe behavioral outcomes of covert racism to include the maintenance of “relationships exclusively with other Whites, censoring of oneself to avoid a perceived tension, [and] being rejected by other Whites when challenging racism” (p. 250). Examining this tripartite model of psychosocial functioning allows racial identity/attitude theory to be translated into psychosocially tangible constructs, and thus a psychometric instrument.

**PCRW factor structure.** As with many quantitative psychometric instruments, these constructs were developed through exploratory factor analyses. The PCRW consists of three constructs: White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others.

*White Empathic Reaction Towards Racism.* The first factor on the PCRW is called White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism ( $\lambda = 3.35$ ). This construct reflects the presence of empathic emotional reactions (anger, sadness, helplessness) that White people experience in response to racism that affects people of color. The exploratory factor analysis revealed strong loadings ( $r = .45 - .75$ ) for this six-item factor and showed acceptable internal consistency during test development (EFA  $\alpha = .78$ ; CFA  $\alpha = .79$ ).

*White Guilt.* The second factor on the PCRW is referred to as White Guilt ( $\lambda = 2.72$ ). White Guilt refers to a White person's sense of guilt and shame about the unearned privileges that current institutional and structural racism affords him or her. White Guilt consists of five items, which loaded with good correlations ( $r = .50 - .72$ ) and internal consistency (EFA  $\alpha = .73$ ; CFA  $\alpha = .70$ ) during test development.

*White Fear of Others.* White Fear of Others is a factor ( $\lambda = 1.81$ ), which measures White peoples' fear and distrust of people of color. This construct is conceptualized as a result of socialized cognitive distortions and learned affective responses to racial stimuli. White Fear of Others consists of five items ( $r = .36 - .82$ ) and showed less than preferable internal consistency during the exploratory (EFA  $\alpha = .63$ ) and confirmatory (CFA  $\alpha = .69$ ) factor analyses, but was found to be acceptable ( $\alpha = .78$ ) during a two-week test-retest administration ( $n = 35$ ).

**PCRW normative demographics.** The PCRW was normed using two studies (that consisted of  $N = 361$  and  $N = 366$  White undergraduate participants respectively) that totaled 727 White college students from two Midwestern universities. The normative inclusion criteria of the

PCRW require participants to be White. Regarding religious affiliation, participants in the first sample identified as either Christian (79%), Jewish (3%), Other (4%), or None (14%). The breakdown of the second validation sample included Christian (81%), Jewish (4%), Other (6%), or None (9%). It is crucial to note that while the PCRW is purportedly a psychometric instrument intended for use with White people, the normative sample it utilized is disproportionately Christian (80%). Further speculation may surmise that the 20% non-Christian segment of the sample could, in theory, be reduced to 3.5% because participants who identified as “Other” or “None” (16.5%) may be from a Christian background. Regardless of how biased the PCRW’s normative samples may be towards Christian White people, the overwhelming discrepancy is more than apparent. These normative demographics highlight which White people the PCRW accurately represents, for whom it is valid, and for whom it may be less invalid.

*PCRW limitations and future directions.* Spanierman and Heppner (2004) do not refrain from citing selection bias as a limitation of the PCRW validation. They highlight that both samples consisted of undergraduate students from Midwestern universities who largely majored in liberal arts (p. 260). While the authors did not refer to religious affiliation as a demographic for future revalidation, they did recognize the need to assess the factor structure with a more heterogeneous sample (p. 260).

Revalidation of the PCRW was successfully conducted with another undergraduate sample at a southeastern U.S. university (Sifford et al., 2009) in an effort to assess external validity on a geographically disparate White sample. Regarding age, Poteat and Spanierman (2008) successfully revalidated the PCRW factor structure on a working adult population as opposed to an undergraduate convenience sample. Unfortunately these studies did not report demographic information about religious affiliation. Based on the inclusion, yet

underrepresentation of Jews in the initial validation samples, and the lack of subsequent recognition of religious demographics in the southeastern university study, an exploration of the impact that religious identity has on White racial attitudes appears appropriate and necessary. The prospect to examine potential differences in PCRW factor structures between White Christians and White Jews seems promising.

### **Summary**

Empirical research on Jewish-White biculturalism is appropriate for exploration. Anecdotal reviews offer perceptions of Jews as White, but offer little regarding Ashkenazic Jews' racial self-perception in mainstream America. Similarly, research on the racial salience of Ashkenazic American identity is untapped. Associations between racial Whiteness, Ashkenazic ethnicity, and Jewish religious identity are murky at best. The role of Christian privilege appears to significantly distort the racial self-perceptions of White Jews and perpetuates the invisibility of this people. Furthermore, within-group differences between American Ashkenazic Jews appear to have potentially significant psychosocial impacts on how bicultural identity impacts mental health.

As of yet, the PCRW factor structure has not been validated on a White American Jewish sample. Given the implications of Orthodox, non-Orthodox, and secular Jews' bicultural identities, examination of the PCRW factor structure on these populations appears warranted. The syntheses and tensions of Whiteness and ethno-religious Jewish identities engender a culturally distinct worldview. Ashkenazic Jewish Americans may plausibly experience Whiteness in a distinctly different way than other White Americans.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodological stages and details of the study. The population and participants are reviewed as well as the statistical analysis. The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW, Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) is reviewed, and the anticipated data analysis is discussed.

#### **Research Design**

This study examines the construct validity of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) on multiple Ashkenazic Jewish samples residing in the United States. A second objective of this study is to explore whether culturally disparate Jewish groups possess significantly different White racial attitudes when compared with each other. The research design is a non-experimental model that uses anonymous online survey data consisting of the PCRW items and a demographic questionnaire.

In order to determine whether one or more Jewish groups experience White racial attitudes differently than non-Jewish White people, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) will be conducted on each Jewish sample (Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and secular) using the three-factor model developed for the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Each CFA will test whether the three-factor model fits the data for that group. If the original PCRW model does fit the data for a particular group, then a test of factorial invariance will be conducted to further confirm that group's theoretical similarity to the non-Jewish initial validation sample (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). For any Jewish sample whose CFA indicates that it does not fit the original model, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) will be conducted in order to explore

whether its factor loadings represent a unique set of latent White racial attitude constructs for this group.

## **Participants**

The general inclusion criteria from which three Ashkenazic populations will be divided require all participants to identify as White, Jewish, Ashkenazic, 18 years of age or older, and currently or primarily residing in the United States. The three groups into which participants will be divided are discussed below and will be labeled Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing and secular.

**White.** Inclusion criteria require that participants identify their race as White. White is defined as self-identifying as Caucasian, European American, American of European Ancestry, and White. White identification refers to a racial group and includes Ashkenazic Jews.

**Jewish.** For the purposes of this study, a Jew is defined as someone with at least one Jewish parent (which is not consistent with matrilineal Jewish Law, but is generally reflective of the broader Jewish population in the United States). People who identify as Jewish but have one parent who is not Jewish will be included in the data analysis so long as they also indicate that Judaism constitutes their primary religious identity and that their non-Jewish parent identifies as White (see Appendix C for Demographic Questionnaire).

**Ashkenazic.** As White Jews, participants' ethnic lineage must be of Ashkenazic descent. Ashkenazic is defined having Jewish ancestry from Eastern or Western Europe with the exception of Sephardic communities, which relocated to France, Holland, England (Shapiro, 1960), or southern Italy a result of the Spanish Inquisition (Roth, 1971). Ashkenazic Jews may have immediate ancestors who resided in non-European locations (e.g., South America, Australia, Israel, South Africa) so long as emigration to those regions was preceded by residence



in Europe (Roth, 1971). Sephardic Jews and people with one Ashkenazic parent and one Sephardic parent are excluded from the sample, as a theoretical assumption of this study requires a homogenous sample of racially White and/or ethnically Ashkenazic Jews.

## **Samples**

Each sample, discussed below, will need to meet a minimum size of  $n = 160$  based on conservative reviews of 10:1 participant-to-variable estimates (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum & Strahan, 1999). The study would therefore require the overall data collection to include  $N = 480$  participants. Communalities between the three Ashkenazic samples are theoretically presumed to be low based on cultural variation. Therefore the minimum sample size requirement need not rely on overestimations of participant-to-variable ratios (Hogarty, Hines, Kromrey, Ferron, & Mumford, 2005) which could potentially jeopardize the inclusion of smaller samples.

**Orthodox.** The term Orthodox refers to Orthodox Jews. Inherent in the operational definition of an Orthodox Jew is the commitment to and participation in a lifestyle that conforms to Jewish Law and the theological belief that the Torah and certain subsequent Scriptures are immutable (Rabinowitz, 2000). Schlosser (2006) identifies observance of kosher dietary laws and the Sabbath as key elements of Orthodoxy. In contrast to Conservative and Reform populations, the nearly total enrollment of Orthodox children in Jewish religious private schools denotes an important sociocultural feature of this population (Rabinowitz, 2000). Orthodoxy is a category, which can include a range of cultural expressions such as Hassidic, Modern Orthodox, and Yeshiva seminary students (Rabinowitz, 2000).

**Non-Orthodox practicing.** Non-Orthodox practicing Jews are defined as people who identify as either Conservative or Reform Jews. Miller and Lovinger (2000) highlight, “There is considerable consistency between Reform and Conservative Jews, as compared with Orthodox

Jews, in beliefs about social and moral issues” (p. 269). While Conservative Judaism retains more rabbinic traditions than the Reform movement, both sects observe significantly less ritual and Jewish Law than Orthodoxy (Miller & Lovinger, 2000). Consistent with this religious behavioral approach, Miller and Lovinger (2000) describe, “Reform or Conservative Jews may interpret Jewish law at a symbolic level rather than at the literal level” (p. 269) as well as emphasize their ethnic connection to Judaism rather than their religious practice.

**Secular.** Secular Jews are defined as people who have Jewish lineage and identify as Jews, but do not subscribe to any religious observance. Malkin (2005) explains:

The concept of “secular Judaism”...refers to the section of the Jewish people who do not feel bound by any observance of religious commandments, and also to the extensive body of culture and creative work produced by secular Jews over the past 250 years. (p. 106)

References to Yiddish culture and humanism tend to predominate contemporary American secular Jewry (Malkin, 2005), while Yiddish language fluency and Zionism played a central role during the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century (Zhitlowsky, 1976). The defining characteristic of secular Jews is the absence of any religious observance.

## **Research Instruments**

**Demographic questionnaire.** The demographic questionnaire asks participants for the following information: race, ethnicity, primary religious identity, Jewish denominational affiliation, age, gender, and country of current or primary residence. The demographic questionnaire asks about the participant’s parents’ religious affiliation as well as during which waves of Jewish immigration the participant’s ancestors relocated to the United States (see Appendix C). The demographic questionnaire allows the principal investigator to screen data in order to ensure that participants who completed the survey meet all necessary inclusion criteria.

It also allows the principal investigator to control for significantly different demographic factors if necessary.

**PCRW.** The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) is a 16-item self-report measure that examines how White people's attitudes about racism, White privilege, and societal White dominance impact their psychosocial wellbeing. The PCRW's Likert-type scale ranges from 1–6 where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 6 = *strongly agree*. Three items are reverse coded. Higher scores reflect greater psychosocial costs of racism. There are three subscales discussed in the following sections. The PCRW examines cognitive, behavioral, and affective outcomes of White racial attitudes. Consistent with earlier research on White racial identity, a theoretical assumption of the PCRW is that holding anti-racist and anti-privilege beliefs fosters positive mental health outcomes for White people.

***White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism.*** White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism is a six-item PCRW subscale that reflects the presence of empathic emotional reactions (anger, sadness, helplessness) that White people experience in response to racism that affects people of color. During the initial validation, White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism showed acceptable internal consistency (EFA  $\alpha = .78$ , CFA  $\alpha = .79$ ) and good factor loadings ( $\lambda = .45 - .75$ ). Todd, Spanierman, and Poteat (2011) reported that internal consistency estimates for White Empathic Reactions Towards Racism have ranged from  $\alpha = .70 - .85$  in recent studies, and  $\alpha = .67 - .80$  across one longitudinal study (p. 511).

***White Guilt.*** White Guilt is a five-item PCRW subscale that reflects White peoples' sense of guilt and shame about the unearned privileges that current institutional and structural racism affords them. White Guilt showed acceptable internal consistency (EFA  $\alpha = .73$ , CFA  $\alpha = .70$ ) and acceptable factor loading ( $\lambda = .50 - .72$ ) during test development. Todd et al. (2011) outlined

internal consistency estimates of  $\alpha = .73 - .86$  in recent studies, as well as  $\alpha = .77 - .83$  in a longitudinal study (p. 511).

***White Fear of Others.*** White Fear of Others is a five-item subscale that measures White peoples' irrational fear and distrust of people of color. This construct is conceptualized as a result of socialized cognitive distortions and learned affective responses to racial stimuli. White Fear showed the weakest acceptable range of factor loadings ( $\lambda = .36 - .82$ ) and less than preferable internal consistency during the exploratory (EFA  $\alpha = .63$ ) and confirmatory (CFA  $\alpha = .69$ ) factor analyses but was found to be acceptable ( $\alpha = .78$ ) during a two-week test-retest administration. Todd et al. (2011) reported internal consistency estimates for White Fear of Others to range from  $\alpha = .63 - .79$  in subsequent studies and  $\alpha = .69 - .72$  in a longitudinal study (p. 511).

***PCRW normative demographics.*** The PCRW was normed using two studies that consisted of White undergraduate students ( $N = 361$  and  $N = 366$  respectively) from a Midwestern university (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Subsequent studies similarly assessed the PCRW's versatility on White undergraduate samples (Sifford et al., 2009; Todd et al., 2011) but have not reported religious affiliation in their demographic information. Participants from the initial normative sample identified as Christian (79% and 81%), Jewish (3% and 4%), Other (4% and 6%), or None (14% and 9%). The original validation samples did not include other religious affiliations or specifications.

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

**Research question 1.** Research Question 1 explores whether differences exist in White racial attitudes between Ashkenazic Jews and non-Jewish White people. Collective Jewish consciousness about Christian European anti-Semitism, historically discriminatory and oppressive U.S. policies, and Jewish values emphasizing social justice foster a distinct

worldview within an American cultural context (Altman et al., 2010; Altug, 2011; Brodtkin, 2003; Dubow et al., 2000; Friedman et al., 2005; Schlosser, 2006). As such, Research Question 1 is concerned with the emergence of factor structures that do not fit the original three-factor PCRW model.

**Hypothesis 1.** Hypothesis 1 states that at least one Jewish sample will not fit the original PCRW three-factor model as evidenced by poor model-fit index results for one or more confirmatory factor analyses (see Data Analysis section).

**Research question 2.** Research Question 2 explores cultural diversity within American Ashkenazic Jewry. Orthodox Jewish values tend to emphasize religious rather than racial identity, whereas non-Orthodox communities tend to promote pluralistic rather than Judeocentric values. Jews identifying as secular tend to focus on humanistic values and cultural aspects of being Jewish rather than religious or ritualistic observance. Since racial identity may be less salient for some Jewish groups than for others, it is plausible that White racial attitudes constitute a less relevant psychosocial construct for these Jews. As such, Research Question 2 examines whether unique PCRW factor structures exist for Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and/or secular Jewish samples.

**Hypothesis 2.** Hypothesis 2 is based on the condition that at least one Jewish sample CFA shows a poor fit with the original three-factor PCRW model (Hypothesis 1). Hypothesis 2 states that a unique factor structure will emerge for a subsequent exploratory factor analysis (EFA) conducted with a Jewish sample's PCRW response data.

## **Procedure**

The principal investigator used Seton Hall University's online survey system, ASSET, to conduct an anonymous Internet survey. In order to solicit participation, the principal investigator

sent a solicitation email to Jewish personal contacts containing information about voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, participation eligibility, IRB approval, a minimal and brief description of the project, and a link to the survey webpage. The email also included a request to forward the solicitation email to other prospective Jewish participants who may be eligible and interested in participating. The email also included the contact information for the principal investigator, dissertation advisor, and IRB chairperson.

At the outset of the online survey, a clear disclaimer about the voluntary, confidential, and anonymous nature of participation was provided. This message stated that continuing to participate with the survey signifies the participant's recognition of the informed consent. The participant first completed the 16 PCRW items. Next, the participant was asked to answer questions from the demographic questionnaire. The last page consisted of a message thanking the participant for his or her time and submission of the survey.

### **Data Analysis**

The principal investigator screened data to ensure that inclusion criteria are satisfied and deleted invalid data. Descriptive statistics were analyzed and recorded. Three confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were conducted based on the original three-factor PCRW model (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) in order to address Hypothesis 1 (which states that at least one Jewish sample will not fit the original model). Consistent with Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) analysis, model-fit was determined by examining the comparative fit index (CFI), goodness of fit index (GFI), adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI), and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) cite Kline's suggestion that CFI, GFI, and AGFI indexes above 0.9 indicate a good model fit. Similarly, the authors cite Hu and Bentlers's suggestion that an RMSEA smaller than .06 indicates a good fit. For each Jewish group that

showed a good fit with the original model, a test of factorial invariance was conducted to further confirm that group's similarity to Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) non-Jewish validation sample.

For each Jewish sample whose CFA did not fit the original PCRW model, a follow-up exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted in order to elucidate whether its response pattern to the PCRW items constitutes a unique perspective on White racial attitudes. The EFA(s) addressed Hypothesis 2, which stated that significant differences in White racial attitudes exist between Orthodox, non-Orthodox practicing, and secular Ashkenazic Jews. Factors with an eigenvalue minimum of 1.0 were considered significant (Foley, 2012). Results about each Ashkenazic sample's prospective factor structure were explained and inferences related to the extant literature and PCRW were discussed.

In summary, the original CFAs screened whether any of the three Jewish groups did not fit the original three-factor PCRW model. A test of factorial invariance was conducted to confirm the PCRW's validity for any group whose data fit the original model. Any group that did not fit the original model was considered significantly dissimilar to the PCRW's non-Jewish validation sample (Research Question 1). Secondly, EFAs were conducted for each Jewish group that did not fit the original three-factor model in order to explore whether differences between Ashkenazic Jews exist based on cultural and religious variation (Research Question 2).

## **Summary**

This chapter outlined the methodological research design of the study. This study consisted of initial confirmatory factor analyses that explored the PCRW's applicability and validity with three Ashkenazic Jewish samples. If warranted, subsequent exploratory factor analyses examined differences between the types of White racial attitudes that culturally

disparate Ashkenazic groups possess. Data were gathered using an anonymous online survey, and a snowball sampling technique intended to disseminate the survey beyond the principal investigator's immediate Jewish personal contacts.



## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

This chapter outlines the descriptive statistics, data screening, and data analysis stages of the study. Inclusion and exclusion criteria are explained in detail as the data screening process considerably reduced the study's total participants. The data analysis section explains the confirmatory factor analyses used to test hypotheses and subsequent exploratory factor analyses used to elucidate these results. Statistics are summarized and initial findings are discussed.

#### **Descriptive Statistics**

The online anonymous survey received 435 participants over a 5-month period of data collection. The data were trimmed in order to provide multiple Jewish samples, which exclusively consisted of voluntary participants who identified with specific demographic inclusion criteria (e.g., White, Jewish, primarily residing in the U.S.). In order to obtain unbiased participation, alternatives to these desired criteria were provided, and as a result, a sizable number of participants were not considered for data analysis. During data collection, it became evident that significantly fewer participants were identifying as secular Jews compared with those indicating Orthodox or Conservative/Reform affiliation. The secular Jewish subsample was removed from further consideration and data analysis due to insufficient participation.

**Data trimming.** Participants completed a total of 435 surveys. Using the statistical software IBM SPSS (Version 21), the descriptive statistics revealed that 99.5% ( $n = 433$ ) of participants identified as *White/of European descent*, 0.2% ( $n = 1$ ) as *Asian American* and 0.2% ( $n = 1$ ) as *Native American*. Regarding religious affiliation, 97.2% ( $n = 423$ ) of participants identified as *only Jewish* and 2.8% ( $n = 12$ ) as *Jewish and another religion*. Regarding Jewish

denomination, 45.7% ( $n = 199$ ) participants identified as *Orthodox*, 30.3% ( $n = 132$ ) as *Conservative*, 12.4% ( $n = 54$ ) as *Reform*, and 11.5% ( $n = 50$ ) as *secular/no religious practice but still Jewish*. Regarding ethnic identity, 97.2% ( $n = 423$ ) of participants identified as *Ashkenazic*, 0.2% ( $n = 1$ ) as *Sephardic*, and 2.5% ( $n = 11$ ) as *Ashkenazic and Sephardic*.

The inclusion criteria for data analysis required participants to identify as White, Jewish, and Ashkenazic, to be at least 18 years of age, to reside in the United States for a majority of the year, and to identify as either Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. Thus, the two participants who identified as Asian-American and Native-American, respectively, 12 participants who identified as Jewish and another religion, 50 participants who identified as secular and 12 participants who identified as Sephardic or Sephardic and Ashkenazic were removed from the dataset.

Secondary contextual demographic questions provided additional exclusion criteria used to trim the data. Participants were asked how many weeks they spend abroad per year in order to ascertain whether they predominantly function within the United States' unique racial cultural context. Participants who selected 9 or more weeks (i.e., more than 2 months) abroad were excluded from data analysis. The inclusionary rationale for allowing up to 2 months per year outside the U.S. was to account for study, work, or leisure experiences, such as yeshiva/seminary study or participating in or staffing Israel travel programs, which often occur during the summer months. The range of time spent abroad spanned from 0 to 52 weeks ( $M = 3.30$ ,  $SD = 10.854$ ). Participants who selected 8 or fewer weeks abroad accounted for 94.0% ( $n = 409$ ) of respondents. The remaining 6.0% ( $n = 26$ ) who indicated that they reside abroad for 9 or more weeks per year were removed from the dataset.

Participants were also asked to identify their parents' racial background. This question was intended to help standardize how exposure to diversity within the family system might impact participants' White identity and their views on racism, privilege, and ethnocentricity. In response to the question, "Please select the category which most accurately describes your parents' racial and Jewish ethnic background," 95.9% ( $n = 417$ ) of participants selected *both parents are White and/or Ashkenazi*, whereas 4.1% ( $n = 18$ ) selected *one parent is not White and/or not Ashkenazi*. It is noteworthy to recall that this study did not require both parents of a participant to be Jewish but did require both parents to be racially White. In order to analyze the applicability of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW) on diverse Jewish samples, it was necessary to minimize how the racial diversity of participants' family backgrounds could be a threat to sampling validity. Thus, the 18 participants who selected *one parent is not White and/or not Ashkenazi* were removed from the dataset.

Additional descriptive statistics, which did not impact data trimming included age, gender, parental religion, and U.S. state of residence. Respondents ranged in age from 19–87 ( $M = 39.69$ ,  $SD = 15.545$ ). Regarding sex, 59.5% ( $n = 259$ ) selected *female*, 40.2% ( $n = 175$ ) selected *male* and 0.2% ( $n = 1$ ) selected *I choose not to answer this question*. In order to examine a range of Jewish denominational affiliations, including those that permit intermarriage, participants with one or two Jewish parents as well as participants who identified as converts without Jewish parents were all included in the data analysis. Thus, 94.7% ( $n = 412$ ) selected *both parents are Jewish*, 4.4% ( $n = 19$ ) selected *one parent is Jewish*, and 0.9% ( $n = 4$ ) selected *neither parent is Jewish/I am a convert*. Lastly, participants responded from 24 U.S. states, representing most geographic regions save the Rocky Mountain and Plains States. As expected, New York ( $n = 171$ , 39.3%) and New Jersey ( $n = 125$ , 28.7%) accounted for a majority of the

sample. Other states with large Jewish communities, such as Maryland ( $n = 40$ , 9.2%), Massachusetts ( $n = 26$ , 6.0%), Pennsylvania ( $n = 15$ , 3.4%) and Florida, ( $n = 12$ , 2.8%) also contributed in large proportion.

**Two Ashkenazic groups.** Data trimming reduced the number of completed surveys from 435 to 341. The next step involved combining the Conservative and Reform participants into one group named *non-Orthodox Practicing*, or *non-Orthodox* for brevity. This group totaled  $n = 161$ , whereas the Orthodox participants totaled  $n = 180$ . The larger Orthodox sample was reduced to  $n = 161$  cases in order to equalize the sample sizes for comparison. Nineteen Orthodox participants were deleted through a systematic and unbiased method that involved dividing the Orthodox sample by the desired number of participants to be removed ( $180 \div 19 = 9.47$ ). Rounding the quotient 9.47 down to 9 permitted every ninth Orthodox case to be removed until the sample comprised  $n = 161$ . At this point, the datasets included two equal samples of adult, White, American, Ashkenazic Jews.

**Subsample descriptive statistics.** The Orthodox sample was composed of 55.9% ( $n = 90$ ) women and 44.1% ( $n = 71$ ) men, whereas the non-Orthodox sample consisted of 63.4% ( $n = 102$ ) women, 36.0% ( $n = 58$ ) men, and 0.6% ( $n = 1$ ) who selected I choose not to answer this question. Orthodox participants ranged in age from 19 to 73 ( $M = 35.85$ ,  $SD = 13.91$ ), whereas non-Orthodox participants tended to be older ( $M = 44.42$ ,  $SD = 16.50$ ) and ranged from 19 to 87 years of age. Orthodox participants responded from 11 U.S. states and non-Orthodox participants from 14. Participants from both groups tended to spend less than one week outside the United States per year (Orthodox  $M = 0.72$ ,  $SD = 1.63$ ; non-Orthodox  $M = 0.71$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ). Both groups were nearly identical with regards to parental religious background: 97.5% ( $n = 157$ ) of both Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples responded that both parents are Jewish whereas 1.9%

( $n = 3$ ) of the Orthodox group and 2.5% ( $n = 4$ ) of the non-Orthodox group selected one parent is Jewish. One Orthodox participant (0.6%) selected neither parent is Jewish/I am a convert. Overall, the demographic profiles of these samples are highly comparable. While the average age in the non-Orthodox sample is approximately 9 years older than the Orthodox sample, the remaining demographic characteristics of these White Jewish samples are largely similar.

**Reverse scoring.** The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW) consists of three items, Questions #2, #8, and #12, which are reverse-scored. These items were transformed so that the Likert-scale scores reflected: 1→7, 2→6, 3→5, 4→4, 5→3, 6→2 and 7→1. At this point, the data met all criteria for analysis.

## Data Analysis

This section outlines the results of two confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) conducted to test Hypothesis 1 as well as two exploratory factory analyses (EFA) conducted to elucidate these findings. Methodological assumptions and internal consistency are discussed. Structural equation modeling and CFA goodness-of-fit tests were conducted using Stata software (Version 13). Internal consistency statistics and EFAs were conducted using IBM SPSS (Version 21).

**Assumptions.** The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Test of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) is a measure of variable correlations in which 0.6 or greater indicates that a sample is appropriate for factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Using IBM SPSS (Version 21), preliminary factor analyses indicated that the Orthodox (KMO = .703) and non-Orthodox samples (KMO = .753) were both appropriate for subsequent analysis. Consistent with Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) validation samples, the Bartlett's test of sphericity for both Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples was significant ( $p < .001$ ). Tabachnick and Fidell (2013), however, advise against interpreting Bartlett's test of sphericity with five or more cases per variable (p. 619). Since the

present study comprised a ratio of 10:1 cases per variable, a violation of Bartlett's test of sphericity did not compromise either sample's appropriateness for factor analysis.

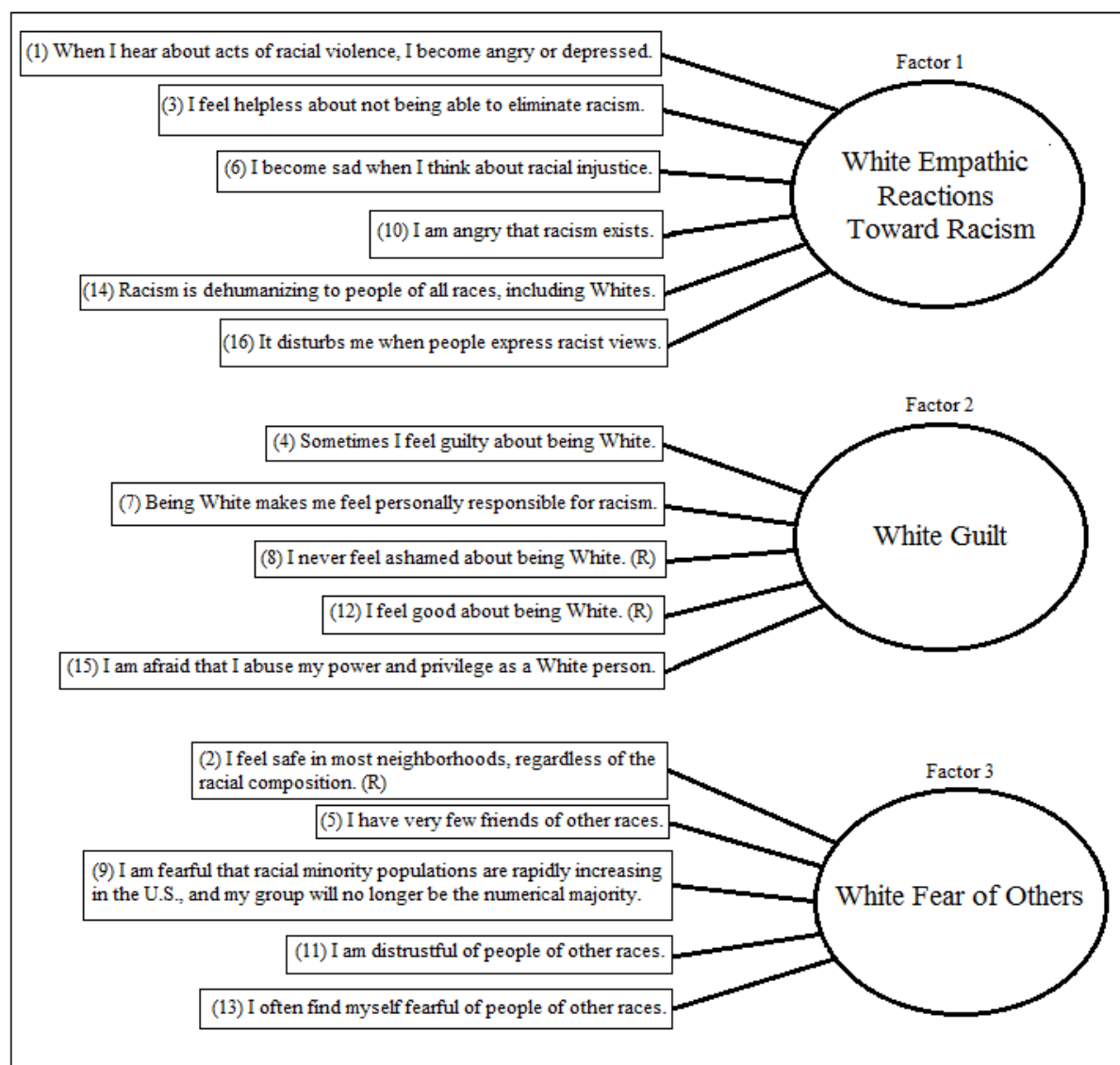
The online survey data collection method utilized dropdown-boxes and single-selection requirements to record numeric values and required all fields to be answered in order to submit the survey. As such, no cases with missing values or outliers beyond the 1–7 Likert-scale range entered the datasets. Similarly, the aforementioned data trimming process eliminated any demographically undesirable variables.

**Internal consistency.** Reliability estimates were conducted for both samples as Cronbach's coefficient alphas. When all 16 PCRW items were entered as a total block, the Orthodox sample showed moderate internal consistency ( $r = .54$ ), while the non-Orthodox sample indicated good reliability ( $r = .64$ ). Overall, reliability was observed in both groups with the non-Orthodox sample showing slightly higher internal consistency than the Orthodox sample.

**Confirmatory factory analyses.** Using the statistical analysis software Stata (Version 13), both samples were entered into separate structural equation models (SEM) identical to the original PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) factor structure (Figure 1). This SEM consisted of 3 latent variables and 16 observed variables. The latent variable White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism (henceforth *White Empathy*) consisted of 6 variables (i.e., Questions #1, #3, #6, #10, #14 and #16). The latent variable White Guilt consisted of five variables (i.e., Questions #4, #7, #8 (reverse-scored), #12 (reverse-scored) and #15). The last latent variable White Fear of Others (henceforth *White Fear*) consisted of five variables (i.e., Questions #2 (reverse-scored), #5, #9, #11, and #13). In order to minimize human error and maximize the clarity of analysis, the PCRW items were labeled as a conjunction of the factor on which Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported its loading (i.e., *Empathy*, *Guilt* or *Fear*) and its original PCRW survey question

number (i.e., 1–16). This method of item labeling (e.g., Empathy6, Guilt7) allowed for convenient identification of the item's question and from which PCRW factor it derived.

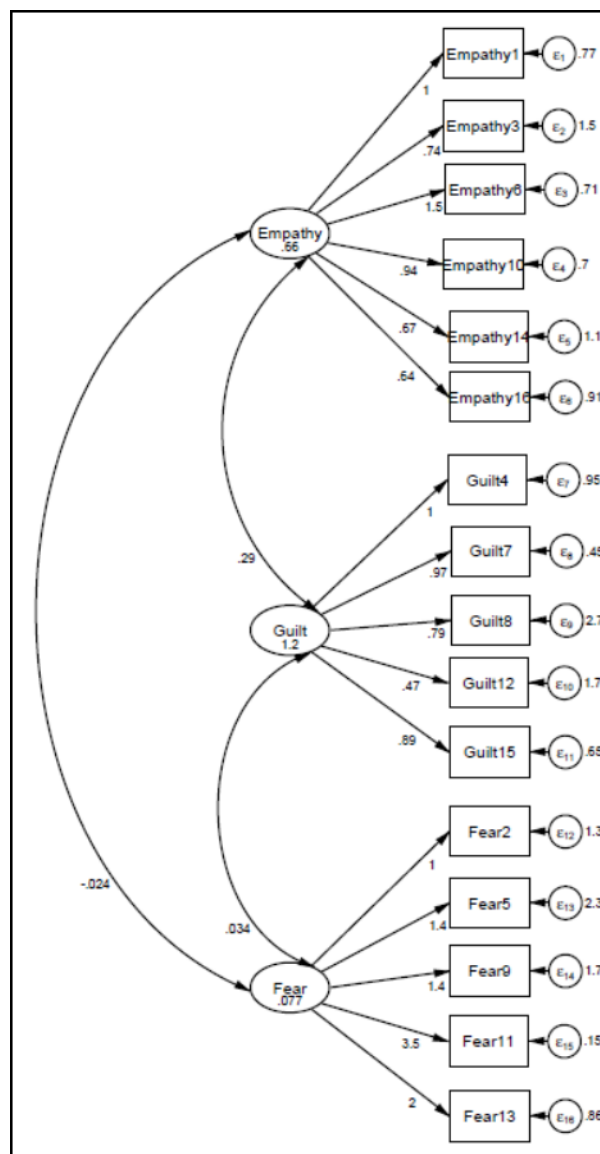
*Figure 1.*  
*Structural equation model of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).*



Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported factor correlations between White Empathy and White Guilt ( $r = .25$ ), White Empathy and White Fear ( $r = -.31$ ), and White Guilt and White Fear ( $r = -.10$ ). Factor correlations were entered in the present model prior to conducting goodness-of-fit tests in order to replicate the original model. The non-Orthodox SEM (Figure 2)

revealed a small correlation between White Empathy and White Guilt ( $r = .29$ ), White Empathy and White Fear ( $r = -.02$ ), and White Guilt and White Fear ( $r = .03$ ).

*Figure 2.*  
*PCRW standardized structural equation model of the non-Orthodox sample.*

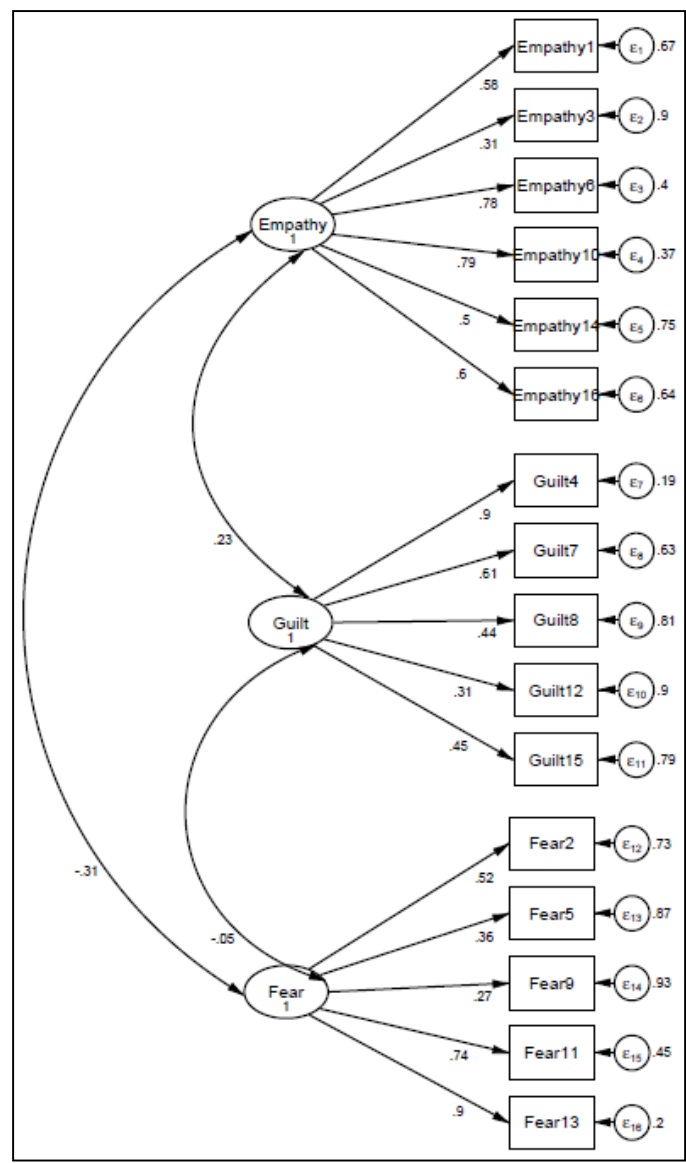


The Orthodox SEM (Figure 3) also revealed small correlations between White Empathy and White Guilt ( $r = .23$ ), White Empathy and White Fear ( $r = -.31$ ), and White Guilt and White Fear ( $r = -.05$ ). The low factor correlations observed in both samples indicate good discriminant



validity between constructs. This means that each factor does not measure the same content as another factor.

Figure 3.  
PCRW standardized structural equation model of the Orthodox sample.



**Hypothesis 1.** Hypothesis 1 stated that at least one Jewish sample would not fit the original PCRW three-factor model as evidenced by a poor model-fit index.

**Goodness-of-fit statistics.** The two chi-square and chi-square : *df* ratio were not interpreted as the literature consistently highlights the limitations and inaccuracy of chi-square

model-fit measurements in moderate to large samples (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Stata (Version 13) includes two of the four originally intended goodness-of-fit tests. The Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) were assessed and reported as the essential CFA evaluative statistics. An RMSEA of less than .06 indicates a good model fit (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) cite Bentler who claims that a CFI greater than .90 indicates an acceptable fit, whereas Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) point to Hu and Bentler's subsequent finding that a CFI greater than .95 indicates a good fit.

*Non-Orthodox PCRW goodness-of-fit statistics.* The non-Orthodox CFA indicated an acceptable-good fit with the original PCRW factor structure (Figure 4). The RMSEA for the non-Orthodox sample was .049, lower than the aforementioned .06 good-fit demarcation. Similarly, the CFI was .93, which lies in the acceptable-to-good fit range (.90 – .95). This finding suggests that the non-Orthodox sample responded to the PCRW in a manner consistent with the original non-Jewish White validation sample. As such, the non-Orthodox sample CFA failed to support Hypothesis 1 because it did not show a poor model fit with original PCRW factor structure. This finding lends inferential evidence of the original PCRW's (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) construct validity with non-Orthodox American Ashkenazic Jews.

**Figure 4.**  
**PCRW confirmatory factor analysis goodness-of-fit indexes with the non-Orthodox sample.**

Fit statistic	Value	Description
<b>Likelihood ratio</b>		
chi2_ms(101)	140.161	model vs. saturated
p > chi2	0.006	
chi2_bs(120)	676.605	baseline vs. saturated
p > chi2	0.000	
<b>Population error</b>		
RMSEA	0.049	Root mean squared error of approximation
90% CI, lower bound	0.027	
upper bound	0.068	
pclose	0.514	Probability RMSEA <= 0.05
<b>Information criteria</b>		
AIC	8199.226	Akaike's information criterion
BIC	8356.378	Bayesian information criterion
<b>Baseline comparison</b>		
CFI	0.930	Comparative fit index
TLI	0.916	Tucker-Lewis index
<b>Size of residuals</b>		
SRMR	0.079	Standardized root mean squared residual
CD	0.996	Coefficient of determination

*Orthodox PCRW goodness-of-fit statistics.* The Orthodox CFA (Figure 5) indicated a poor fit with the original PCRW factor structure. The RMSEA for the Orthodox sample was .087, which exceeds the maximum .06 good-fit benchmark. Accordingly, the CFI was .81, which falls below the minimum .90 acceptable-fit statistic. These findings indicate that the Orthodox sample responded to the PCRW items in a manner that is inconsistent with the original PCRW validation sample (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). This finding supports Hypothesis 1 as it provides evidence of a White Jewish sample that does not fit the original PCRW factor structure. Unlike their Conservative and Reform counterparts (i.e., the non-Orthodox sample), this finding

lends inferential evidence that the PCRW factor structure, as suggested by Spanierman and Heppner (2004), is not appropriate for use with Orthodox American Ashkenazic Jews.

**Figure 5.**  
*PCRW confirmatory factor analysis goodness-of-fit indexes with the Orthodox sample.*

Fit statistic	Value	Description
Likelihood ratio		
chi2_ms(101)	222.812	model vs. saturated
p > chi2	0.000	
chi2_bs(120)	759.911	baseline vs. saturated
p > chi2	0.000	
Population error		
RMSEA	0.087	Root mean squared error of approximation
90% CI, lower bound	0.071	
upper bound	0.102	
pclose	0.000	Probability RMSEA <= 0.05
Information criteria		
AIC	8494.505	Akaike's information criterion
BIC	8651.656	Bayesian information criterion
Baseline comparison		
CFI	0.810	Comparative fit index
TLI	0.774	Tucker-Lewis index
Size of residuals		
SRMR	0.090	Standardized root mean squared residual
CD	0.996	Coefficient of determination

In summary, Research Question 1 explored differences between White Jews and White non-Jews. Hypothesis 1 stated that at least one Ashkenazic Jewish sample would not fit the original PCRW factor structure (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). An Ashkenazic sample which does not fit the PCRW factor structure would support the proposition that this group of White Jews holds different attitudes about White racial identity than do non-Jewish White people. The

Orthodox sample CFA provided evidence of an Ashkenazic Jewish sample which differed in PCRW factor-structure from Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) validation sample and thus supported Hypothesis 1. The Orthodox sample CFA provides preliminary evidence that White Orthodox Jews perceive their White identity differently than non-Jewish White people. Conversely, the non-Orthodox sample showed a good-fit with the PCRW factor structure (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). This sample's CFA results failed to support Hypothesis 1, indicating that non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews hold similar White racial attitudes to non-Jewish White people.

*Test of factorial invariance.* The intended use of a test of factorial invariance to confirm a sample's good-fit with the PCRW three-factor structure was abandoned due to sample size limitations. An operating assumption of the CFAs was that the samples would obtain a 10:1 participant-to-variable ratio (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The final  $n = 161$  of each group met this requirement as the PCRW comprised 16 questions. A test of factorial invariance, however, involves dividing samples into smaller groups in order to compare multiple randomly selected subsamples. Dividing  $n = 161$  would violate the aforementioned participant-variable ratio when analyzing the 16-item PCRW. As an alternative, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted with the non-Orthodox sample (reported under Hypothesis 2) in order to explore the extent of its similarity with the original PCRW model, and compare it with the Orthodox sample's factor structure.

**Hypothesis 2.** Hypothesis 2 addressed the focus of the second research question: the impact of Jewish religious diversity on White racial identity. Based on the condition that at least one Jewish sample did not fit the original three-factor PCRW model (Hypothesis 1), Hypothesis 2 stated that an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with a poor-fitting Jewish sample would reveal

a unique factor structure. The prospective emergence of disparate factor structures between Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples intended to indicate that cultural and religious differences between these groups impact their attitudes and identity as White people.

*Exploratory factor analyses.* Two exploratory factor analyses (EFA) were conducted for multiple purposes. As an alternative to a test of factorial invariance (see Methodology section), a non-Orthodox sample EFA was conducted to confirm the CFA's finding that this sample is a good fit with the original PCRW factor structure. Regarding Hypothesis 2, an EFA was also conducted with the Orthodox sample in order to reveal a potentially unique factor structure. Thus EFAs were conducted with both samples in order to (a) confirm the non-Orthodox sample's CFA good-fit finding and (b) to test whether a unique factor structure emerged for the Orthodox sample. In order to replicate Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) analysis, both EFAs utilized a maximum likelihood Promax oblique rotation. Item loadings, factor order, and pattern matrixes were examined to compare the factor structures to each other and with Spanierman and Heppner's (2004) model.

*Non-Orthodox EFA.* Three factors were specified for the non-Orthodox EFA, and factors were free to correlate with each other upon rotation. Factor 1 ( $\lambda = 2.98$ ) was composed solely of White Guilt items and accounted for 18.6% of the total variance explained. Factor 2 ( $\lambda = 1.80$ ) was composed exclusively of White Empathy items and accounted for 11.2% of the variance. Factor 3 ( $\lambda = 1.23$ ) was composed of the remaining White Fear items and accounted for 7.7% of the variance. These three factors cumulatively accounted for 37.5% of the total variance explained (Figure 6). The total variance explained for the non-Orthodox sample (37.5%) was comparatively less than the PCRW validation sample's 49%. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported that the White Empathy factor accounted for 21% of the total variance explained, White

Guilt accounted for 17%, and White Fear for 11%. Thus, while the factor structure emerged in concordance with the CFA good-fit findings, the total variance of PCRW items explained by each factor was lower than the non-Jewish White validation sample.

**Figure 6.**  
*Total variance explained with the non-Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood exploratory factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).*

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings <sup>a</sup>
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	3.529	22.055	22.055	2.975	18.591	18.591	2.570
2	2.311	14.441	36.497	1.795	11.218	29.808	2.546
3	1.873	11.706	48.202	1.228	7.676	37.484	1.356
4	1.192	7.453	55.655				
5	.958	5.989	61.645				
6	.806	5.040	66.685				
7	.756	4.725	71.410				
8	.716	4.474	75.884				
9	.695	4.346	80.230				
10	.666	4.163	84.393				
11	.589	3.678	88.072				
12	.514	3.210	91.282				
13	.431	2.691	93.973				
14	.355	2.216	96.188				
15	.338	2.112	98.300				
16	.272	1.700	100.000				

As expected, the pattern matrix (Figure 7) revealed three clearly defined factors. Each of the five items that loaded on Factor 1 were the same items (i.e., Items 4, 7, 8, 12, and 15) that loaded on the second PCRW factor, which Spanierman and Heppner (2004) named White Guilt. These White Guilt items loaded with moderate to strong correlations (.44 – .81) for the non-Orthodox sample. The six items (i.e., Items 1, 3, 6, 10, 14, and 16) that loaded on Factor 2 in the present analysis were identical to the six items that loaded on the first PCRW factor, which

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) termed White Empathic Reactions to Racism. These White Empathy items loaded with fair to good correlations (.40 – .77). The three items that loaded on Factor 3 (i.e., Items 9, 11, and 13) were consistent with items that loaded on the third PCRW factor termed White Fear of Others. These items loaded with acceptable to good correlations (.40 – .73). Consistent with Spanierman and Heppner (2004), items that loaded below .35 were not interpreted. Thus, two remaining variables, “I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition” (Item 2) and “I have very few friends of other races” (item 5) were not interpreted. Table 1 provides the item loadings by PCRW question for the non-Orthodox sample.

*Figure 7.*  
*Pattern matrix with the non-Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).*

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Guilt7	.813	.048	.020
Guilt15	.755	-.001	.162
Guilt4	.745	.047	-.017
Guilt8	.542	-.158	.017
Guilt12	.442	-.073	-.295
Empathy6	.084	.770	-.007
Empathy1	-.106	.733	-.004
Empathy10	-.038	.694	.051
Empathy14	-.115	.512	.012
Empathy16	-.009	.487	-.086
Empathy3	.100	.398	.045
Fear11	.073	-.028	.725
Fear13	.045	.065	.595
Fear9	-.243	-.107	.394
Fear2	-.029	-.092	.299
Fear5	.046	.094	.258



*Figure 8.*  
*PCRW Factor Loadings with the non-Orthodox sample.*

Question-Item	Factors		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
<b><i>Factor 1: White Guilt items</i></b>			
(7) Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.	<b>.813</b>	.048	.020
(15) I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.	<b>.755</b>	-.001	.162
(4) Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.	<b>.745</b>	.047	-.017
(8) I never feel ashamed about being White. (R)	<b>.542</b>	-.158	.017
(12) I feel good about being White. (R)	<b>.442</b>	-.073	-.295
<b><i>Factor 2: White Empathy items</i></b>			
(6) I become sad when I think about racial injustice.	.084	<b>.770</b>	-.007
(1) When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.	-.106	<b>.733</b>	-.004
(10) I am angry that racism exists.	-.038	<b>.694</b>	.051
(14) Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.	-.115	<b>.512</b>	.012
(16) It disturbs me when people express racist views.	-.009	<b>.487</b>	-.086
(3) I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.	.100	<b>.398</b>	.045
<b><i>Factor 3: White Fear items</i></b>			
(11) I am distrustful of people of other races.	.073	-.028	<b>.725</b>
(13) I often find myself fearful of people of other races.	.045	.065	<b>.595</b>
(9) I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.	-.243	-.107	<b>.394</b>
(2) I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition. (R)	-.029	-.092	.299
(5) I have very few friends of other races.	.046	.094	.258
<b><i>Maximum Likelihood EFA with Promax Rotation, constrained to 3-factor solution. Note: items with loadings <math>\geq .35</math> are highlighted; factors are reported in the order of initial extraction as seen in the pattern matrix.</i></b>			

The factor order of the original PCRW model was White Empathy (Factor 1), White Guilt, (Factor 2) and White Fear (Factor 3). Factor order is determined by the descending order of each factor's eigenvalue during the initial extraction. Eigenvalues correspond to the amount of

total variance accounted for in a given factor. Green and Salkind (2005) note that variance is listed by relative importance, thus the factor order represents the most to least salient constructs for a given sample. The first factor in the non-Orthodox EFA comprised White Guilt items, whereas these questions formed the second factor in the original validation study (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Likewise, variables identified as White Empathy items formed the second factor in the present study, whereas they constituted the first factor in the original PCRW model (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The third factor in both studies comprised White Fear items. This difference in factor order indicates that the non-Orthodox Jewish sample responded in such a way that items related to White Guilt were more salient than items related to White Empathy as compared to the non-Jewish White validation sample. This observation may indicate that a sense of racially derived guilt about White privilege is more salient in Ashkenazic Jews than in non-Jewish White people.

Overall, three distinct factors emerged based on 14 of the PCRW's 16 items. Consistent with the PCRW original validation sample (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), an identical White Guilt factor (i.e., Items 4, 7, 8, 12 and 15) and White Empathy factor (i.e., Items 1, 3, 6, 10, 14, and 16) emerged. A third factor composed of three of the five PCRW White Fear items (i.e., Items 9, 11, and 13) emerged, and two White Fear items did not sufficiently load. The factor correlation matrix (Figure 9) revealed a small correlation between Factors 1 and 2 ( $r = .31$ ).

*Figure 9.*  
*Factor correlation matrix with the non-Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).*

Factor	1	2	3
1	1.000	.312	.031
2	.312	1.000	-.125
3	.031	-.125	1.000

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported a small negative correlation ( $r = -.22$ ) between White Empathy and White Fear as well as a small positive correlation ( $r = .12$ ) between White Empathy and White Guilt. Overall, factor correlations in both studies were small, indicating sufficient discriminant validity between factors. These observations bolster the CFA's finding that the non-Orthodox sample is a good fit for the PCRW factor structure.

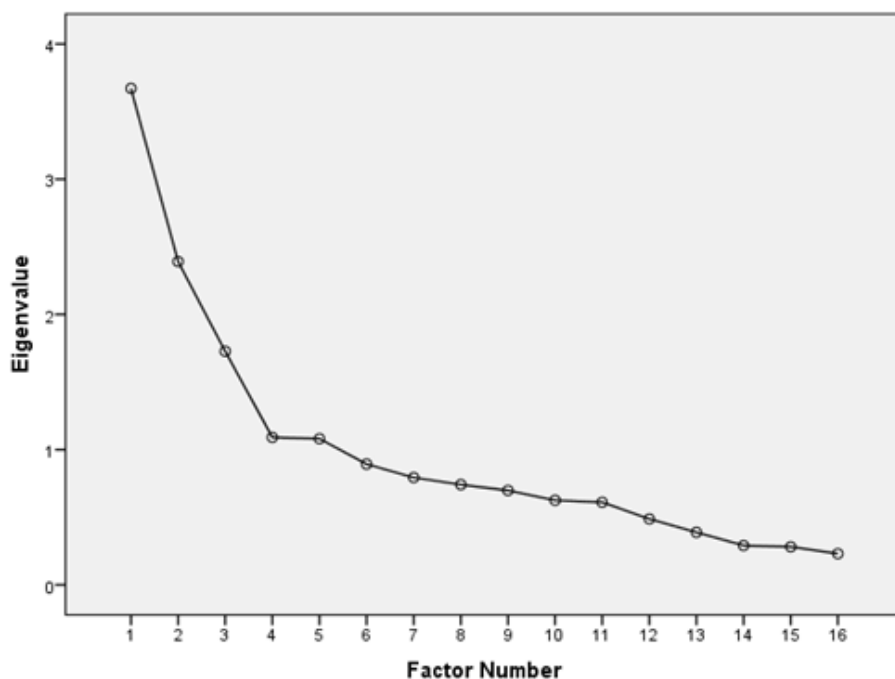
*Orthodox EFA.* In order to allow a potentially unique factor structure to emerge with the Orthodox sample's PCRW responses, a predetermined number of factors was not specified. Five factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 emerged, which accounted for 12.8%, 16.4%, 9.1%, 5.8% and 4.2%, respectively, of the total variance explained (Figure 10).

**Figure 10.**  
**Total variance explained (eigenvalue  $\geq 1.0$ ) with the Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood exploratory factor analysis EFA with Promax rotation of PCRW items.**

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings <sup>a</sup>
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	3.671	22.946	22.946	2.056	12.848	12.848	2.276
2	2.391	14.942	37.889	2.620	16.375	29.222	1.956
3	1.727	10.795	48.684	1.458	9.111	38.333	2.503
4	1.091	6.817	55.501	.931	5.817	44.150	2.088
5	1.081	6.754	62.255	.672	4.200	48.350	1.285
6	.893	5.581	67.836				
7	.793	4.958	72.794				
8	.741	4.631	77.425				
9	.698	4.363	81.789				
10	.625	3.907	85.696				
11	.611	3.816	89.511				
12	.487	3.045	92.557				
13	.388	2.427	94.984				
14	.291	1.819	96.802				
15	.281	1.758	98.560				
16	.230	1.440	100.000				

The scree plot (Figure 11) revealed that while Factors 4 ( $\lambda = 1.09$ ) and 5 ( $\lambda = 1.08$ ) were greater than 1.0, they were likely attributable to random variance because they aligned with the remaining factors that form a second slope of lesser decline (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Since the first three factors appeared to account for non-random variance, a three-factor rotation was specified for further analysis.

**Figure 11.**  
*Scree plot with the Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction set to eigenvalue  $\geq 1.0$ ).*



The three-factor constrained Orthodox EFA utilized a maximum likelihood, Promax (oblique) rotation in order to replicate the original model's procedure. Upon rotation, Factor 2 produced a larger sum of squares loading than Factor 1, which originally obtained the largest eigenvalue during the initial extraction. Factor 1 ( $\lambda = 1.95$ ) accounted for 12.17% of the total variance explained, Factor 2 ( $\lambda = 2.78$ ) accounted for 17.22% and Factor 3 ( $\lambda = 1.57$ ) accounted for 9.81%. These three factors cumulatively accounted for 39.2% of the total non-random variance explained (Figure 12). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported that White Empathy ( $\lambda = 3.35$ ) accounted for 20.93% of the total variance explained, White Guilt ( $\lambda = 2.72$ ) accounted for 16.97%, and White Fear ( $\lambda = 1.81$ ) accounted for 11.31%. The total variance explained for the Orthodox sample (39.2%) was comparatively less than the 49.21% of total variance explained in the PCRW validation sample (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).

**Figure 12.**  
**Total variance explained with the Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).**

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings <sup>a</sup>
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	3.671	22.946	22.946	1.947	12.170	12.170	2.674
2	2.391	14.942	37.889	2.756	17.222	29.392	2.272
3	1.727	10.795	48.684	1.570	9.810	39.202	1.952
4	1.091	6.817	55.501				
5	1.081	6.754	62.255				
6	.893	5.581	67.836				
7	.793	4.958	72.794				
8	.741	4.631	77.425				
9	.698	4.363	81.789				
10	.625	3.907	85.696				
11	.611	3.816	89.511				
12	.487	3.045	92.557				
13	.388	2.427	94.984				
14	.291	1.819	96.802				
15	.281	1.758	98.560				
16	.230	1.440	100.000				

The pattern matrix (Figure 13) revealed that the five items, which loaded on Factor 1 (i.e., Items 1, 6, 10, 14 and 16) were consistent with five of the six items comprising the PCRW factor termed White Empathy. These items loaded with moderate to good correlation ( $r = .52 - .79$ ). The three items (i.e., Items 2, 11, and 13), which loaded on the second factor in the present study were consistent with three of the five items comprising the PCRW factor called White Fear. These White Fear items loaded with moderate to strong correlations ( $r = .51 - .89$ ). The four items (i.e., 4, 7, 8 and 15) that loaded on the third factor were consistent with four of the five items comprising the PCRW factor named White Guilt. Three of these White Guilt items loaded with moderate correlation ( $r = .41 - .57$ ) and one loaded with a strong correlation ( $r = 1.001$ ). Regarding this item loading, Jöreskog (1999) substantiated that loadings exceeding 1.0

are acceptable in EFAs which utilize an oblique rotation, because they represent regression coefficients as opposed to statistical correlations.

**Figure 13.**  
*Pattern matrix with the Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).*

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Empathy6	.794	.034	.068
Empathy10	.702	-.209	-.013
Empathy16	.596	-.121	-.085
Empathy1	.572	.029	.072
Empathy14	.515	-.117	-.160
Empathy3	.442	.386	.136
Fear13	.064	.890	.039
Fear11	-.039	.735	.030
Fear2	-.090	.505	-.097
Fear5	-.140	.335	-.007
Fear9	-.129	.260	-.116
Guilt4	-.100	-.127	1.001
Guilt7	.035	.058	.567
Guilt15	-.008	.054	.413
Guilt8	.000	-.012	.407
Guilt12	.126	-.156	.262

Consistent with Spanierman and Heppner (2004), items which loaded below .35 were not interpreted. Two PCRW White Fear items, “I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority” (Item 9), and “I have very few friends of other races” (Item 5) failed to meet the .35 minimum correlation. Similarly, the PCRW White Guilt item, “I feel good about being White” (reverse scored) did not load. Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) point out that when an item significantly loads on multiple factors it indicates variable complexity rather than a meaningful association with any single

factor. Thus, one PCRW White Empathy item, “I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism,” which cross-loaded on Factor 1 ( $r = .44$ ) and Factor 2 ( $r = .39$ ) was not interpreted.

Overall, 12 of the original 16 PCRW items loaded across three factors. Table 2 provides the item loadings by PCRW question for the Orthodox sample.

*Figure 14.*  
*PCRW Factor Loadings with the Orthodox sample.*

Question-Item	Factors		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
<b>Factor 1: White Empathy items</b>			
(6) I become sad when I think about racial injustice.	<b>.794</b>	.034	.068
(10) I am angry that racism exists.	<b>.702</b>	-.209	-.013
(16) It disturbs me when people express racist views.	<b>.596</b>	-.121	-.085
(1) When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.	<b>.572</b>	.029	.072
(14) Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.	<b>.515</b>	-.117	-.160
(3) I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.	.442	.386	.136
<b>Factor 2: White Fear items</b>			
(13) I often find myself fearful of people of other races.	.064	<b>.890</b>	.039
(11) I am distrustful of people of other races.	-.039	<b>.735</b>	.030
(2) I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition. (R)	-.090	<b>.505</b>	-.097
(5) I have very few friends of other races.	-.140	.335	-.007
(9) I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.	-.129	.260	-.116
<b>Factor 3: White Guilt items</b>			
(4) Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.	-.100	-.127	<b>1.001</b>
(7) Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.	.035	.058	<b>.567</b>
(15) I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.	-.008	.054	<b>.413</b>
(8) I never feel ashamed about being White. (R)	.000	-.012	<b>.407</b>
(12) I feel good about being White. (R)	.126	-.156	.262
<b>Maximum Likelihood EFA with Promax Rotation, constrained to 3-factor solution. Note: items with loadings <math>\geq .35</math> are highlighted; factors are reported in the order of initial extraction as seen in the pattern matrix.</b>			



The factor order for the Orthodox sample's EFA emerged as unique from both the non-Orthodox sample and the PCRW validation sample. After rotation, the factor that accounted for the most variance changed from Factor 1 (composed of White Empathy items) to Factor 2 (composed of White Fear items). Thus, a three-item factor composed of White Fear questions accounted for the most non-random variance (17.22%). A five-item factor composed of White Empathy questions accounted for second highest amount of variance (12.17%) and a four-item factor comprised of White Guilt questions accounted for the least non-random variance (9.8%).

The change in which factor accounted for the most variance after rotation is noteworthy. The shift from Factor 1 (composed of White Empathy items) to Factor 2 (composed of White Fear items) may indicate that a more complex relationship exists between these ostensibly distinct item clusters. Promax is an oblique method of rotation that produces simplified factor structure by squaring orthogonally rotated correlations multiple times in order to diminish small and moderate loadings and highlight high loadings (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Emphasizing highly correlated loadings at the expense of suppressing moderate ones may overlook a potentially complex relationship between White Fear and White Empathy items among Orthodox Jews. If the Orthodox sample responded to PCRW items in a different pattern than did the validation sample (as evidenced by the CFA poor fit), then a more complex psychosocial relationship between a fear of, and empathy for, people of color may be relevant to this statistical quandary. Nonetheless, the change in factor order highlights the complexity of the sample's response pattern to White Fear and White Empathy items, thus potentially compromising the validity of these constructs with an Orthodox population.

The factor correlation matrix (Figure 15) revealed a small negative correlation ( $r = -.25$ ) between Factor 1 (White Empathy items) and Factor 2 (White Fear items) and a small positive correlation ( $r = .25$ ) between Factors 1 and 3 (White Guilt items). Spanierman and Heppner (2004) reported a small negative correlation ( $r = -.22$ ) between White Empathy and White Fear as well as a small positive correlation ( $r = .12$ ) between White Empathy and White Fear. Overall, these factor correlations indicated discriminant validity between factors.

*Figure 15.*  
*Factor correlation matrix with the Orthodox sample. Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Promax rotation of PCRW items (extraction constrained to 3 factors).*

Factor	1	2	3
1	1.000	-.254	.249
2	-.254	1.000	.014
3	.249	.014	1.000

*Comparison of Ashkenazic Jewish samples (Hypothesis 2).* Hypothesis 2 stated the differences in factor structure would emerge between Jewish samples. The EFAs for Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jewish samples varied in considerable degree. Among the non-Orthodox group, 14 of the 16 PCRW items loaded in a nearly identical factor structure to the original model. Eleven of these 14 items loaded to exactly replicate two of the three PCRW factors (i.e., White Guilt and White Empathy). The third factor consisted of three of the five White Fear items. In comparison, the EFA with the Orthodox sample indicated that 12 of the 16 items loaded sufficiently albeit no PCRW factor was fully replicated. Three out of five White Fear items loaded on one factor, five out of six White Empathy items loaded on a second factor, and four out of five White Guilt items loaded on a third factor.

The factor analyses revealed that the factor order of the Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples emerged in inverse patterns. The non-Orthodox factor order was White Guilt, White Empathy, White Fear, while the Orthodox factor order was White Fear, White Empathy, White Guilt. This pattern indicates that the relevance of PCRW questions and their underlying constructs were not uniformly relevant across these Jewish groups. While the overall interpretability of the Orthodox EFA is questionable, these results seem to indicate that White Guilt was least salient in this sample, while it was most salient in the non-Orthodox sample. Conversely, White Fear was most salient for the Orthodox sample and least salient for the non-Orthodox sample. These findings lend preliminary evidence that Orthodox and non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews hold measurably discrepant attitudes about their racial Whiteness.

### **Summary**

This chapter outlined descriptive statistics, data screening, and data analysis. Data collection yielded  $N = 435$  completed online survey submissions, which were screened and reduced to two Orthodox and non-Orthodox subsamples of  $n = 161$  each. During data collection the secular sample was eliminated due to lower than anticipated participation.

Confirmatory factor analyses of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) with Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jewish samples indicated that only the non-Orthodox group fit the original factor structure. Reliability estimates indicated fair to good internal consistency for each factor across both groups when measured in isolation. Exploratory factor analyses revealed that the non-Orthodox sample's factor structure was nearly identical to non-Jewish PCRW validation sample. The Orthodox sample EFA yielded five factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Upon constraining the analysis to a 3-factor extraction,

12 out of 16 items loaded in accordance with the original PCRW factor structure. Neither Jewish sample's factor order was identical to the original model.

The factor order for the non-Orthodox sample indicated that White Guilt was the most salient latent variable, followed by White Empathy, then White Fear. The Orthodox EFA produced an opposite factor order whereupon White Fear accounted for the most variance, followed by White Empathy and lastly White Guilt. While complex item loadings and fewer total loadings highlight the Orthodox sample's poor fit with the original model, these EFAs reveal that White Guilt items were most salient for the non-Orthodox sample and least salient for the Orthodox sample. Conversely, White Fear was most salient for the Orthodox sample and least for the non-Orthodox sample. Regarding Hypothesis 2, these findings lend inferential evidence that cultural and religious differences between Ashkenazic Jews impact their White racial attitudes. Ultimately, the primary finding that the PCRW factor structure was a good fit for the non-Orthodox sample but not with the Orthodox sample suggests that the interpretation of the PCRW as outlined by Spanierman and Heppner (2004) is valid for use with Conservative and Reform Ashkenazic Jews, but not with Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

This chapter outlines the summary of findings and discusses the results. Hypotheses and findings are discussed in detail, and inferential speculations are suggested. This discussion refers to relevant extant literature in order to discuss the current findings in the context of broader scholarship on White racial identity and the intersection of Jewish biculturalism and psychosocial wellbeing. Limitations are explained, and recommendations for future research are provided.

#### **Summary of Findings**

This study examined the construct validity of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW), developed by Spanierman and Heppner (2004), for Orthodox and non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jewish adults living in the United States. Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) revealed that the PCRW factor structure was a good fit for the non-Orthodox sample but not for the Orthodox sample. Subsequent exploratory factor analyses (EFA) revealed that unique factor structures emerged for each group using PCRW items, and as expected, the non-Orthodox sample EFA closely resembled the original PCRW solution (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). While the Orthodox EFA should be interpreted with caution, inverse factors orders between the two groups on factors comparable to the original model suggest that the PCRW constructs resonate with Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples in opposing orders of psychosocial salience.

**Research Question 1.** Research Question 1 explored whether differences exist in White racial attitudes between Ashkenazic Jews and non-Jewish White people. The PCRW was

ostensibly normed on a sample of White people of Christian and other non-Jewish backgrounds and thus does not account for the religious bicultural identity of Ashkenazic Jews.

***Hypothesis 1 findings.*** Hypothesis 1 stated that at least one of the Ashkenazic Jewish samples would not fit the PCRW factor structure and in effect provide evidence that salience of religious identity can jeopardize the PCRW's sampling validity with bicultural White populations. Hypothesis 1 was supported because the Orthodox sample of Ashkenazic Jews did not fit the original factor structure, providing evidence of a White population with which the PCRW factor structure appears invalid. In a broader sense, this finding lends credence to the position that religious identity salience, despite racial likeness, can impact the racial attitudes of that cultural group. In this case, the religious salience of White Orthodox Jews appears to mediate their attitudes on White racial identity in a manner distinct from non-Jewish White people.

**Research Question 2.** Research Question 2 was a natural extension of research question 1 as it explored if and how Jewish religious diversity among American Ashkenazic Jewry impacts White racial identity and attitudes. Research Question 2 examined whether unique PCRW factor structures would emerge for the Orthodox and non-Orthodox samples.

***Hypothesis 2 findings.*** Hypothesis 2 stated that a unique factor structure would emerge for any Jewish sample that did not fit the original PCRW factor structure. Hypothesis 2 was supported by an EFA with the Orthodox sample, which revealed that only 12 of the 16 PCRW items loaded onto three factors, none of which were identical to the original PCRW factors. Furthermore, an EFA with the good-fitting non-Orthodox sample found that 14 of the 16 PCRW items loaded onto three factors, two of which (i.e., White Empathy and White Guilt) were identical to the original model. Hypothesis 2 thus revealed that Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews and

Ashkenazic Conservative/Reform Jews perceive their White identity differently. It also reinforced Hypothesis 1's finding that Conservative and Reform Jews hold similar views about their racial Whiteness as non-Jewish White people.

## **Conclusions**

Quantitative scholarship on White racial identity comparing Ashkenazic Jewish groups was previously unexplored. Thus, an objective of this study has been to provide preliminary research on Jewish religious identification and White racial biculturalism. The core findings of this study reveal that the PCRW factor structure is not valid with Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews, whereas it is valid with their non-Orthodox Ashkenazic counterparts. It may be surmised from these findings that religious lifestyle and identity salience among Orthodox Jews (Rabinowitz, 2000) differentiates them from non-Orthodox Jews in their attitudes towards racial Whiteness. Alternatively stated, non-Orthodox Jews' more assimilated religious identity allows for greater adoption and integration of dominant White racial attitudes.

**Implications for White Conservative and Reform Jews.** Spanierman and Heppner (2004) outlined and posited that certain racial attitudes have a negative impact on the psychosocial wellbeing of White people. Todd et al., (2010) further highlighted the association of affective problems with unawareness of White privilege in college students. The present study thus confirms that, according to the oppression-adaptive model of racial identity development, non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews who possess less developmentally actualized attitudes about White privilege (Choney & Behrens, 1996) experience higher psychosocial costs. The aforementioned findings support the conceptual racial inclusion of non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews in the broader population of White Americans with whom the PCRW has been repeatedly validated (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008; Sifford et al, 2009; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and

suggests that these Conservative and Reform Jews are susceptible to the same psychosocial costs as any other White person.

These findings are inconsistent with the views of counseling psychologist Peter Langman (1999) who stated that while “[non-visibly recognizable] Jews can pass as being White, and thereby reap the benefits of White privilege...their identities and history place them outside of mainstream White American culture” (p.6) Similarly, conceptualizing non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews as White and including them in the American dominant culture is inconsistent with research documenting American-Jewish bicultural stress related to mainstream xenophobia (Altman et al. 2010; Dubow et al., 2000; Friedman et al., 2005), highlighting the absence of privilege from anti-Semitic encounters. The present study’s validation of the PCRW’s factor structure with Conservative and Reform Jews is surprising when considering Friedman et al.’s (2005) report that “all [Jewish] respondents mentioned at least one incident in their lives in which they felt inferior and, consequently, ‘bad’ about themselves” (p. 80) in contrast to mainstream American society. Conversely, the same qualitative study composed of mostly non-Orthodox Jews found that Jewish identity tended to be situation- and environment-sensitive, thus highlighting the complexities and accessibility to privilege that biculturalism can allow.

**Implications for White Orthodox Jews.** This study’s findings provide evidence that the PCRW factor structure is not valid for use with White Orthodox Jews. This finding is consistent with Rabinowitz’s (2000) position that “Allport’s intrinsic-extrinsic scale does not seem to be useful with Orthodox Jews” (p. 247) compared with non-Orthodox Jews. The present study speculates that Orthodox Jews’ religious identity significantly impacts their racial self-perception to the extent that oppressive-adaptive psychometric measures of White racial attitudes, such as the PCRW, may not capture nor account for their worldview.



This study suggests that, despite phenotypic likeness, Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews tend to view their Whiteness differently than the majority Christian White culture. In contrast to their Conservative and Reform counterparts, Friedman et al. (2005) found that for the more Orthodox-identified Jews in their sample, “Jewish identity predominate[d] regardless of the social context” (p. 77). This suggests that for Orthodox Jewish White people, their Jewish self-perception may permit less emphasis on racial Whiteness. The present study lends preliminary credence to the position that a psychometric instrument rooted in an oppressive-adaptive model of White privilege actualization may be less culturally valid for a White population that does not historically identify with the White oppressor.

The psychosocial detriments of racism to White people, as evidenced by the repeated validations (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008; Sifford et al. 2009; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) may still, in part, be relevant to Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews. It is not the intention of the author of this study to suggest that White Orthodox Jews do not possess a White racial identity and are thus immune from the deleterious effects inherent in living in a racist society. This study, however, does suggest that the character of attitudes and self-perceptions about White racial identity are markedly different for White Orthodox Jews.

Mental health outcomes related to living as a minority in a diverse society surely impact Orthodox Jews. For example, Park (2012) found a negative correlation between Jewish religious salience and interracial friendships. Friedman et al. (2005) found that Orthodox Jews were less likely to value connections with Gentiles when compared with Conservative or Reform Jews. Dubow et al. (2000) illustrated how more religiously involved Jewish adolescents experience both the higher bicultural stress and Jewish community coping resources than less religiously involved Jews. Regarding protective factors for ethnic minority groups, Kakhnovets and Wolf

(2011) point to Goodman's finding that "Orthodox Jews tended to score higher than Conservative and Reform Jews on 3 of 4 subscales [on a] collective self-esteem measure" (p. 504), highlighting the correlation between Jewish identity salience and psychosocial wellbeing. Extant scholarship on the psychosocial costs of racism to White Jews is lacking. In addition to revealing that the PCRW factor structure (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) appears invalid for White Orthodox Jews, this study lends initial credence to the position that a dominant Jewish identity moderates the character of White racial attitudes among this Ashkenazic White population.

**Comparison of PCRW construct salience.** The disparity in CFA results between one sample fitting the PCRW model (i.e., non-Orthodox sample) and the other sample not fitting the model (i.e., Orthodox sample) indicates that PCRW items are more relevant for some Jews than others. Exploratory factor analyses were conducted to further elucidate how these samples responded to the PCRW items with the caveat that the Orthodox sample had evidenced a poor model fit with the original factor structure. The author does not intend to present the Orthodox EFA, nor the comparison of EFAs as a statistically robust model for interpretation. Thus, speculation rather than conclusive inference may be gleaned from comparing the character of the respective factor structures.

**Factor order.** The order in which factors emerged signifies the descending proportion of variance, or the order of salience that factors had with a sample. Each sample revealed three factors, which while not identical, showed some overlap with each other as well as with the original PCRW factor loadings (see pattern matrixes under Data Analysis for detailed item loadings). In the non-Orthodox sample, White Guilt occupied the most variance, followed by White Empathy, and lastly a factor resembling White Fear. It is important to recognize that this

third factor did not consist of the five items that constituted the PCRW factor labeled White Fear of Others, and thus it merely resembled this factor because it included three White Fear of Others items.

Upon rotation, the Orthodox EFA indicated an inverse factor order compared with the non-Orthodox sample. It is important to stress the limited interpretability of this Orthodox sample EFA when using the PCRW factor labels. Whereas one of three non-Orthodox factors merely resembled the original PCRW factor constitution, all of the Orthodox factors failed to load in identical fashion to the original model. Thus, the following outline of the Orthodox sample factor order is discussed as factors, which resembled the PCRW factor definitions based on overlapping, rather than identical, factor loadings. A factor resembling White Fear occupied the most variance, followed by a factor resembling White Empathy and lastly by a factor resembling White Guilt. The orders of the two EFAs were thus mirror images of each other. For Orthodox Jews, questions pertaining to White Fear of Others appeared most relevant, whereas these items were least salient for Conservative and Reform Jews. Similarly, items related to guilt about White privilege were most pronounced for Conservative and Reform Jews but least relevant for Orthodox Jews. Without claiming statistical validity of these findings, the confluence of racial guilt and White-Jewish biculturalism appear ripe for conjecture.

*White guilt.* The difference in factor order for White guilt related to privilege is intriguing. The non-Orthodox sample's predominance of White guilt is consistent with Langman's (1999) illustration of Jewish consciousness and involvement in social justice campaigns such as the civil rights movement. Kakhnovets and Wolf (2011), warn however, that "the label 'White' implies a shared set of values, a common history, and the same sense of privilege among all members of the group" (p. 501). Negotiating this balance between a Jewish

identity, which decries racial injustice and racial membership to the dominant group seems to intensify bicultural stressors, such as feelings of White guilt about unearned racial privilege. Alternatively, for Orthodox Jews who tend to place less value on relationships with Gentiles compared to their non-Orthodox counterparts (Friedman et al., 2005), racial membership appears less salient than loyalties to the Jewish community. Whiteness then, and the guilt associated with unearned racial privilege, seems to be a less relevant element of Orthodox Jews' self-perception.

### **Limitations**

**Within-group sampling homogeneity.** One limitation of this study is the potential influence that cultural factors beyond ethnicity have on racial attitudes. Ashkenazic Jewish racial attitudes vary by region. For example, Eastern European Jewry and Western European Jewry were exposed to disparate aspects of anti-Semitism, which could culturally impact how xenophobic and ethnocentric attitudes towards non-Jewish White people developed. Similarly, historic socioeconomic and educational barriers influenced how Eastern and Western European Jews interacted with movements such as the *haskala* (the Enlightenment). Jews in Germany and France (Western Europe) were afforded access to citizenship and secular education in philosophy and science much earlier than Jews in Russia, Poland, and other Eastern European countries (Howe, 1976).

Another limitation based on within-group differences relates to recent immigration and acculturation to the United States. For example, Jews who have been assimilating to American culture since the turn of the 19th century have had four and five generations to inculcate Western and American values, whereas Jews who immigrated as a result of the Holocaust or the fall of the Soviet Union may still be experiencing the effects of multigenerational inherited trauma and other barriers to assimilation. Similarly, Ashkenazic Jews who emigrated to the U.S. from

countries outside of Europe (e.g., Israel, Australia, South Africa, and a number of South American countries) were exposed to worldviews and racial perceptions that are influenced by these intermediate host societies (e.g., Apartheid, Israeli-Arab conflict). Unanalyzed data collected from this study pertaining to immigration history may provide future researchers with rich insight about Jewish emigration and White racial attitudes.

**Orthodox sample EFA factor generalizability.** The interpretability of the Orthodox EFA is a statistical limitation of this study. The first and second factors in the Orthodox sample's EFA were switched upon rotation indicating statistical limitations to the interpretability of this analysis. For example, conjecture about the inverse factor order of the factor resembling White Fear of Others between samples seems unremarkable because this three-item factor only accounted for the most variance after rotation, but not during initial extraction. The lack of interpretability of the Orthodox sample EFA emphasizes an inconsistent Orthodox sample response pattern to PCRW questions, and thus the poor model-fit found in Hypothesis 1. While speculation about the item loadings and factor order illustrated discrepancies between the samples, a statistically valid model evaluating the psychosocial costs of racism to White Orthodox Jews based on PCRW questions was beyond the scope of this study.

**Secular sample.** The intended analysis of a third sample, termed secular Jews, was abandoned due to inadequate participation of Jews identifying with this label. A potential threat to sampling validity may be that Jews who lead otherwise secular lifestyles, yet belong to Conservative and Reform synagogues, identified with the latter groups, rather than as secular. This may indicate that the range of diversity within the non-Orthodox sample was broader than intended. Similarly, Langman (1999) cautions that conceptualizing Orthodox Jews as a monolithic entity is inaccurate due to the range of expression within Orthodoxy. As a

preliminary study on psychosocial attitudes of Jewish-White racial biculturalism, these categories were utilized to capture broad cultural differences within American Jewry. A nuanced conceptualization of Jewish diversity is certainly a limitation of this study.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

Scholarly literature on Jewish biculturalism in America describes a diverse people with diverse perspectives. Research on the intersection of Ashkenazic ethnic identity and White racial identity is far scarcer. This study indicates that one White racial identity psychometric instrument, the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), is not statistically valid with Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews. Considering the limitations of presuming that an oppression-adaptive model of racial identity development applies to all White people, future research with Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews might survey what culturally unique perspectives on White racial identity this group holds. Future exploratory factor analyses with items derived from this population may guide the validation of psychometric instruments that assess the psychosocial costs of racism to Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews and other bicultural groups whose Whiteness is mistakenly presumed to be a cornerstone of their identity.

Future research on Ashkenazic Jews may also consider immigration history as a factor impacting perspectives on diversity, racism, and bicultural salience. Ashkenazic Jews whose recent ancestors emigrated to the U.S. as part of the mass Eastern European resettlement to America circa 1900, as a result of liberation from the Holocaust, the collapse of Soviet Union, or as Israelis have immensely diverse narratives on what racism, privilege, persecution, phenotypic Whiteness, and xenophobia mean. Future research with Conservative and Reform Ashkenazic Jews may explore how these immigration histories impact their scores on the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) subscales or other measures of White racial attitudes.

This study indicates that Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews differ from non-Orthodox Ashkenazic Jews with regards to the psychometric validity of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). As described throughout this study, the PCRW is theoretically rooted in an oppression-adaptive model of racial identity development, originally developed for African Americans and subsequently for other people of color. Future research on Jewish-racial biculturalism may focus on the array of Sephardic Jews living in the United States in an attempt to explore the relevance of oppression-adaptive models of racial identity with Jews of color.

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APPENDIX A:  
SOLICITATION NOTICE (EMAIL)

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Emile Berk. I am a counseling psychology doctoral student at Seton Hall University and am seeking participants for my **5-minute** dissertation survey.

As a fellow Jew, I am interested in investigating how Jewish identity impacts racial identity. I am particularly interested in how Ashkenazi Jews experience being White in American culture. If you are an **American Ashkenazi Jew, who is 18 years of age or above, and currently and primarily live in the United States**, I invite you to participate in my study. The study consists of an online survey that is easy to fill out and should take less than **5 minutes** to complete.

**Informed Consent**

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and anonymous. The survey will not ask you for any identifying information and you are free to withdraw at any time. Additionally, any information gathered from the study will be written about collectively so that no one person's information will be displayed. All data will be securely stored on a USB flash drive in my office or home, and will only be accessed by myself and my dissertation advisor, Dr. Bruce Hartman.

**Ready to Take the Survey?**

If you are at least 18 years old, live in the United States, identify as an Ashkenazi Jew, and are willing to participate in this study, please hold down the "Ctrl" button and click **here** in order to complete survey. Your completing the survey will serve as your consent to participate in the study. The survey will be running between November 2013 and March 2014. If you do choose to participate please visit the website between those dates.

In addition, **I would appreciate if you would forward this e-mail** to your friends, family or coworkers who are eligible for participation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study please feel free to contact me or my adviser, Dr. Bruce Hartman, using the contact information provided below. This study has been approved by the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board.

Thank you for your time and participation, hold down the "Ctrl" button and click **here** to take the survey.

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## APPENDIX B:

## SOLICITATION NOTICE – ASSET SURVEY (WEB-BASED)

## Ashkenazi in America

*This survey asks about attitudes related to being a White person.*

## Ashkenazi in America

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Emile Berk. I am a counseling psychology doctoral student at Seton Hall University and am seeking participants for my 5-minute dissertation survey. As a fellow Jew, I am interested in investigating how Jewish identity impacts racial identity. I am particularly interested in how Ashkenazi Jews experience being White in American culture. If you are an American Ashkenazi Jew, who is 18 years of age or above, and currently and primarily live in the United States, I invite you to participate in this study.

Ready to Take the Survey? – If you are at least 18 years old, live in the United States, identify as an Ashkenazi Jew, and are willing to participate in this study, please select "next" below. Your completing the survey will serve as your consent to participate in the study. In addition, I would greatly appreciate if you would forward this e-mail or link to your friends, family or coworkers who are eligible for participation.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study please feel free to contact me, Emile T. Berk, M.S. (emile.berk@student.shu.edu), my dissertation adviser Dr. Bruce W. Hartman (bruce.hartman@shu.edu, 973-275-2739) or Dr. Mary F. Ruzicka, Director of the Institutional Review Board at Seton Hall University (irb@shu.edu, 973-313-6314). This study has been approved by the Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board.

-Emile T. Berk, M.S.

## Informed Consent to Participate in this Study

PLEASE READ BEFORE PARTICIPATING

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and anonymous. The survey will not ask you for any identifying information and you are free to withdraw at any time. Additionally, any information gathered from the study will be written about collectively so that no one person's information will be displayed. All data will be securely stored on a USB flash drive in my office or home, and will only be accessed by myself and my dissertation adviser, Dr. Bruce Hartman.

Participation in this study requires that you identify as Jewish, Ashkenazi and White. Eligible participants must be at least 18 years of age and reside primarily in the United States.

Clicking the "next" button and continuing to participate signifies that you acknowledge the above-mentioned voluntary, anonymous, and confidential nature of this study. Clicking "next" and continuing to participate indicates your agreement and willingness to participate in this study.

This survey (c) Emile Berk

APPENDIX C:  
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

**Race:** “With which racial background do you identify” (African-American; Asian-American; Latin-American/Hispanic; Native-American; White/of European descent).

**Primary Religious Affiliation:** “Regardless of your personal religious observance, with which religious background do you identify” (only Jewish; Jewish and another religion; Jews for Jesus).

**Jewish Denominational Affiliation:** “With which Jewish affiliation do you most identify?” (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, secular/no religious practice but still Jewish).

**Ethnicity:** “What is your primary Jewish ethnic background” (Ashkenazic; Sephardic; half Ashkenazic and half Sephardic).

**Age:** “Please select your age” (numerical selection 18-120).

**Gender:** “Please select your gender” (Female; Male).

**National Residence:** “Please enter the approximate number of weeks you reside outside the United States each year. Enter numerical characters only.”

**Parents' Religion:** "Please select which category best describes your parents' religious background" (both parents are Jewish; one parent is Jewish; neither parents are Jewish/I am a convert).

**Parents' Race/Ethnicity:** "Please select the category which most accurately describes your parents' racial and Jewish ethnic background" (Both parents are White and/or Ashkenazic; one parent is not White and/or not Ashkenazic).

**Family Immigration Background:** "Please select which major historical events affecting Jewish emigration to the United States applies to your family. Select all that apply." (One or more of my parents/grandparents was killed/survived the Holocaust/Shoah; one or both of my parents/grandparents emigrated from the former Soviet Union; one side of my family immigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1920; both sides of my family immigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1920).

APPENDIX D:  
PSYCHOSOCIAL COSTS OF RACISM TO WHITES SCALE  
(SPANIERMAN & HEPPNER, 2004)

**Factor 1: White empathic reactions toward racism.**

- (10) I am angry that racism exists.
- (6) I become sad when I think about racial injustice.
- (16) It disturbs me when people express racist views.
- (1) When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.
- (14) Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.
- (3) I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.

**Factor 2: White guilt.**

- (7) Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.
- (8) I never feel ashamed about being White. (R)
- (4) Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.
- (15) I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.
- (12) I feel good about being White. (R)

**Factor 3: White fear of others.**

- (13) I often find myself fearful of people of other races.
- (11) I am distrustful of people of other races.
- (5) I have very few friends of other races.
- (2) I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition. (R)
- (9) I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.

APPENDIX E:  
PERMISSION TO USE PSYCHOSOCIAL COSTS OF RACISM TO WHITES SCALE

