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An investigation of racism and its emotional cost : how mindfulness and perceptions of control shape role-related beliefs and behavior

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to explore potential correlations between mindfulness and racism among White meditation practitioners. The secondary purpose was to investigate how locus of control may moderate those correlations. This research was carried out with the goal of identifying ways in which anti-racism programs could be more effective, the role mindfulness might play in future anti-racism programming, and how cultural messages about control might shape relationships between mindfulness and racism. Variations among style and degree of mindfulness practice were also assessed.

Participants filled out an online survey that included scales to assess their self-reported racial animosity, emotional responses to racism, trait mindfulness, and locus of control. Results showed that among the 138 participants, people with higher trait mindfulness scored lower on White Guilt and higher on two of the four racial animosity sub-scales. The majority of those correlations were stronger with an internal locus of control, though there was some variability. No correlation was found between mindfulness and White Empathy or mindfulness and White Fear. Discussion of the results explores the potential influence of social desirability, the bell-curve impact of a mindfulness practice, and the cultural rearticulation of mindfulness and control to meet the Western preference for individualism and self-determination.

AN INVESTIGATION OF RACISM AND ITS EMOTIONAL COSTS: HOW MINDFULNESS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CONTROL SHAPE RACE-RELATED BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOR

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Introduction

Researchers in the fields of social work, psychology, and sociology have produced a vast amount of research on the contributing factors and implications of racism in the United States. Over the past two decades, research has paid special attention to the evolving understanding and definition of racism. Traditional racism—the blatant, violent, or discriminatory practices such as the Tuskegee Experiment and Jim Crow—has decreased, but in its place is a new racism that is subtler, frequently rationalized as a difference in values, and often characterized as in-group preference rather than out-group prejudice (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988; Tarman & Sears, 2005).

Symbolic racism—one of the forms of new racism and the chosen conceptualization for this thesis—is characterized by an underlying racial animosity that denies the impact of present-day racial discrimination, espouses that lack of effort holds back Black Americans from economic progress and inclusion, views anger about racial prejudice as misplaced, and depicts racially-targeted policies as unjustified (Tarman & Sears, 2005). This new dialogue about racism calls upon people who are white to explore their beliefs, thoughts, and actions that implicitly or explicitly discourage and dismiss people of color. It also requires that efforts to dismantle racism tend to the unconscious emotional and cognitive factors that allow symbolic racism to persist. Researchers suggest that progress in dismantling racism is often held back by lack of awareness of one's racism (Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010), reliance on racial stereotypes (Lillis &

Hayes, 2007), guilt and shame about racism and privilege when it is recognized (Tatum, 1994; Zuwerink, Devine, Monteith & Cook, 1996), and fear of losing connection to perpetrators of racism (Miller & Garran, 2008; Staub, 2002). This understanding of racism and the feelings that perpetuate racism call for a new approach to how we address racism; namely, we need to identify anti-racism practices that will address the affective and cognitive factors and repercussions of racism.

The practice of mindfulness—the practice of awareness and acceptance of the present moment (Germer, 2005a; Keune & Forintos, 2010; Niemiec, 2008; Ryback, 2006)—offers hope as a tool for anti-racism practice. Mindfulness has been integrated into several evidence-based therapies, such as Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) and Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT), while also experiencing a rapid growth in educational, vocational, religious and clinical settings. This trend has made mindfulness broadly available to a wide range of people. The practice of mindfulness might be helpful in addressing racism by working with cognitive functions and affective states to increase awareness of the present moment (Chiesa, Calati, Serretti, 2011), accepting and letting go of painful emotions (Garland, et al, 2010; Kernis & Heppner, 2008; Niemiec, Ryan, & Brown, 2008), and experiencing a sense of interconnection that can override fear (Germer, 2005a). At the same time, it's critical to ask whether the rearticulation of mindfulness for western audiences puts an emphasis on the individual and personal control that has come at the cost of its social justice roots. Locus of control will thus be studied in this research as a potential moderating factor in the relationship between racism and mindfulness.

This study contributes to anti-racism work within the field of social work (and related fields) by exploring the ways that mindfulness may be useful as an anti-racism intervention in

educational and clinical settings. It also contributes to mindfulness research and programs by expanding the base of knowledge about its associations, benefits and applications. Finally, this study might help inform meditation sanghas that are considering issues of racism within their sangha or their community. The hope of this researcher is to identify mindfulness practices that are related to lower racial animosity, to better understand how the emotional response to racism is related to racial animosity, and to identify how anti-racism programs can help participants become more sensitive and skillful when responding to racism. A review will first define the core concepts of racism, mindfulness and locus of control. I will then present the empirical findings that operationalize and link these concepts. Finally, I will discuss critical considerations of this work and relevant issues of human diversity.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Introduction

The primary purpose of this research is to explore potential correlations between mindfulness and racism among white meditation practitioners. The secondary purpose is to investigate how locus of control may moderate those correlations. In order to set the context for this investigation, this chapter will first define the core concepts of racism, mindfulness and locus of control. In the second section, I will present the empirical findings that operationalize and link these concepts. In the third section, I will discuss critical considerations of this work and relevant issues of human diversity.

Conceptualizing the Phenomena

Racism in the US. The conceptualization of racism in the U.S. is no longer limited to overt forms of repression and discrimination. Researchers have broadened their thinking to include many newly recognized forms of racism including white privilege (McIntosh, 2003), racial microaggressions (Sue et al, 2007), symbolic and modern racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988; Tarman & Sears, 2005), subtle racism (Anderson, 2010; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Saucier & Miller, 2003), and aversive (both implicit and unconscious) racism (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012; Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Lawrence, 1987).

The literature on the similarities and differences of symbolic, modern, subtle and aversive racism is complex and can receive only a cursory glance in this literature review. However, it's critical to at least note the diversity of definitions to understand how racism is conceptualized

and operationalized in this study. Symbolic racism is a distinct belief system that opposes racially-targeted policies to promote equality (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988; Tarman & Sears, 2005). As noted in the introduction, symbolic racism is characterized by an underlying racial animosity that quietly perpetuates racial discrimination (Tarman & Sears, 2005). Most importantly, symbolic racism is characterized by a belief that racially-targeted policies to pursue equality for Black Americans are a threat to American ideals of individualism and self-reliance; if life options are believed to be shaped by structural inequities outside the realm of an individual's control, people cannot expect to create more opportunities solely by working harder (Tarman & Sears, 2005; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008).

The common characteristics of symbolic, modern, aversive and subtle racism are that they all indicate a low level of traditional prejudice but a strong unconscious bias for a person's own racial group and denial that such bias exists. And because they are less overt and often unconscious, they are also inherently more difficult to measure (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Modern racism is defined in nearly the same way as symbolic racism; its only distinguishing factor is that researchers believe symbolism is the root of both new and old racism and thus sought a more accurate definition for new racism (McConahay, 1986). Similarly, both subtle and aversive racism are defined as pervasive forms of racism that are inconspicuous and often rationalized with reasons other than racial prejudice (Anderson, 2010; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Saucier & Miller, 2003). Aversive racism pays special attention to the belief that equal treatment is important while simultaneously holding negative attitudes toward blacks and acting in a biased way against blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986); the core components of subtle racism are defense of traditional (but not necessarily conservative) values, exaggeration of cultural differences, and denial of positive emotions toward the target group (Saucier & Miller, 2003).

Both subtle and aversive racism are perceived to thrive primarily among liberal people and institutions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Just as the underlying racial bias can be difficult to identify, it can be equally difficult to identify the consequences and costs of racial bias. Some consequences of racism, such as racial profiling and economic disparity, are relatively easy to identify and measure. For example, in 2011, the Wall Street Journal released a report that the New York Police Department stopped 168,126 African American men between the ages of 14 and 24 that year, a number that exceeded the city's actual total population of African American between ages 14 and 24 (Gardiner, 2012). In 2007, a study by the Economic Mobility Project revealed that, in 2004, the average black family's income was just over half of the average white family's income (Isaacs, 2007). Some people may attribute these statistics to racial prejudice among the police force, prejudicial hiring processes, and generations of exclusion from equal education. Someone expressing strong symbolic racism, on the other hand, may argue that lack of effort is the main thing holding back Black Americans from economic progress and view anger about racial profiling as misplaced.

Another consequence of racism is the disproportionately low number of Black Americans in some shared spaces. Even in absence of a discriminatory policy that excludes people of color, there often remains a reluctance to proactively include people of color or a lack of awareness that there might be a need for proactive inclusion (Johnson, 2006). This dynamic reaches every corner of American life, even the sacred spaces where Americans gather to practice mindfulness and other meditative practices. As activist and Zen practitioner Sala Steinbach stated, "…right now they [Buddhist centers] seem very safe for white middle class folks. But every time a person of color walks in, that person should be treated as the most precious jewel…" (Moon, 2000, p. 261). Steinbach's concerns are echoed by author and activist bell hooks as she describes the lack

of teachers of color within the American Buddhist community (Cooper & hooks, 2001). hooks also suggests that this lag may be due to the acquiescence required in lineages with a clear hierarchy (and often patriarchy) of power—an acquiescence that people of color may be less prone to make within a culture that already suppresses their power (Cooper & hooks, 2001).

To understand why people of color are underrepresented, researchers who study avoidance and exclusion study the ways in which people of color are greeted upon arrival; whether people who are white talk to them, listen to them, and expand the conversation from "in-group" knowledge; whether the attitude in the room is that everyone should be, think and do as the "in-group"; whether the person of color is invited out to events that happen after the formal gathering; and whether information on how the culture operates is shared with the new person of color (Johnson, 2006). Someone with a low level of racial animosity may be willing to acknowledge and address these behaviors to create a more inclusive space. However, someone with more symbolic racism may see these racially-targeted adjustments as unjustified or argue that lack of effort or interest is responsible for fewer Black Americans in those spaces.

Researchers have also started to conceptualize how racism affects people who are white, and how these effects perpetuate racism. In an effort to locate effects that are more applicable to the subtle expressions of modern and symbolic racism, researchers have re-conceptualized the psychosocial cost of racism to people who are white as White Guilt, White Fear, and White Empathy (Kordesh, Spanierman & Neville, 2012; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). White Guilt is defined as feeling personally responsible for racism, feeling ashamed or guilty about being White, and feeling afraid that one will abuse their privilege as a White person. White Fear is the experience of being fearful or distrustful of people of color, having few friends of other races, feeling fearful in areas with a lot of people of color, and fearing that one's race will no longer be

the numerical majority. White Empathy, on the other hand, is the experience of feeling angry, sad, or helpless about racism; feeling angry or depressed in response to racial violence; feeling disturbed when some expresses a racism view; and believing racism is dehumanizing to all people (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Low levels of White Guilt and White Empathy, and high levels of White Fear are thought to reinforce racist beliefs and behaviors among the people experiencing them (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). In order for perpetrators of racist violence to be welcomed back into the community, they must express empathy for those they harmed, guilt for what they did to them, and responsibility for their past and future actions (Staub, 1999).

In a similar line of thinking, bystander psychology proposes that passive bystanders might avoid confronting racism due to fear of being alienated or losing their connection to the perpetrator, or they might even become active perpetrators in an effort to retain that connection to the perpetrator (Staub, 2002). If a bystander can muster altruistic motivation—a pro-social orientation and a willingness to both love and criticize the perpetrator—their active refusal to participate can help encourage other people to also take a stand (Staub, 2005). On the other hand, as people move from bystander to active resister, they might begin to feel like a victim, have to confront their own unconscious racism, and have to develop a new and more complicated view of the perpetrator (Miller, 2008).

These affective and cognitive costs of racism to white people can prevent an individual from wanting to be more aware of their own racism and perpetuate racism itself (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Contextual factors might also affect one's willingness to engage in empowering or anti-racist behavior; these factors include the social and political environment (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkoway, 1992) and the saliency of race in a given situation (Wilson, 1994). Regardless of context, people are more likely to attribute prejudicial behavior to racism the more

extreme, aggressive or violent the act (Wilson, 1994). It's not known, however, whether this increased attribution of racism is due to the bystander experiencing a greater (or different) emotional response to the act of racism, or whether this is due to the bystander having a less developed schema of racism.

Mindfulness. Mindfulness is commonly defined as the practice of awareness and acceptance of the present moment (Germer, 2005a; Keune & Forintos, 2010; Niemiec, 2008; Ryback, 2006). Mindfulness is both an inherent trait and a skill to be developed, and the techniques used to refine mindfulness can include seated meditation (focused, open, or transcending) walking meditation, breathwork, mantras, body-scans, or slow and deliberate action such as mindful eating (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Orsillo & Roemer, 2011; Sedlmeier, 2012). Despite the accuracy and universality of this definition, the word *mindfulness* is often used without distinguishing the different ways it is approached in traditional Buddhist practices, Vipassana (Insight) meditation, Transcendental meditation, evidence-based therapies (such as CBT and DBT), and psychodynamic psychotherapy (Fulton & Siegel, 2005). There is great diversity in how mindfulness is conceptualized depending on the degree of religiosity in the practice and the meditation technique that is used; this section aims to explore these varied conceptualizations.

Mindfulness originates from a tradition of Buddhist meditation and philosophy that has served as a cornerstone to liberation movements across the world (Nhat Hanh, 1993; Queen, 2000; Queen & King, 1996; Rothberg, 1998). Buddhist teachings hold at their core the Four Noble Truths: suffering exists, the cause of suffering is attachment, suffering can be alleviated, and the way to be free of suffering is the Eightfold Path (Silananda, 2002). Mindfulness is one of those eight paths of liberation from suffering (Govinda, 1989). According to Buddhist teachings,

when faulty thoughts and reactions are cleared from our contemplation of body, feelings, consciousness, and mental formations, right mindfulness is achieved and our cognition becomes clear and perfected (Silananda, 2002).

The alleviation of suffering remains at the core of all mindfulness practices—no matter whether the application is religious, secular, or psychotherapeutic (Sedlmeier, 2012). However, the details are constantly in flux and continue to change as practitioners blend modalities, teachers cross borders, and teachings are interpreted for different cultures. Zen practices traveled from China into Japan and are rooted in ritual, community practice, and a freedom from goals through the practice of *shikautaza* (just-sitting) (Shaheen & Fronsdal, 2002). Theravada Buddhism thrives in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand, and is the root of Vipassana meditation. Compared to Zen, Vipassana does not involve ritual or as much community-emphasis and is more goal-oriented in its practice (Shaheen & Fronsdal, 2002). Transcendental Meditation (TM), on the other hand, is a meditation technique that is distinguished by its use of mantra to guide the mind through transcendence of itself (Sedlmeier, 2012).

Over the past thirty years, the practice of mindfulness meditation has grown steadily in the United States (Fronsdal, 1998; Fulton & Siegel, 2005), largely through the growth of Vipassana (Insight) meditation (Fronsdal, 1998; Gunaratana, 2002). Although mindfulness practices have a long history in Buddhism, the term was made popular in the west largely through the recent psychotherapy work of Dr. Jon Kabat-Zinn, founder of the Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) program at the University of Massachusetts. Psychotherapists continue to be the largest influencing force among Vipassana teachers and communities in the west (Fronsdal, 1999).

In a U.S. government survey on complementary medicine, the number of adults reporting a meditation practice grew from 7.6 percent to 9.4 percent between 2002 and 2007 (Barnes, Bloom & Nahin, 2008). In 1994 alone, more than 20,000 Westerners attended a Vipassana retreat (Fronsdal, 1999). Some researchers credit the growth of mindfulness to the growth of community groups (*sanghas*) that teach and practice mindfulness meditation (Fronsdal, 1998). Many other researchers give credit to the integration of mindfulness into psychodynamic and evidence-based therapies (Leahy, 1996; Cayoun, 2011; Germer, 2005b), and vocational, health care, and school-based programs (Butler, 2005). Regardless of the particular setting, an essential part of mindfulness' adaptation in the West has been the stripping of its religious and historical context (Cheah, 2011; Fronsdal, 1999). Western teachers often replace the religious and ritualistic aspects of Theravada Buddhism with a focus on the cognitive practices of meditation, thus opening the practice to a larger secular audience in occupational, health and educational settings (Fronsdal, 1998; Shaheen & Fronsdal, 2002).

One of the major shifts that occurred as mindfulness migrated to the West was the language used to talk about the benefits of mindfulness. Liberation from suffering was replaced with stress-reduction, and this is likely due to the popularity of the eight-week MBSR program at U-Mass and the burgeoning psychotherapeutic modalities that are adopting mindfulness. While MBSR and other evidence-based practices encourage participants to continue mindfulness practices on their own, the programs' time-limited duration does not offer the ongoing community support and context that provided a core component of religion-based mindfulness practices. Also lost in this transition was the idea of the bodhisattva, the enlightened being that returns to earth to help others, or the enlightened way of being that inspires people to help relieve the suffering of others (Govinda, 1989; Santideva, 1997). While any psychotherapeutic

application of mindfulness might increase the participants' ability to help others by facilitating their own healing, the greater altruistic message of the bodhisattva is missing—and this omission is significant in its own right because the bodhisattva ideal shaped Buddhist thought and action for centuries as an expression of altruistic and selfless transformation (Santideva, 1997).

Even if the bodhisattvic ideal hasn't been transmitted to Western forms of secular mindfulness, the practices that reflect a pro-social orientation certainly have. Positive psychology draws upon mindfulness practices that address the negative (and often unconscious) tendency to "other" another person by creating positive emotions that counter negative thoughts and fears (Garland et al, 2010). Self-determination theory proposes that by "quieting the ego" and reducing the defensive response, mindfulness enables clients to behave with more self-determination and live more fully from their authentic and autonomous selves (Niemiec, Ryan & Brown, 2008, p. 113). Self-determination is facilitated because just as brain structure influences how we think and behave, how we think and behave also reshapes and redefines our brain (Ryback, 2006). Furthermore, the behavior and thought we witness in others can also reshape our thoughts and behavior. Thus we may develop an empathic pro-social orientation when we witness it in others, and others may develop it when they witness it in us. This reciprocal development of an altruistic motivation to help others even when we risk something in return is ultimately in the same spirit as the bodhisattva did and still does.

Locus of Control. Locus of control was first conceptualized as a spectrum of *internal control* and *external control* in a study on reward and reinforcement of human behavior (Rotter, 1966). Since then, it has been the subject of studies as varied as marital happiness and weight loss, and it has sparked dozens of similar conceptual frameworks that measure causal beliefs (Lefcourt, 1991). Locus of control's generalizable characteristics are that it's seen as future-

oriented, framing expectations of life outcomes as the result of either personal effort and action (internal control) or uncontrollable factors such as luck, chance, other people, or even an omnipotent force (external control) (Thompson, 2009). Internal control is often experienced as self-efficacy, mastery, and ability to change outcome (Lachman, Neupert & Agrigoroaei, 2011). Positive Psychology defines an internal locus of control as a strategy of acceptance by acting to get one's desired outcomes or by looking for unexpected internal benefits when one does not get their desired outcome (Thompson, 2009). Perceived internal control can thus be highly adaptive, but it can also be maladaptive when it's overestimated or unrealistically high (Thompson, 2009). Adaptive or not, locus of control is seen as a characteristic of personality that is both stable and applicable to multiple avenues of life (Lefcourt, 1991).

Locus of control is distinctly different from having a sense of responsibility or choice in determining an outcome (Thompson, 2009). Sue (1978) was one of the first people to delineate these concepts of control and responsibility, and apply them to culture. Sue identified four conceptual world views: internal locus of control - internal locus of responsibility (IC-IR), external locus of control - internal locus of responsibility (EC-IR), external locus of control - external locus of responsibility (EC-ER), and internal locus of control - external locus of responsibility (IC-ER). Sue identified the ways that Western counseling has a cultural bias for the IC-IR framework and discussed the ways this framework is imposed upon clients of different cultures by making assumptions that the problem rests primarily within the individual and by trying move the client to the IC-IR framework. If this has shaped how willing counselors are to recognize the impact and existence of racism, this is likely also true for the general public.

The cultural distinction of locus of control is particularly relevant to social work because researchers have shown that the more marginalized a person is from power in society (i.e. a

person of color, from a lower socioeconomic class, the elderly, or female-identified), the less likely she is to feel an internal locus of control (Assessing Women in Engineering, 2005; Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Burlin, 1976; Fiori, Brown, Cortina & Antonucci, 2006; Garcia & Levenson, 1975; Lachman, Neupert & Agrigoroaei, 2011; Shaw & Krause, 2001; Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005). Researchers suggest that an internal locus of control is positively related to personal well-being (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006). However, many researchers question this as little more than a cultural bias for internal locus of control (Kim, 2002; Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake & Morelli, 2000; Sue, 1978). Instead of assuming that it's adaptive to have the same locus of control as the dominant culture, researchers suggest locus of control should be adaptive depending on race, gender, age, and life circumstance (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006; Lachman, Neupert & Agrigoroaei, 2011). While the practice of "retraining" a person's locus of control has been used to successfully coach women preparing for competitive male-dominated academic fields (Assessing Women in Engineering Project, 2005), there are still larger questions about the carry-over effect of this retraining and its implications.

Some researchers find that exposure to racism (as a person of color) is positively associated with an external locus of control (Burlin, 1976; Gurin, Gurin & Morrison, 1978; Trevino & Ernst, 2012), others find it positively associated with an internal locus of control, perhaps as a way of coping with the increased threat to oneself (Cain, 1994). While I found no research on the correlation of locus of control and racist animosity as a White person, researchers are emerging who are starting to discuss the conceptual links between locus of control and racial animosity. Marks (1998) emphasizes the importance of considering locus of control as a White mental health clinician because the clinician and client may have different notions of control and because the Western cultural bias is that internal control is more desirable. This dynamic can

make it harder for clinicians to understand why a client may not believe in his or her ability to create change and the valid situational and adaptive reasons for maintaining an external sense of control, which ultimately results in the client feeling degraded and misunderstood. Marks' review of the literature on locus of control also highlights that while an internal locus of control has correlations with wellness measures, it is not necessarily the determinate; however, because of the cultural bias for internal control, the tendency is to assume that it determines wellness.

Researchers also recognize a larger culturally-bound "control ideology" that shapes how much control we believe other people have over their life (Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie, 1969). In one study examining how people engage in advocacy, researchers found that if a person believes someone is responsible for his or her own suffering, the person is more likely to feel anger and act out with punishment or rejection. In contrast, the person's perception that someone had no control over her own suffering elicits sympathy and helpfulness (Weiner, 2012). Furthermore, researchers suggest that cultural beliefs about individualism, control and responsibility are used to both legitimize and perpetuate aversive racism, microaggressions, and white privilege (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Every, 2005). These beliefs evoke the myth of western meritocracy while denying the possibility that some people are born better positioned to succeed, with more control over life circumstances, and with greater reward for their merits.

Empirical Studies

Racism operationalized. Researchers have produced an ample body of work in the past two decades on the contributing factors to racism and the obstacles that often impede its eradication. Many researchers agree that cognitive habits and functioning need to be addressed in order to ameliorate racism from our beliefs, thoughts, and actions (Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Johnson & Frederickson, 2005; Macrae, Milne & Bodenhausen, 1994). But progress is

often held back by lack of awareness of one's racism (Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010), reliance on racial stereotypes (Lillis & Hayes, 2007), fear of losing connection to perpetrators of racism (Miller & Garran, 2008; Staub, 2002), and guilt and shame about racism and privilege when it is recognized (Tatum, 1994; Zuwerink, Devine, Monteith & Cook, 1996). To the contrary, Dovidio and Gaertner (1999) suggest that guilt can play a useful role in moving a person through the three steps of dismantling racism (building awareness, creating the motivation to change, and cognitive regulation of racial biases).

Researchers hypothesize that White Americans struggle to address racial microaggressions because of four fears: 1) fear of appearing racist, 2) fear of realizing their racism, 3) fear of confronting white privilege, and 4) fear of having to take personal responsibility to end racism (Sue & Constantine, 2007, p. 139). Non-adaptive ego defenses often emerge as a buffer to these fears. The ego defenses prevent true dialogue about race and privilege and often include denial, deflection, rationalization, intellectualization, principium, false envy, benevolence, and minimization (Watt, 2007, p. 120).

Researchers credit the specific etiology of symbolic racism to collective cultural beliefs that are implicitly and unconsciously rooted in racial prejudice, thus making symbolic racism inherently more difficult to isolate, measure, and eradicate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). For three decades the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) was used to assess racist beliefs and attitudes—specifically in reference to people who identify as Black (McConahay, 1986). Its limitation, however, is that it's particularly relevant to measuring high levels of racism and political conservatism rather than subtle and symbolic forms of racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). The Symbolic Racism Scale was adapted from the MRS to more effectively measure racism that stems from racial animosity rather than political values, even though Symbolic Racism may still

be more common among people who are politically conservative (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Henry & Sears, 2002). The Symbolic Racism Scale measures four concepts that are informed by values and ideals: work ethic, appraisal of appropriate self-advocacy, denial of ongoing prejudice, and beliefs about underserved advantage (Henry & Sears, 2002). These concepts form what some researchers assert is a distinct belief system that is differentiated from traditional forms of racism and political conservatism (Tarman & Sears, 2005).

The Modern Racism Scale (MRS) and its derivative scales (including the Symbolic Racism Scale) are also critiqued for the influence of social desirability on its results (Saucier & Miller, 2003). More complex measures, including the Racial Argument Scale (RAS), the Implicit and Explicit Race Bias Test, and the Implicit Association Test (IAT) try to account for social desirability and can reasonably predict aversive and subtle racial prejudice that is not addressed in self-report measures (Devine et al., 2002; Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012; Saucier & Miller, 2003; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008). The Implicit and Explicit Race Bias Test utilizes in-person scenarios in which hiring decisions are assessed based on racial and ethnic differences of candidates and scenario facilitators (Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008). The IAT is based on a computer program that assesses word associations with photos of people of a variety of races (Devine et al., 2002; Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012). These tests have shown high reliability and predictability of racial prejudice, but they are also highly intensive and inaccessible for widespread use.

Researchers have demonstrated that symbolic and modern racism can be reduced through educational intervention (Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012). This process occurs in three stages: becoming aware of racism, developing a concern about the impact of racism, and then becoming motivated to address it (Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012). Once someone is

motivated to address it, they might take on antiracist behaviors such as interrupting racism when it's witnessed, taking public action to address racism, and teaching others about racism and privilege (Kordesh, Spanierman, & Neville, 2012).

Despite the success of some anti-racism educational interventions, the results are sometimes counter-intuitive. White participants of college diversity programs sometimes report at the end of the program that they are more afraid of people of other races or have fewer cross-race friendships (Case, 2007). Researchers believe this is not because cross-racial fear actually increased over the course of the program, but because *awareness* of their fear or over-reporting of cross-race friendships inspired more accurate reporting at the end of the program (Case, 2007). Other studies indicate that participants of anti-oppression interventions who believe in a just world and engage in fewer advocacy behaviors experience more distress but also strengthen their belief that the world is a just place where a person's merit and fate are closely aligned (Lerner, 1980; Van Soest, 1996). Strengthened acceptance of just world ideology might reflect a tendency to screen out information that does not conform to one's beliefs (Van Soest, 1996). It might also be a necessary stage of personal transformation, similar to the denial stage of the grieving process (Van Soest, 1996). These studies raise critical questions about how to accurately measure a reduction in racism if the process of building awareness of racism naturally requires a stressful period of greater recognition of internal racism, experiences of guilt or shame, or a period of stronger attachment to beliefs that don't conform to the anti-racism paradigm.

Witnessing and learning about racism is a stressful experience, and stress triggers a series of neurobiological responses that impact cognitive functioning. When faced with stress, a flood of cortisol and adrenaline comes through the sympathetic nervous system, which then triggers

the “flight or fight” response in the amygdala (Ryback, 2006). This experience—while necessary for survival— may trigger fear and aggression and decrease the capacity for intentional response (Gunnar, 2007). If we never deliberately retrain our stress response, our neurobiological connections will entice us to reject the stressful experience instead of address it.

This neurobiological connection can have a tremendous impact on how a person is affected by racism and how she responds to racism. Stereotypes have long been viewed as an “energy-saving” cognitive device that depends on the sympathetic nervous system automatic response so that the brain can free space for problem-solving and memory recall (Macrae, Milne & Bodenhausen, 1994). Positive emotions are recognized, however, as a possible remedy to stereotyped bias. In a study on own-race bias (ORB) in facial recognition, researchers found that White participants who were shown a joyful video before a face recognition test showed marked improvement in their ability to identify Black faces (Johnson & Frederickson, 2005). The researchers theorize that positive emotions helped White participants see the face as a collective whole and less as an object (Johnson & Frederickson, 2005). This is a strong affirmation for Positive Psychology, whose proponents posit that positive emotions increase the variety of potential positive behaviors (Frederickson, 2012).

In the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale, empathy serves a role similar to the role of positive emotions. In a study of White university freshmen, researchers reported that students with high levels of White Empathy had the greatest awareness of racial issues and the most diversity in their friendships (Spanierman, Todd & Anderson, 2009). When White Guilt accompanied White Empathy, there were also greater levels of racial awareness, sensitivity, and multicultural education. Conversely, when White Empathy was low and there was high White Fear and/or White Guilt, people scored the lowest on measures of racial

awareness, sensitivity, multicultural education, and friendship diversity (Spanierman, Todd & Anderson, 2009). Under the PCRW scale, it seems, the presence of empathy creates the foundation of flexibility and range in response, but guilt is also necessary for greater awareness and action. Some researchers have found empathy to be a greater predictor of multicultural competence than multicultural training (Constantine, 2000; Constantine, 2001), and others have found that White Empathy predicts high supervisor ratings of clinician multicultural competence (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh, 2008).

There are a myriad of other factors that have suggested correlations to racism and multicultural competence, including political affiliation (Dovidio, 1998; McConahay, 1986; McConahay, 2003; Nail, Harton & Decker, 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh, 2008) and gender (Nail, Harton & Decker, 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh, 2008). Most relevant to this thesis, however, is the correlation of religion and spirituality to racism, which has been studied extensively, though typically with a focus on racism within Christianity (Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000). Throughout history, religion has been the crux of devastating periods of oppression and race-based violence, including the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, the Holocaust, Kashmiri ethnic cleansing and slavery. Buddhism has less frequently appeared as the correlated religion of racial intolerance, but the current genocidal violence in Burma in which the Theravada Buddhists are targeting the Rohingya Muslims—reveals that not even Buddhism is immune from racist hate (Associated Press, 2013; Zarni, 2013).

The relationship between religion and racism is disputed among researchers, though the trend seems to be moving in the direction of a negative correlation (Hall, Matz & Wood, 2010). Researchers propose that religion practiced within races creates an in-group mentality that promotes ethnocentrism and competition for resources with other races identified as out-groups

(Hall, Matz & Wood, 2010). However, decreased social acceptance of racism might decrease racism among even the most traditional religious followers—even when humanitarian values do not cause a decrease in racism (Hall, Matz & Wood, 2010). Other researchers attribute the newly recognized negative correlation of religiosity to racism to a decrease in orthodoxy and cognitive rigidity (Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Johnson et al, 2011) and an increase in relativism (conceptualized as tolerance towards other opinions and cultures) in religion (Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000). Age is also recognized as a moderating factor in the correlation between religion and racism (Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000), and may be a factor in a 10-year study of college students that led to a strong negative correlation between high religiosity and racism (Perkins, 1992). Interestingly, while researchers in this study found that high Judeo-Christian religiosity was associated with lower prejudice, moderate Judeo-Christian religiosity was associated with higher prejudice (Perkins, 1992). Researchers hypothesized the reasons for this correlation, but additional research is needed to explore the causation.

Another interesting area for more research is the impact of religious words and messaging on racism. In one study, participants who were primed with Christian concepts (such as bible, faith, Christ, church, gospel, heaven, Jesus, Messiah, prayer, and sermon) expressed greater covert prejudice towards African Americans (Johnson, Rowatt & LaBouff, 2010). This impact held even when controlling for participants' religious faith. This study highlights the powerful impact of language and history on racial prejudice, and perhaps appeals for a better understanding of how the practices we engage in impact our capacity for tolerance both implicitly and explicitly. This study also highlights how racial animosity might be acted out unconsciously when participants are not acting with mindful and deliberate cognition.

In his groundbreaking 1987 law review, Charles Lawrence wrote, "We cannot be individually blamed for unconsciously harboring attitudes that are inescapable in a culture permeated with racism. And without the necessity for blame, our resistance to accepting the need and responsibility for remedy will be lessened" (p. 326). Lawrence ensured us that we can and must take responsibility for collective unconscious racism, but provided a new approach to doing this work that removed the shame that provokes resistance. Two decades later, Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh (2008) are still emphasizing the importance of identifying and responding to White students' emotional response to anti-racism trainings because anxiety, guilt, and defensiveness can cause White students to disengage from examining their or society's racism.

Mindfulness operationalized. A mindfulness practice is characterized by focused or insight meditation, breathwork, mindful eating and mindful movement. For the purpose of this paper, any reference to a practice infers one (or more) of these practices. Mindfulness practices offer a crucial ally in dismantling new, symbolic and unconscious racism because it works with some of the emotional (as well as behavioral and cognitive) obstacles that perpetuate racism. Researchers suggest that mindfulness decreases negative ego defenses (Kernis & Heppner, 2008; Niemiec, Ryan, & Brown, 2008), helps manage difficult emotions such as shame and anger (Garland, et al, 2010), fosters a sense of oneness that can override the fear that fuels prejudice (Germer, 2005a), improves empathic development (Anderson, 2005; Fulton, 2005; Martin, 1997; Morgan & Morgan, 2005; Shapiro & Izett, 2008) and increases the ability to acknowledge that racial bias does exist (Kucsera, 2001; Lillis & Hayes, 2007).

Researchers who explore the neurobiological implications of mindfulness practices have suggested that it supports the development of executive functioning, focused attention, and working memory capacity (Chiesa, Calati, Serretti, 2011). Mindfulness practices attempt to

break the fight-flight cycle by encouraging the individual to allow stress-inducing thoughts to surface, notice them, and release them with calm and ease (Williams et al, 2007). Over time, a mindfulness practice lessens the propensity for defensiveness and promotes greater reflexivity (Chiesa, Calati & Serretti, 2010; Heeren, Broeck, & Philippot, 2009). The more the individual practices this reflexivity, the more neuron pathways are built to support that response and the easier it will be for the client to remain calm in the face of provocation.

As the brain starts to function differently, changes in behavior quickly follow. For example, the mindful focus of attention improves recall of specific autobiographical memories, which has led to improved problem solving skills and decreased depression (Heeren, Broeck, & Philippot, 2009; Williams, Teasdale, Segal & Soulsby, 2000). Mindfulness practitioners also display improved flexibility and engage less often in habitual or impulsive response (Chiesa, Calati, & Serretti, 2010; Heeren, Broeck & Philippot, 2009; Sahdra, et al, 2011), they are less prone to obsessive thoughts, and they show more self-regulation and adaptive functioning (Sahdra, et al, 2011).

Mindfulness practice aids human interaction by promoting affect regulation and self-awareness (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Kernis & Heppner, 2008; Sahdra, et al, 2011), which in turn facilitates a decrease of maladaptive ego defenses (Kernis & Heppner, 2008; Niemiec, Ryan, & Brown, 2008). Other researchers suggest that mindfulness practice aids the development of overall psychological well-being (Keune & Forintos, 2010) and is negatively associated with psychological distress (Masuda & Tully 2012). At the most universal level, mindfulness practice supports human relationship by supporting the growth of empathy, interconnectivity, and awareness of suffering (Anderson, 2005; Fulton, 2005; Martin, 1997; Morgan & Morgan, 2005;

Shapiro & Izett, 2008)—and this interconnectivity is the foundation of a pro-social orientation that some researchers purport is necessary to actively refuse or confront racism (Staub, 2005).

There is an ample amount of research on the general effects of a mindfulness practice, but very few researchers have assessed how a mindfulness practice is related to racial prejudice. It has been suggested that a mindfulness practice that lasts for as little as five minutes might have a positive short-term impact on prejudice-reduction (Kernis & Heppner, 2008). In the study, half the participants did a five-minute mindful eating exercise, and the participants who received the intervention showed less aggression in response to social rejection (Kernis & Heppner, 2008). In another study, researchers carried out a 75-minute intervention of Acceptance Compassion Therapy (ACT) for two Psychology of Race college classes and then assessed the students' reliance on racial stereotypes (Lillis & Hayes, 2007). Participants from the treatment group showed a lower believability in stereotypes and an increase in behavioral flexibility (Lillis & Hayes, 2007). The key of the research was to encourage participants to focus on the process of thinking instead of on the negative content, thereby letting the prejudice come up without judging or attaching to it. These results offer hope for increasing the efficacy of diversity programming on college campuses. However, it's important to note that the students in this study self-selected into the class, which might mean they were predisposed to address their own racism or their affective response to it. In contrast, student participants of the college diversity program that reported greater signs of prejudice after the program had no opt-out option or pre-screening; the program was required of all students (Case, 2007).

Mindfulness is conceptualized in research as both an inherent trait and an attribute that can be developed through practice (Brown & Ryan, 2003). Studies that use practice-based interventions and studies that research pre-existing mindfulness both use similar measures to

assess a person's mindfulness. The most-often used scale is the Mindful Attention Awareness Scale (MAAS) (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Van Dam, Earleywine & Borders, 2010)—a scale that specifically measures the pre-existing ability to focus attention and awareness on the present reality and experience. Though the research has been limited, trait mindfulness has also indicated greater awareness and acceptance of the concept of White Privilege (Kucsera, 2001). In another study, participants who showed greater trait mindfulness also showed less bias for their own race after being exposed to a mortality salient exercise (Niemiec et al, 2010). The authors concluded that proximal defenses were decreased with mindfulness, allowing for greater self-regulation, self-awareness, and self-determination (Niemiec et al, 2010). Researchers suggest this increased ability to make decisions in risky situations is a function of emotion regulation skills (Heilman et al., 2010). A person can develop those emotion regulation skills in a variety of ways; a mindfulness practice is one way to develop those skills.

Thus far, research on mindfulness has largely neglected to consider factors that determine the depth or degree of a person's practice. Drawing from studies of religiosity, variable factors are *reflexive*, *social* or *symbolic* activities that are operationalized as whether someone is a member of a sangha, their frequency of attending sangha, the frequency of their home meditation practice, and reading of contemplative writing (Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005, pp. 173, 178). Consideration of the context and origin of a spiritual practice is unequivocally important when it's the subject of research (Butler, 2005). While some studies focused on one particular type of practice, mindfulness research would also benefit from more specific attention to the context and origin of the participants' practice by studying a broader array of practice traditions.

It's important to note that sometimes it's not mindfulness in particular, but an overall state of positive emotion that is correlated with a decrease of racial bias in decision-making

(Johnson & Frederickson, 2005). In other cases, the inverse is true: for example, priming people with words that have subtly negative cultural implications—and doing so in a way that people are not aware of being primed—actually increases racial bias (Johnson, Rowatt & LaBouff, 2010). The crux here is that negative bias (especially symbolic forms of racial bias) occurs, as Dovidio and Gaertner (1999) explain, "spontaneously, automatically, and without full awareness" (p. 101). And while guilt may be a necessary state to motivate someone to address their racist biases, that affective state must be anticipated and properly tended to in order to achieve the most favorable outcome in any racism-reduction program.

Even with limited empirical research linking mindfulness to a reduction in prejudice, programs such as the Compassionate Transformation (CT) program continue to expand that use Buddhist teachings to address the guilt, shame, denial and isolation that often prevent anti-racism action (Tarakali, 2007). CT utilizes an integrative approach of community support, compassion, and spiritual practice to reduce racism and develop a positive white identity. Racial study groups (such as the Dharma Sanctuary Group at Two Streams Zen in Northampton, MA) are another example of how Buddhist mindfulness practitioners engage in this simultaneous work.

Locus of Control operationalized. Locus of Control was first measured by Rotter's Internal-External (I-E) Scale in 1966 (Lefcourt, 1991; Rotter, 1966). The majority of research on locus of control has used the I-E Scale, but many subsequent scales have also been developed to measure the nuances of perceived control and specific applications of it (for a thorough review of these scales, see Lefcourt, 1991, and Marks, 1998). While the I-E Scale is limited in its ability to refine the more complex ways of understanding locus of control that are postulated by Levenson's or Gurin's scales, for example (Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie, 1969; Gurin, Gurin &

Morrison, 1978; Marks, 1998), its singular measurement factors make it the preferred tool when measuring its moderating impact on other factors (Lefcourt, 1991).

Researchers studying the demographic variables of perceived control have found that African Americans (Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Garcia & Levenson, 1975; Shaw & Krause, 2001), Hispanic Americans (Trevino & Ernst, 2012), women (Assessing Women in Engineering (AWE) Project, 2005; Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Burlin, 1976; Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006), people with lower socioeconomic standing (Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Garcia & Levenson, 1975; Shaw & Krause, 2001), people with less education (Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Shaw & Krause, 2001), people who are older (Lachman, Neupert & Agrigoroaei, 2011; Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005; Shaw & Krause, 2001), and people who are more religious (Shaw & Krause, 2001) feel less in control of their life. Depression and life dissatisfaction are also correlated with decreased perceptions of control (Bruce & Thornton, 2004). Some studies report that gender has a higher correlation with external control than race; in one study, white women had the lowest reported sense of control over problems, even more than African American women (Bruce & Thornton, 2004). In a similar study of life satisfaction and personal control, gender—not race—had a negative association with personal control (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006).

Researchers suggest that our sense of control decreases over time as we age (Lachman, Neupert & Agrigoroaei, 2011; Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005), but changes to our sense of control as we age can also be mediated by religiosity (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006; Krause, 2005; Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005). For example, religiosity is positively associated with an internal sense of control for older adults (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006). Researchers think this may be due to an improved ability to integrate a

fluctuating and more complex sense of shared control (Fiori, Brown, Cortina, & Antonucci, 2006) that develops with maturity or life experience. Others suggest that religion simply instills greater self-worth in older adults, allowing them to identify to a greater extent with their own sense of control (Krause, 2005). Experience of God's control over one's life may be externalized as a way of coping with stress and personal adversity (known as Relinquished Control Theory), or it may be internalized through a belief in partnership with God (Personal Empowerment Theory) (Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005).

Critical Cross-Sections of Mindfulness, Racism, and Locus of Control

Researchers suggest a correlation between locus of control, race, and religiosity (Krause, 2005; Moore, 2003; Schieman, Pudrovska, & Milkie, 2005). As early as 1976, researchers were empirically testing the way that perceptions of racism and sexism decreased internal locus of control in women and their belief that they could influence the surrounding world (Burlin, 1976). Exposure to racism has been positively associated with external locus of control (Trevino & Ernst, 2012), while other researchers find it to be positively associated with an internal locus of control (Cain, 1994). While White Americans tend to have a negative association between divine control or religiosity and personal control or mastery, Black Americans report a positive association (Ellison, 1993; Bruce & Thornton, 2004; Schieman, Pudrovska & Milkie, 2005). Researchers propose that in the presence of a strong oppressive external control such as racism, Black Americans perhaps find comfort in the idea that there is an even greater external control that can trump the racism of men. Shaw and Krause (2001) also emphasize that the direction of causality is unclear: does higher religiosity create greater external control, or does greater external control lead a person to become increasingly religious?

Internal locus of control is positively associated with positive self-esteem and a sense of agency (Assessing Women in Engineering, 2005), altruism and a willingness to take social action (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkowar, 1988; Levenson & Miller, 1976; Van Voorhis & Hostetter, 2006), and engagement in community or social justice work (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkowar, 1988; Levenson & Miller, 1976; Van Voorhis & Hostetter, 2006). Some researchers suggest this correlation is limited to people with liberal political leanings (Levenson & Miller, 1976). These trends also differ by race; in one study, African Americans engaged in community activities reported a higher sense of personal control than their white counterparts (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkowar, 1988). These results are strikingly different than results from the general population, where African Americans have a lower perception of personal control and a higher perception of powerful external others (Garcia & Levenson, 1975). Here again, the direction of causality is unknown: does community engagement result in a higher internal locus of control, or does a higher internal locus of control prompt people to be more engaged in their community?

Mindfulness originates from a long tradition of Buddhist meditation and philosophy that has served as a cornerstone to liberation movements across the world (Nhat Hanh, 1993; Queen, 2000; Queen & King, 1996; Rothberg, 1998). In the US, however, Buddhist religious teachings that emphasize social engagement and non-violence are largely replaced with a psychotherapeutic emphasis on stress-reduction and individual healing in order to appeal to a wider audience (Cheah, 2011; Fronsdal, 1999; Heuman, 2012). As the practice of mindfulness moves further away from a collective religious foundation and closer to a practice of personal insight, many people have questioned whether the altruistic roots or the *dharma* have or will remain (Cheah, 2011; Heuman, 2012; Shaheen & Fronsdal, 2002). This shift is particularly

visible when White Buddhist retreat attendees express the benefits of their practice in terms of autonomous functioning and self-actualization rather than their social relationships or connection to society (Hori, 1994). Researchers understand this change in the practice as the *cultural and racial rearticulation* of Theravada Buddhism in the US (Cheah, 2011; Hori, 1994). They propose that mindfulness was rearticulated to meet the needs of the dominant culture, synthesizing what was adaptable to Western values and silently leaving out any challenges to the dominant culture. In American society, our collective unconscious racism—and the ideologies it plays out about power, control, self, and society—has left its mark on Westernized Buddhism and perpetuated a system of White domination, privilege and prioritization of the ego and individual over the collective well being (Cheah, 2011; Cooper & hooks, 2001).

This rearticulation of the practice based on dominant culture prompts larger questions about what other values or beliefs might have been incorporated in an effort to make the practice desirable to Western minds—and what impact those values or beliefs may have on perpetuating racism in the West. Mindfulness communities are not immune from their own experiences of racism, cultural rearticulation, and racial segregation (Cheah, 2011; Hickey, 2010) and it's unknown how the cultural context that values individualism, internal control and personal responsibility—all of which are thought to perpetuate aversive racism, microaggressions, and white privilege—might affect the involvement of people of color (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Every, 2005). Mindfulness communities in the U.S. are largely dominated by white middle-class Euro-Americans (Fronsdal, 1998). The absence of people of color in U.S. mindfulness communities has sparked powerful conversations about if or why there is a need for separate sanghas for people of color, why people of color feel uncomfortable in some western mindfulness communities, and why the emphasis of social action has become a qualifier for subsets of

Buddhism and not a fundamental given for all of its forms (Cheah, 2011; Cooper & hooks, 2001).

While mindfulness may address some of the cognitive and emotional contributors to racism, the role of mindfulness in dismantling the belief system under racism is less clear. Even though research has begun on the short-term impact of mindfulness interventions on racial prejudice, researchers have not yet investigated the correlations between racism and trait mindfulness, racism and the type or degree of meditation practice, or mindfulness and the emotional response to racism. Nor have researchers assessed how beliefs about individualism and control may moderate those correlations or contribute to racist "double binds" that leave little room for questioning or change (Mahmoud, 1998). As for research that focuses specifically on mindfulness, while there is an increasing body of research that focuses on short-term mindfulness interventions, past researchers have focused on longer-term interventions that required intensive retreats or long-standing mindfulness practice. While the latter research has merit, attention should be given to the class (and possibly race) bias in studies that required participants to leave their homes and jobs for an extended period of time.

Summary

The literature reviewed here suggests that religiosity has a significant (although sometimes unpredictable) correlation to racism and locus of control, and that exposure to racism also has a significant (although sometimes unpredictable) correlation to locus of control. Research to date on religiosity (both in terms of racism and locus of control) has focused on Judeo-Christian beliefs (Krause, 2005; Moore, 2003; Schieman, Pudrovska, & Milkie, 2005) and research on correlations between locus of control and racism has focused on exposure to racism. Virtually no research has explored the correlations of racist animosity and locus of control. The

little bit of research that has been done on mindfulness (as it derives from Eastern Buddhist practices) and racism offers a promising negative correlation.

The purpose of this quantitative study is thus to better understand if and how mindfulness is correlated to racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, and how locus of control might moderate that correlation. I hypothesize that individuals with greater trait mindfulness, individuals who practice meditation that is communal and rooted in Eastern tradition, and individuals with a greater amount of time spent in meditation will report less racial animosity, and more emotional responsiveness as assessed by White Empathy, White Guilt, and (less) White Fear. My assumption is that by creating a more flexible, reflective, and sensitive state of mind through mindfulness practice that is rooted in community-based ethos, it will become easier to acknowledge and report an emotional response to racism. My hope is that by better understanding the correlations to racism, we will be better able to create mindfulness-based interventions to contribute to the dismantling of racism in the US.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Research Formulation

The purpose of this quantitative study is to better understand how mindfulness is associated with racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, how racial animosity is associated with the emotional response to racism, and to explore whether locus of control or mindfulness moderates those associations. This study will examine the following questions:

- What association exists between mindfulness (operationalized as trait mindfulness, type of meditation practice, and degree of meditation practice) and the degree of racial animosity?
- What association exists between mindfulness (operationalized as trait mindfulness, type of meditation practice, and degree of meditation practice) and the emotional response to racism?
- What association exists between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?
- Which mindfulness variables best predict racial animosity?
- Which mindfulness variables best predict an emotional response to racism?
- How does locus of control moderate the relationship between mindfulness and racism?
- How does mindfulness moderate the relationship between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?

I hypothesize that individuals with greater trait mindfulness, individuals who practice meditation that is communal and rooted in Eastern tradition, and individuals with a greater amount of time spent in meditation will report less racial animosity, and more emotional responsiveness as assessed by White Empathy, White Guilt, and (less) White Fear. I also hypothesize that greater levels of White Empathy and White Guilt will correspond with less racial animosity. By creating a more flexible, reflective, and sensitive state of mind through mindfulness practice that is rooted in community-based ethos, my assumption is that it will become easier to acknowledge and report an emotional response to racism. I expect that these relationships will be moderated by locus of control so that individuals with greater internal locus of control will experience less White Guilt and White Empathy, and greater racial animosity.

Data Collection Procedure

Data were collected for this study via an online and anonymous survey that I created using Survey Monkey. Recruited participants were given a survey URL that allowed for anonymous participation. The survey took approximately 25 minutes to complete. Participants had to meet three eligibility requirements: they must be over 18 years old, identify racially as white, and they must have a meditation practice. The study sample was inclusive to people of all sex and gender identifications, and political affiliations. No anti-racism experience was required. This study aims to directly address the experience of white people as perpetrators and bystanders of racism and thus does not address the experiences of people of color who are also meditation practitioners.

Participants first answered questions about the duration, frequency and style of their meditation practice. Participants then completed the following scales, in the following order: Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites

(PCRW) (Kordesh, Spanierman & Neville, 2012; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), Rotter's Internal–External Locus of Control Scale (LCS) (Ferguson, 1993), Mindful Attention Awareness Scale (MAAS) (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Van Dam, Earleywine & Borders, 2010). Data was exported into an Excel spreadsheet and then analyzed.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited by emailing a recruitment letter to personal contacts, meditation sanghas and monastic centers, and by posting to online meditation listserves, meetups, and forums. The recruitment letter (see Appendix C and D) included information about the research goals, eligibility requirements, and a link to participate. These efforts led to snowball recruitment as participants invited others to participate. The outreach focused on a variety of Vipassana, Zen, and secular meditation outlets in hopes of recruiting a wide variety of practitioners.

Study Participants

The study sample included 138 meditation practitioners. Among these practitioners, 36.3 percent reported having a Vipassana practice, 23.0 percent practice Zen Buddhism, 17.7 percent secular mindfulness, 6.6 percent Tibetan Buddhism, and 5.3 percent practice Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) (all other reported meditation styles comprised less than 3 percent of the study sample). A total of 73.8 percent of participants practice both alone and in community (sangha), 22.2 percent only practice alone, and four percent only practice in sangha.

There was a fairly equal distribution of practice frequency among the study participants: 36.7 percent practice three or fewer times per week, 29.7 percent practice four to six times per week, and 33.6 percent practice seven or more times per week. Approximately one-third of participants practice five to fifteen minutes per sit (29.1), one-third practice 15 to 30 minutes

(27.2), and one-third practice for more than 30 minutes per sit (27.8). Nearly half (43 percent) of respondents have practiced for more than five years, 17.2 percent have practiced three to five years, 15.9 percent have practiced one to three years, and 8.6 percent have practiced for less than one year.

Measures

I utilized four quantitative self-report measures for this study. All of the measures were peer-reviewed and either open for public use or permission was granted for use in this study.

Racial animosity. To measure symbolic racial animosity, I used the Symbolic Racism Scale. The Symbolic Racism Scale measures four concepts that are informed by values and ideals: belief that racial inequity is due to lower work ethic among people who are black, belief that Black Americans make excessive demands for equality, denial of the existence of racial prejudice, and belief that Black Americans are given undeserved advantage in pursuit of equality (Henry & Sears, 2002). These concepts constitute a distinct belief system that is differentiated from traditional forms of racism and political conservatism (Tarman & Sears, 2005). The scale is coded 1-4 on a four-point Likert Scale to assess the degree of the respondents' agreement or disagreement (Sears & Henry, 2005). A higher score indicates a higher degree of racial animosity. The alpha reliabilities for the first three tests of the scale were .79, .75, and .86 respectively (Tarman & Sears, 2005)

Emotional response to racism. For the measurement of the emotional response to racism, I used the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale. The PCRW investigates the impact of racism as both witness and perpetrator by measuring White Guilt, White Empathy, and White Fear in response to racism (Kordesh, Spanierman & Neville, 2012; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The scale consists of 16 questions on a six-point Likert Scale

that ranges from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Higher scores indicate higher emotional cost. Reliability is strong on all three measures of the PCRW scale: White Empathy (.78), White Guilt (.73), and White Fear of Others (.63) (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).

Mindfulness. Trait mindfulness was measured using the Mindful Attention Awareness Scale (MAAS) (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Van Dam, Earleywine & Borders, 2010). This scale used 15 questions to measure the pre-existing ability to focus attention and awareness on the present moment. Responses were based on a six-point Likert Scale ranging from *almost always* to *almost never*. Higher scores indicate higher levels of mindfulness. All items are rated highly consistent and significant ($p < .05$) with strong reliability (ranging from .80 to .87) (Brown & Ryan, 2003).

Type of mindfulness practice was measured using two questions about the style of meditation practice and the setting of practice (individual or in community). Degree of mindfulness practice was measured using three questions about the frequency (times per week), length (number of minutes), and years of mindfulness practice.

Locus of control. Locus of control was measured using the Internal-External (I-E) Locus of Control Scale. This scale used 29 questions (23 recorded and 6 filler questions) to find the most accurate representation of the participants' views on personal control (Lefcourt, 1991; Rotter, 1966). Higher scores indicate a more external locus of control. This scale's focus on a singular measurement made it the preferred tool to measure its moderating impact on racial animosity and the emotional response to racism (Lefcourt, 1991). The original scale developer reports a Kuder-Richardson internal consistency coefficient of .70 (Lefcourt, 1991; Rotter, 1966).

Data Analysis

The cronbachs alpha was used to test the internal reliability of each scale. Each scale had an alpha scores above 0.6, which indicated sufficient reliability. Symbolic racism Scale had a Cronbach's Alpha reliability of .716, the MAAS scored .872, and the I-E Locus of Control Scale scored .646. The Psychological Cost of Racism to Whites Scale had an overall reliability of .681, but the scale is only assessed by its sub-factors, and only two of the three factors had sufficient reliability; White Empathy (.469) was below the cutoff while White Guilt (.669) and White Fear (.660) were both sufficiently reliable.

Variable intercorrelations were analyzed using the Pearson Correlation Coefficient. Variable predictions were analyzed using linear regression. Nominal variables were excluded from the linear regressions because it would require a far more complex form of analysis. The moderating effects of locus of control and mindfulness were analyzed using multiple correlations analysis. Moderating effects were only analyzed for correlations that proved to be significant. See Table 1 for details of the research questions, analysis strategy, and variables tested.

Table 1
Analysis Strategy and Variables

Research Question	Analysis Strategy and Variables
1. What association exists between mindfulness and the degree of racial animosity?	**Pearson Correlation** a. Mindfulness: trait mindfulness, type and degree of meditation practice b. Racial animosity: the Symbolic Racism Scale (aggregate and four sub-factors)
2. What association exists between mindfulness and the emotional response to racism?	**Pearson Correlation** a. Mindfulness: trait mindfulness, type and degree of meditation practice b. Emotional response to racism: Psychological Cost of Racism Scale (three sub-factors)
3. What association exists between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?	**Pearson Correlation** a. Racial animosity: the Symbolic Racism Scale (aggregate and four sub-factors) b. Emotional response to racism: Psychological Cost of Racism Scale (three sub-factors)
4. Which mindfulness variables best predict racial animosity?	**Linear regression** a. Mindfulness: trait mindfulness and degree of meditation practice b. Racial animosity: the Symbolic Racism Scale (aggregate and four sub-factors)
5. Which mindfulness variables best predict an emotional response to racism?	**Linear regression** a. Mindfulness: trait mindfulness and degree of meditation practice b. Emotional response to racism: Psychological Cost of Racism Scale (three sub-factors)
6. How does locus of control moderate the relationship between mindfulness and racism?	**Three-variable correlations** a. Mindfulness: trait mindfulness b. Locus of control: two levels of Locus of Control score c. Racism: two Symbolic Racism factors (Excessive Demands Animosity and Denial of Racism) and one Psychological Cost of Racism sub-factor (White Guilt)
7. How does mindfulness moderate the relationship between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?	**Three-variable correlations** a. Racial animosity: aggregate Symbolic Racism score b. Mindfulness: three levels of trait mindfulness score c. Emotional response to racism: two Psychological Cost of Racism sub-factors (White Empathy and White Guilt)

CHAPTER IV

Findings

Question #1: *What association exists between mindfulness and degree of racial animosity?*

Racial animosity is measured as an aggregate score and as four sub-factors: belief that racial inequity is due to lower work ethic among people who are black (Work Ethic Animosity), belief that Black Americans make excessive demands for equality (Excessive Demands Animosity), denial of the existence of racial prejudice (Denial of Racism), and belief that Black Americans are given undeserved advantage in pursuit of equality (Undeserved Advantage Animosity). Trait mindfulness had a significant positive weak correlation to the aggregate score of racial animosity ($r=.212$, $p=.024$) such that people who were more mindful had greater racial animosity overall and, specifically, in terms of Excessive Demands Animosity ($r=.259$, $p=.006$) and Denial of Racism ($r=.253$, $p=.007$). Work Ethic Animosity and Undeserved Advantage Animosity were not correlated with trait mindfulness. Degree of practice (frequency, length or years) had no correlation to either the total score of racial animosity or any of its subscales. See Table 2 for the full set of correlations.

Table 2
Correlations of Mindfulness by Racial Animosity

	Racial Animosity *aggregate*	Work Ethic	Excessive Demands	Denial	Undeserved Advantage
Trait mindfulness					
Pearson Corr.	.212*	.006	.259**	.253**	.111
Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.953	.006	.007	.240
N	114	113	111	114	114
Frequency					
Pearson Corr.	.001	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sig. (2-tailed)	.991				
N	123				
Length					
Pearson Corr.	.130	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sig. (2-tailed)	.152				
N	122				
Years					
Pearson Corr.	.025	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sig. (2-tailed)	.787				
N	123				

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

I used a Oneway Anova to test the difference between the means for each style of practice and the aggregate score of racial animosity; the test revealed a significant difference ($F(2,79)=5.258$, p=-.007, two=tailed). A Bonferroni post hoc test was then used, which indicated the difference was because those who practiced Vipassana ($\bar{x}=1.34$) had less animosity than those who practiced Zen ($\bar{x}=1.61$). When racial animosity was broken down into sub-factors, Vipassana practitioners were less likely to attribute racial inequity to lower work ethic among people who are black ($\bar{x}=1.22$) than were those who practice Zen ($\bar{x}=1.58$). Also, Vipassana practitioners were also less likely to deny the existence of racial prejudice ($\bar{x}=1.11$) than those who practice Zen ($\bar{x}=1.48$). These results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Differences in Racial Animosity Mean Scores by Style of Meditation Practice

	Racial Animosity *aggregate* F=5.258, (p=.007)		Work Ethic F=3.161 (p=.048)		Excessive Demands F=.090 (p=.914)		Denial F=6.253 (p=.003)		Undeserved Advantage F=1.913 (p=.154)	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Vipassana	**1.34**	**.19**	**1.22**	**.55**	1.93	.39	**1.11**	**.27**	1.20	.43
Secular mindfulness	1.49	.34	1.26	.48	1.97	.31	1.29	.45	1.42	.53
Zen	**1.61**	**.45**	**1.58**	**.66**	1.96	.48	**1.48**	**.54**	1.42	.58

Questions #2: *What association exists between mindfulness and the emotional response to racism?*

Emotional response to racism was measured with the Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites Scale and is always analyzed as three separate factors: White Empathy, White Guilt, and White Fear. White Empathy had the highest mean score ($\bar{x}$= 5.01, S.D.=.62), indicating that of all the emotional responses to racism, White Empathy was felt the strongest. White Guilt had a substantially lower mean ($\bar{x}$= 3.24, S.D.= 1.06), and White Fear had the lowest mean ($\bar{x}$=2.22, S.D.=.87). The greater uniformity in White Empathy and White Fear may have limited the results that could be assessed from this sample when testing these variables relationships to the other variables in the study.

I used a Pearson correlation to determine if there was an association between trait mindfulness and emotional response to racism. There was no significant correlation between trait mindfulness and White Empathy or White Fear. There was a significant negative

correlation between trait mindfulness and White Guilt (r=-.328, p=.000, two-tailed) such that as trait mindfulness increased, White Guilt decreased.

I also ran a Pearson correlation between frequency of practice and emotional response to racism. There was no significant correlation between frequency and White Empathy or White Fear. There was a significant negative weak correlation between frequency and White Guilt (r=-.262, p=.004, two tailed) such that the greater number of times per week that someone reported that they meditate, the lower their White Guilt. There was no significant correlation between length of practice or years of practice and any of the three factors of emotional response to racism. These results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Correlations of Trait and Degree of Mindfulness by Emotional Response to Racism

	White Empathy	White Guilt	White Fear
Trait mindfulness			
Pearson Corr.	-.054	-.326**	-.168
Sig. (2-tailed)	.571	.000	.073
N	114	114	114
Frequency			
Pearson Corr.	-.066	-.262**	-.064
Sig. (2-tailed)	.469	.004	.488
N	121	121	121
Length			
Pearson Corr.	-.063	-.085	-.055
Sig. (2-tailed)	.497	.354	.554
N	120	120	120
Years			
Pearson Corr.	.081	-.010	.029
Sig. (2-tailed)	.378	.918	.749
N	121	121	121

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

I used Oneway Anovas to determine if there was a difference in the White Empathy, White Guilt and White Fear subscales in relation to style of practice. There was a highly significant result for White Fear (F(2,78)=5.090, p=-.008), but no significant results for either

White Empathy or White Guilt. A Bonferroni post hoc test indicated the difference was between those who practiced secular mindfulness ($\bar{x}$=1.67) and those who practiced either Vipassana ($\bar{x}$=2.44) or Zen ($\bar{x}$=2.38), indicating that those who practiced secular mindfulness had less White Fear. There was no significant difference between Vipassana and Zen. These results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Correlations between Style of Meditation by Emotional Response to Racism

	White Empathy F=.279, p=.757		White Guilt F=2.069, p=.133		White Fear F=5.090, p=.008	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Vipassana	5.10	.44	3.52	.96	**2.44**	**.98**
Secular mindfulness	5.01	.44	2.99	1.13	**1.67**	**.65**
Zen	5.01	.74	3.09	1.11	**2.38**	**.86**

Question #3: *What association exists between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?*

Pearson correlations were run between racial animosity (aggregate and sub-factors) and the three separate subscales of emotional response to racism. There was a significant negative correlation between racial animosity and White Empathy (r=-.273, p=.002, two-tailed), so that participants with higher levels of White Empathy had lower levels of racial animosity. There was also a significant negative correlation between racial animosity and White Guilt (r=-.371, p=.000, two-tailed), such that participants with higher levels of White Guilt had lower levels of racial animosity. There was no significant correlation between racial animosity and White Fear. Among the racial animosity subscales, significant negative correlations were found between all

four subscales and White Guilt: Work Ethic Animosity and White Guilt (r=-.226), Excessive Demands Animosity and White Guilt (r=-.228), Denial of Racism and White Guilt (r=-.344), and Undeserved Advantage Animosity and White Guilt (r=-.269). Two racial animosity subscales had a significant negative correlation with White Empathy: Denial of Racism and White Empathy (r=-.277), and Underserved Advantage Animosity and White Empathy (r=-.254). These results are shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Correlations between Racial Animosity and Emotional Response to Racism

	White Empathy	White Guilt	White Fear
Racial Animosity			
Pearson Corr.	-.273**	-.371**	.048
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.596
N	122	122	122
Work Ethic			
Pearson Corr.	-.162	-.266**	.156
Sig. (2-tailed)	.076	.003	.088
N	121	121	121
Excessive Demands			
Pearson Corr.	-.110	-.228*	-.073
Sig. (2-tailed)	.233	.013	.428
N	119	119	119
Denial			
Pearson Corr.	-.277**	-.344**	.025
Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.786
N	122	122	122
Undeserved Advantage			
Pearson Corr.	-.254**	-.269**	-.024
Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.003	.795
N	122	122	122

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Question #4: *Which mindfulness variables best predict racial animosity?*

I performed a linear regression to assess if any mindfulness variables predict racial animosity, and if so, which ones best predict it. Style and setting were not used because they are nominal variables and require a more complicated analysis. There were no significant predictors $F(4,111)1.245$, $p=.296$, $R^2=.044$.

Table 7
Mindfulness Predictions of Racial Animosity

	Standardized Coefficients		
	β	*p*	R^2
Trait mindfulness	.167	.103	
Frequency of meditation	.049	.635	
Minutes of meditation	.059	.554	
Years of meditation	-.017	.864	
			.044

Question #5: *Which mindfulness variables best predict an emotional response to racism?*

I performed a linear regression to assess whether trait mindfulness or degree of mindfulness practice factors (frequency, length of practice, and years of practice) could best predict the three sub-factors to emotional response to racism. Style and setting were not used because they are nominal variables and require a more complicated analysis.

Mindfulness significantly predicted White Guilt ($F(4,111)3.970$, $p=.005$) with an overall R-square of .129, indicating that only a small, though significant, amount of variance in White Guilt was explained by mindfulness. Trait mindfulness contributed a significant amount of the variance ($\beta=-.251$, $p=.011$), while frequency of practice contributed a nearly significant amount ($\beta=-.185$, $p=-.062$). The other mindfulness variables were not significant. Neither the regressions

for White Empathy (F(4,111).519, p=.722) nor White Fear (F(4,111).873, p=.483) were significant. These results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Mindfulness Predictions of Emotional Response to Racism

	White Empathy			White Guilt			White Fear		
	β	*p*	R^2	β	*p*	R^2	β	*p*	R^2
Trait mindfulness	-.017	.868		-.251*	.011		-.174	.093	
Frequency of meditation	-.084	.423		-.185	.062		.039	.711	
Minutes of meditation	-.043	.671		.002	.983		-.036	.723	
Years of meditation	.109	.269		-.007	.936		.053	.588	
			.019			.129			.032

* Correlation is significant at .05 level.
** Correlation is significant of .01 level.

Question #6: *How does locus of control moderate the relationship between trait mindfulness and racism?*

Locus of control was scored based on a 23-point scale on which low scores indicated greater internality and higher scores indicated greater externality. The mean locus of control score was almost exactly in the middle of the scale, indicating a well-balanced sample of locus of control ($\bar{x}$= 11.68, S.D.=4.06) with substantial variation (variation=16.49, min=2, max=20).

I created two locus of control variables by splitting the sample in half based on the total range of possible scores, resulting in two levels of locus of control: internal (low score), and external (high score). I then ran separate correlations between the significant trait mindfulness and racial animosity variables (Excessive Demands Animosity and Denial of Racism), and between the significant trait mindfulness and emotional response variables (White Guilt).

Finally, I assessed if the level of locus of control influenced the strength of the relationship between the two other variables.

Locus of control had a moderating effect on each correlation relationship. However, not all of the correlation relationships were moderated in the same manner, which makes the data more complex and difficult to interpret. The positive correlation between trait mindfulness and Excessive Demands Animosity was stronger among people with an external locus of control (r=.305, p=.018). The positive correlation between trait mindfulness and Denial of Racism was stronger among people with an internal locus of control (r=.321, p=.022). The negative correlation between trait mindfulness and White Guilt was also stronger among people with an internal locus of control (r=-.364, p=.009). These results are shown in Table 9.

Table 9
Locus of Control as Moderator of Trait Mindfulness and Racism

	Locus of Control	
Trait Mindfulness Correlations	Internal N=49	External N=60
Excessive Demands		
Pearson Corr.	.231	.305*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.111	.018
Denial		
Pearson Corr.	.321*	.154
Sig. (2-tailed)	.022	.241
White Guilt		
Pearson Corr.	-.364**	-.232
Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	074

* Correlation is significant at .05 level.
** Correlation is significant of .01 level.

Question #7: *How does trait mindfulness moderate the relationship between the degree of racial animosity and the emotional response to racism?*

I created three trait mindfulness groups by splitting the sample into thirds (low, medium and high) based on their scores on the respective variables. I then ran multivariate correlations

between racial animosity and each factor of emotional response to racism to see if the level of trait mindfulness affected the result. Results showed White Empathy was significantly correlated with racial animosity when trait mindfulness was medium (-.359, p=.029) but not if it was low or high. For each level of mindfulness there was at minimum a trend of negative correlation between White Guilt and racial animosity. The correlation was strongest and most significant at the low level of mindfulness (-.521, p=.001), significant at the high level of mindfulness (-.362, p=.030), and trending towards significance at the medium level of mindfulness (-.301, p=.071). There was no significant correlation between racial animosity and White Fear at any trait mindfulness level.

Table 10
Mindfulness as Moderator of Racial Animosity and Emotional Response to Racism

	Trait Mindfulness Level		
	LOW N=38	MEDIUM N=37	HIGH N=36
White Empathy & racial animosity			
Pearson Corr.	-.307	-.359*	-.188
Sig. (2-tailed)	.061	.029	.273
White Guilt & racial animosity			
Pearson Corr.	-.521**	-.301	-.362*
Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.071	.030
White Fear & racial animosity			
Pearson Corr.	.001	.062	.136
Sig. (2-tailed)	.996	.716	.428

* Correlation is significant at .05 level.
** Correlation is significant of .01 level.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

Major Findings

Mindfulness and the degree of racial animosity. This study set out to investigate the associations between mindfulness and the degree of racial animosity. My hypothesis was that individuals with greater trait mindfulness, individuals who practice meditation that is communal and rooted in Eastern tradition, and individuals with a greater amount of time spent in meditation will report less racial animosity.

Trait mindfulness. Contrary to my hypothesis, the results indicated that as someone's trait mindfulness increases, so does their self-reported racial animosity. In particular, there were positive correlations between trait mindfulness and the belief that Black Americans make excessive demands for equality, and between trait mindfulness and the denial of racial prejudice. On the other hand, trait mindfulness was not correlated with the belief that racial inequity is due to lower work ethic among Black Americans or the belief that Black Americans are given undeserved advantage in pursuit of equality.

Previous researchers suggest that mindfulness is associated with heightened self-knowledge (Brown & Ryan, 2003). The positive correlations between trait mindfulness and racial animosity may be the result of greater racial animosity, or they may be because respondents who are more mindful are also more aware of their racism. Diversity and anti-racism programs have been shown to effectively increase awareness of racism, but they might result in higher self-reported levels of racial animosity after the educational intervention (Case, 2007).

Perhaps mindfulness acts similarly to an educational intervention such that by increasing one's attention to the self, the individual is also more attentive to the subtle forms of racism that they embody. If this were the case, it is possible that people with high mindfulness report higher racial animosity but act with less racial animosity or believe it less.

These results also beg the question of whether there is something about trait mindfulness that would cause it to be correlated to the belief that Black Americans make excessive demands for equality and to the denial of racial prejudice, but not to the other forms of racial animosity. Previous researchers have suggested that mindfulness increases the ability to acknowledge that racial bias does exist (Kucsera, 2001; Lillis & Hayes, 2007). It's possible, however, that the Symbolic Racism Scale captured a different aspect of denial of racism than did the measure in the other studies. In that case, it would suggest that some aspects of racism get acknowledged and others do not.

Style and degree of practice. Degree (frequency, length or years) of practice had no correlation with racial animosity, suggesting that time spent in practice is not associated with how these participants think about race. Style of practice, on the other hand, did have significant correlations to racial animosity. Overall, Vipassana practitioners were less likely than those who practice Zen to attribute racial inequity to lower work ethic among Black Americans; they were also less likely to deny the existence of racial prejudice. These results suggest that style of meditation training is more highly correlated to racial animosity than the time spent in practice. Differences among meditation styles may be simply due to of the larger sample size for Vipassana in this study. Correlations among people who practice Vipassana and those who have a secular practice were very similar, but because the sample size for secular practitioners was so much smaller than the Vipassana sample size, the secular sample may have shown a similar

correlation with racial animosity if the sample had been larger. Thus, this difference may be a result of methodology rather than real differences between the two styles in relation to racial animosity. Alternatively, the results may be due to the influence of psychotherapists and social workers who are teachers and leaders in the Vipassana tradition (Fronsdal, 1999).

Mindfulness and the emotional response to racism. Another hypothesis of the study was that individuals with greater trait mindfulness, individuals who practice meditation that is communal and rooted in Eastern tradition, and individuals who spend a greater amount of time in meditation will report more greater White Empathy and White Guilt, and less White Fear. Here again, the results were unexpected.

There was no significant correlation between trait mindfulness or frequency of practice and White Empathy or White Fear. This is surprising given the ample studies that suggest mindfulness supports the development of empathy (Anderson, 2005; Fulton, 2005; Martin, 1997; Morgan & Morgan, 2005; Shapiro & Izett, 2008). However, due to the low reliability of the White Empathy measure, these results cannot be given too much weight. This sample reported relatively low White Fear; given the low mean score for White Fear, it's perhaps not surprising that it, too, had no significant correlation with mindfulness. The greater uniformity in responses to White Empathy and White Fear may have also limited the possible correlations. There may have also been a uniformity of the sample in terms of education or occupation, which could account for limited variability in response.

Both trait mindfulness and frequency of practice had a negative correlation to White Guilt. These results suggest that people who have greater mindful attention and who practice meditation more frequently feel less guilt about racism. This introduces important questions about why these correlations might exist: do people with greater trait mindfulness and frequency

of practice actually feel less White Guilt; does the practice encourage a disavowal of White Guilt; or, if it's more socially desirable to feel more White Guilt, does greater mindfulness bring out a more honest response about a person's lack of White Guilt?

Given that White Guilt is the only emotional response with a significant correlation to mindfulness in this study, it's also important to ask why mindfulness might have a correlation to guilt but not empathy or fear. It's possible there is something about the way mindfulness teachings address guilt that would explain this correlation. Guilt is often addressed in mindfulness teachings, but it's a complex message that simultaneously recognizes the veil it forms between a person and their self-actualization, and the role it can play to move one closer to self-actualization. Thich Nhat Hanh (2004) teaches that guilt (like anger or anxiety) should be welcomed and used as a teacher in the practice. Many secular mindfulness-based practice models explore the positive value of guilt as a key component of restorative justice (Malouf, Youman, Harty, Schaefer & Tangney, 2013) and fostering positive change (Germer, 2009), while recognizing that guilt denied or not allowed to exist will create even more anxiety (Germer, 2009). In other mindfulness-based psychotherapeutic settings, guilt may not be given as much space to exist and may be seen instead as a cyclical psychic punishment for failing to meet external indicators of self-worth (Niemiec, Ryan & Brown, 2008). The research seems to suggest that guilt is, in fact, a critical component to healing and forgiveness, despite the deep discomfort that it often provokes.

Bringing this back to our study at hand, researchers have previously suggested that when high White Empathy is matched by high White Guilt, racial awareness and sensitivity are also at their highest (Spanierman, Todd & Anderson, 2009). If trait mindfulness or frequency of practice does lead a person to feel less White Guilt, these are important phenomena for further

investigation—in particular because there is a consistent correlation between lower White Guilt and higher racial animosity. Perhaps this correlation highlights how current mindfulness teachings address (or don't address) the concept of guilt on an individual level. White Guilt is unique in that guilt is generally seen as a negative emotion, yet high levels of it are interpreted as positive when it's coupled with empathy (a positive emotion). White Fear, on the other hand, is always interpreted as a negative emotion (resulting in lower multicultural competence), and White Empathy is always interpreted as a positive emotion (resulting in higher multicultural competence) (Spanierman, Todd & Anderson, 2009). For institutions and communities that may already have a relatively low level of racial animosity but want to do more nuanced work on the subtle forms of symbolic racism, perhaps White Guilt is an important place to start.

Neither length of practice nor years of practice had any correlation to the three factors of emotional response to racism. Styles of practice, on the other hand, had a significant relationship with White Fear but not with White Empathy or White Guilt. Practitioners of secular mindfulness had a lower score of White Fear in comparison to practitioners of Vipassana and Zen. However, the notably smaller sample size of secular practitioners brings into question the ultimate significance of these results.

Racial animosity and the emotional response to racism. The next hypothesis is that greater White Empathy, greater White Guilt and less White Fear would be correlated to less racial animosity. This hypothesis was supported by the data that revealed significant negative correlations between racial animosity and White Empathy, and between racial animosity and White Guilt. The more White Empathy and White Guilt that participants reported, the lower their score on racial animosity. Intuitively, this makes sense that as people are better able to feel the struggle of someone who is oppressed by racism, they might respond with less racial

animosity. However, good will only takes the person part of the way; in order for a person to actively dismantle their racist beliefs, they must also feel a sense of moral obligation to do that work—an obligation that is incited by the "constructive discomfort" of guilt (Leahy, 2011). Doing the work of dismantling racism is itself uncomfortable work, so the presence of an greater discomfort—that of guilt—helps create the altruistic motivation (Staub, 2005) for action.

These results support previous research conclusions that high White Empathy and White Guilt are associated with racial awareness and sensitivity (Spanierman, Todd & Anderson, 2009). These results also suggest a few correlations that may help inform future anti-racism studies. It may be that the capacity to experience and identify an emotional response to racism supports the lessening of racial animosity. It may also be that the participants who have less racial animosity are better able to identify their emotional response to racism, perhaps because of less shame or anxiety about their animosity. Either way, these results provide a useful framework for future anti-racism programs, both within and outside of meditation communities.

Mindfulness as a predictor of racial animosity. When considered as a package, the mindfulness variables did not predict racial animosity. The simple correlation between trait mindfulness and racial animosity appears to be the only relationship between these variables among this sample.

Mindfulness as a predictor of an emotional response to racism. As I expected from the correlation results, White Guilt was the only emotional response factor that was significantly predicted from mindfulness variables, with trait mindfulness explaining a significant amount of variance and frequency of meditation contributing an almost significant amount of explained variance. It's interesting to note that trait mindfulness—which is more about the person's inherent mindfulness than it is about any external factors or training—carried the relationships

with the emotional responses to racism. This suggests that perhaps it's not the style or frequency of practice that makes a difference, but what a person does with it and a person's capacity for fully being aware of it.

Previous studies suggest that mindfulness can help manage feelings of shame and anger, so it reasonably follows that greater trait mindfulness predicts lower guilt (Garland, et al, 2010). Of course, if lower levels of White Guilt are associated with higher levels of racial animosity, this suggests there may need to be a distinction made in mindfulness teachings about the positive purposes of guilt, its distinguishing features from shame, and how to develop a healthy use of guilt. If some practices or teachings are diminishing the tolerance of emotions that positively propel social justice action, then perhaps we need to revisit those teachings to ensure they can continue to carry us forward. This might need to begin as a series of dialogues about the role of guilt in addressing racism, breaking down how guilt is related to responsibility and differs from shame, and opening dialogue on where practitioners feel guilt in their practice.

Locus of control as a relationship moderator. My initial hypothesis was that individuals with greater trait mindfulness would experience more White Empathy, more White Guilt and less racial animosity, and that this relationship would be strengthened with an external locus of control. The data revealed three unexpected correlations, two of which had moderating relationships that supported this hypothesis.

Trait mindfulness and Excessive Demands Animosity. The positive correlation between trait mindfulness and Excessive Demands Animosity was stronger among people with an external locus of control. This is particularly interesting because in order for someone to make a demand on society, they have to acknowledge the control that external forces have on their life. I initially thought that people with an external locus of control would, by resonating with that

acknowledgment, have greater tolerance or understanding of where Black Americans must make demands for structural and political change. However, these results make me question whether people with an external locus of control are less tolerant of other people making demands because they directly interpret those demands as another external influence on their own life. If that's the case, and if there is some degree of racial animosity already present, it may be that this increases the animosity attributed to excessive demands made by Black Americans.

Trait mindfulness and Denial of Racism. The positive correlation between trait mindfulness and Denial of Racism was stronger among people with an internal locus of control. Although I was surprised that people with higher trait mindfulness reported higher Denial of Racism, the moderating role of locus of control supported my hypothesis. An internal locus of control indicates a perceived autonomy from external circumstances. If a person navigates life with a strong feeling of personal control over life's circumstances, it seems logical that the person would be more likely to assume that other people also have control over their life and not be subject to external forces such as racism. With that said, there are surely more nuances to learn from this relationship—nuances that perhaps need a more complex measure that distinguishes between a person's own sense of control in life and the control they assume others have in their respective lives. This again offers a useful point of conversation for meditation communities or other institutions doing anti-racism work; perhaps by talking about how the relationship between trait mindfulness and denial of racism is stronger with an internal locus of control, participants will be more likely to investigate their beliefs about control and consider the unintended consequences of them.

Trait mindfulness and White Guilt. The negative correlation between trait mindfulness and White Guilt was also stronger among people with an internal locus of control. This result

poses some intriguing questions about the impact of locus of control. Are people with a highly internal locus of control overall less likely to feel guilt for larger structural problems in society? If so, perhaps it's because the concept of internal control is coupled with the concept of internal responsibility, a view of the world that situates the source of problems in other people rather than in the external world (Sue, 1978). Sue's (1978) control-responsibility model would have been a useful model to better conceptualize this dynamic and its impact on mindfulness correlations, and I would have used it if I had learned about it before the data were collected.

Moving forward, it would be useful to run additional analyses that explore simple relationships between locus of control and the racism and mindfulness scales. I'm curious whether people with high trait mindfulness naturally develop a more neutral locus of control as they develop a less rules-based personality and instead seek a more balanced appraisal of their experiences and the agency within them. It might also be helpful to look at locus of control as a moderator of correlations between racial animosity and the emotional response to racism. A more thorough study of all of the relationships between these variables will help to garner a much clearer understanding of how locus of control operates.

Mindfulness as a relationship moderator. In an effort to better understand the relationship between racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, I tested to see if the level of trait mindfulness affected the results. Here again, the results were mixed.

White Empathy and racial animosity. White Empathy had a significant negative correlation with racial animosity when trait mindfulness was at a medium level, an almost significant correlation when trait mindfulness was low, and no correlation when it was high. Given the even distribution of sample sizes across the three levels of mindfulness and the previous research that has suggested a positive correlation between mindfulness and empathy,

this result was a surprise. It suggests that perhaps there is a difference in the empathy that is generated and supported by a mindfulness practice and the empathy that is tested in the White Empathy sub-factor. This result should also be cautiously considered given the low internal reliability score of the White Empathy scale in this study's results.

White Guilt and racial animosity. Relationships between White Guilt and racial animosity were at least marginally (and negatively) related across all levels of mindfulness. The correlation was stronger and more significant among people with a low level of mindfulness, significant among people with a high level of mindfulness, and trending towards significance among people with a medium level of mindfulness. This perhaps reveals all sides of the mindfulness bell curve: at lower levels of mindfulness, a person might actually have a higher degree of racial animosity and less guilt, but either be more persuaded by social desirability or be less willing to be honest in their self-report, resulting in higher White Guilt scores and lower racial animosity scores. At higher levels of mindfulness, people might have less racial animosity and greater White Guilt, but be less influenced by social desirability and more willing to be honest in their self-report, resulting in higher racial animosity and lower White Guilt scores. If it is the case, then this has powerful implications for how much—or how little—weight agencies should ascribe to measures that assess the impact of anti-racism programming unless they are willing to broadly question the possible meanings of the results.

Interestingly, this curvilinear relationship has been found in recent studies of research on race and religion; several researchers have found that high religiosity is associated with lower prejudice in the United States, while moderate religiosity is associated with higher prejudice—presumably because of greater adherence to prescribed rules and behavior among the moderately religious (Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Johnson et al, 2011; Perkins, 1992). Regardless of how the

results are explained, it is a complex formula that reveals the even more complex process of acknowledging, accurately assessing, and ultimately overcoming the binds of racism.

Limitations of the Study

The time limitation of this study as well as the convenience and snowball sampling methods precluded me from specifically seeking a diverse pool of participants that could have offered more incisive analysis of style and degree of practice. The nature of this research may have led to a fairly uniform sample of progressively liberal people who wanted to show greater sensitivity and mindfulness in their response. My connection to the communities I am analyzing may have also led to oversight of other populations that should be considered, such as contemplative Christian and Quaker communities, or meditation groups that are located in more conservative geographic areas.

A practical limitation of this study is that I wasn't able to assess the impact of gender, age, political affiliation, or religiosity. Political affiliation (Dovidio, 1998; McConahay, 1986; McConahay, 2003; Nail, Harton & Decker, 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh, 2008) and gender (Nail, Harton & Decker, 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang & Oh, 2008) have specifically been shown to have a correlation to multicultural competence, so these should be considered in future studies. We also don't know whether these respondents received any anti-racism education in the past, which could have substantially impacted the results since educational interventions have shown to decrease racial animosity (Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012).

The scales themselves were also a potential limitation to the study. Self-report measures are less expensive and less time-consuming than direct observation, but they open the possibility of a social desirability bias even when the scale allows for anonymous reporting (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). Social desirability bias is possible in any self-report measure, but may be

especially relevant when participants risk conveying a socially undesirable image of racism (Saucier & Miller, 2003). This might lead to responses that don't actually reflect a person's behavior, bringing the entire validity of the scale into question (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). The Symbolic Racism Scale is critiqued for the influence of social desirability on its results (Saucier & Miller, 2003), but more complex measures that try to account for social desirability and can reasonably predict aversive and subtle racial prejudice that is not addressed in self-report measures are simply too intensive and expensive for widespread use (Devine et al., 2002; Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012; Saucier & Miller, 2003; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008).

It may also be that the language of the scales was limiting to the study. The Symbolic Racism scale used very direct language that was perhaps too direct for this sample given the overall low racial animosity score. The scale's specificity of assessing racial animosity towards Black Americans might make the scale more reliable, but it too is a limitation. It would have been interesting to change the wording of half of the surveys from "Black Americans" to "people of color" to see if that language had an impact on the results. However, without other research backing up that survey design, it wasn't feasible to test it in this study.

For some people with lower racial animosity, it's possible the scale's language made them more self-conscious about how they would appear in such a study, thus introducing more social desirability bias. In fact, it's possible that the topic of study itself led to a self-selecting group of people who are more interested in addressing racism, have spent more time doing self-inquiry regarding racism and privilege, and thus have a lower level of racial animosity. Others who harbor more racial animosity were probably less likely to participate from the very beginning. Given the participation requirements that people be White, over 18, and have a

meditation practice, it's also quite likely that the title drew a very specific group from among a population that is already likely to be middle-class and educated.

I received some informal feedback from participants saying they didn't like how little room there was for complexity in the answers. As a result, this scale might have produced reliable but invalid results as respondents sought to counter the scale's language. It's also possible that respondents simply did not want to admit to their racial animosity, regardless of the language used. While most feedback was appreciative of the study, there also was a vocal minority of participants who seemed surprised to face questions that were embedded with racism, even though this was a study of racism. I wonder whether the coupling of mindfulness (which feels comforting and safe) with racism (which feels edgy and unsafe) in the title of the study predisposed people to resist the idea of racism in the scales.

As for the other scales, it's possible that the forced-pick of two options in the I-E Locus of Control scale was limiting. This may have been especially true for participants in this study because Buddhist practitioners are often more accustomed to weighing the complexity of any given situation in pursuit of what's known as the middle (or third) way. It's possible that the study would have shown more significant findings if I had used an expanded variation of the I-E Locus of Control Scale, such as MacDonald and Tseng's analyses of personal and social system control, or Levenson's scale of Internal, Chance, and Powerful others (Lefcourt, 1991). I would also like to consider the language of all of these scales to see if results might be different if the scale uses solely first-person statements, rather than the mix of first, second, and third-person statements that are used in the I-E Locus of Control Scale.

Similarly, the singular focus of the Mindfulness Attention Awareness Scale may have contributed to cleaner results, but it also may have limited the results because it only addressed

one manifestation of mindfulness. Other scales such as the Baer Five-Factor scale, on the other hand, measure observing, describing, acting with awareness, nonjudging of inner experience, and nonreactivity to inner experience (Baer et al, 2008).

A final limitation of this study was the fixed order of the scales, which precluded an assessment of the impact of priming. It's possible that by answering questions about their meditation practice, participants were primed in one way or another, similar to the priming impact of Judeo-Christian words on previous studies of racism (Johnson, Rowatt & LaBouff, 2010). It's also possible that the experience of trying to self-assess their racial animosity primed participants for a range of other emotions and ideas. I would have liked to know how respondents felt about their self-reported experience and whether they felt at ease, guilty, or conflicted about their responses. Did they notice a difference between what they hold as their ideal and their actual responses; if so, what were the beliefs or values that were in conflict? Answers to these questions could have helped make the results obtained in this study much richer with greater knowledge about how to move forward in as we try to increase the ability and willingness of White people to not only see the impact of negative external systems on the lives of Black Americans—but also do something about it.

Implications for Social Work Practice

The goal of this research was threefold: to find new ways of effectively delivering anti-racism programs that respond to the changing nature of racism in America; to explore the role mindfulness might play in managing the emotional response to racism and reducing racial animosity; and finally, to uncover unforeseen implications of the racial rearticulation of mindfulness for western audiences. These goals—and the results of this study —have

implications for direct clinical social work, for broad systems and organizational work, and for the meditation communities that support and sustain social workers.

Addressing and dismantling racism is clearly articulated as a professional responsibility in the NASW code of ethics; it's therefore a part of our professional responsibility to explore the different pathways towards that goal. Social work programs that implement anti-racism programming into their coursework (such as Smith College School for Social Work) have already begun the work of responding to this professional responsibility, but might also benefit from considering the implications of this study to better inform future efforts. As mindfulness practices are increasingly integrated into the clinical setting and training programs, and as social workers and psychotherapists swell the ranks of meditation practitioners in the US, this work also takes on greater importance and relevance. Thus, I argue that it is an ethical imperative that we better understand the challenges we face, the tools we use to address those challenges, and the unexpected outcomes of those tools. A series of recommendations are presented below to ground the implications in practical action.

A new approach to anti-racism programming. As the nature of racism in America changes, so too should our approach to dismantling it. Researchers have already suggested that symbolic and modern racism can be reduced through educational interventions that help participants become aware of racism, develop a concern about its impact, and become motivated to address it (Devine, Forscher, Austin & Cox, 2012). The findings of this study suggest something even greater: that educational interventions need to include an exploration of the emotional response to racism, with a discussion about what those responses mean, what to do with them, and the mindfulness tools that can be used to mitigate or support those responses.

White Guilt appeared as a concept and emotional response that is centrally configured in the anti-racism process. Since higher trait mindfulness was correlated with lower levels of White Guilt, and lower White Guilt was associated with higher levels of racial animosity, this suggests there may need to be a greater emphasis on what guilt is, how it can positively serve us, and the resistance it might provoke. This is especially true for mindfulness communities seeking to do this work, but also for any general anti-racism measure.

The higher levels of Excessive Demands Animosity and Denial of Racism in this study sample also provide a useful compass to guide conversations on racial animosity. These results help us anchor discussions about symbolic racism—which can sometimes feel effusive and abstract—into tangible concepts that can be directly explored, addressed, and dismantled. In the context of an anti-racism training, it might be helpful to explore how the setting, style, or content of a demand by a person of color provokes a response from White people. Does the person who makes demands to address racism have as much to do with it as the demand itself? How do participants anticipate that these demands will impact their life, and where do they perhaps wish that they too could make demands for equality and justice? Finally, how do participants feel when they acknowledge the impact of racism? Are there any ways in which a denial of racial prejudice is serving more to protect oneself from those feelings than it is serving to honesty reflect one's opinions?

The locus of control as a moderating variable opens a new area of consideration for anti-racism program development. Locus of control is given minimal attention in clinical training even though its variation based on identity is so consistent and its impact on a person's agency seems to be so profound. This study suggests that there is more we need to learn about the effects of locus of control, and that this should be specifically tended to by social workers in their

education, in the clinical room, and in how they conceptualize their community-level work. Locus of control brings in a new, more nuanced angle on the contributing factors and emotional response to racism—an angle that is greatly in need as we become more aware of the nuances of symbolic racism.

The results of this study also have implications for anti-racism program assessment. Even if an anti-racism intervention or mindfulness practice naturally leads people to contemplate and address their racial animosity or constructively identify and work with their emotional response to racism, they may not score lower on racial animosity self-assessments. The real change, it seems, comes once someone is motivated to take on antiracist behaviors such as interrupting racism when it's witnessed, taking public action to address racism, and teaching others about racism and privilege (Kordesh, Spanierman, & Neville, 2012). Focusing on beliefs, therefore, may be a confusing and short-sighted way to assess racism; assessing past and future behaviors may be much more accurate and offer much greater insight.

Mindfulness as a tool for anti-racism programming. Given the growing popularity of mindfulness in the mental health, education, health and business fields, there is a unique opportunity to harness some of its momentum to propel anti-racism work forward. Since higher trait mindfulness was correlated with lower levels of White Guilt, and lower White Guilt was associated with higher levels of racial animosity, this also suggests there is an area of neglect among mindfulness practitioners. We can't assume that all of the correlations come from simply greater honesty or awareness in response; or at least, we shouldn't assume that until we have exhausted all other possibilities. Until that happens, I believe that mindfulness needs anti-racism programming just as much as anti-racism programming needs mindfulness.

If some practices or teachings are leading to a diminished tolerance of uncomfortable emotions (such as guilt) that positively propel us into social justice frameworks and action, then we need to revisit those practices and teachings. At a minimum, meditation communities that are considering issues of racism may benefit from paying special attention to White Guilt. Even if a meditation community already tries to work through emotions such as guilt, White Guilt is an additional layer of guilt that needs special attention. White Guilt has a collective history, has often been repressed out of shame, and few if any of us are taught how to deal with it. If a person is unknowingly carrying around White Guilt that they have never had the chance to process, that is surely going to limit their capacity to reach self-actualization. It's also going to limit their ability to create a meditation space that is comfortable and welcoming to people of color. This makes it even more important that meditation communities incorporate anti-racism work as a step to their individual and group enlightenment. Suddenly, it's not just a question of how mindfulness can contribute as an anti-racism tool, but how anti-racism can propel the work of a meditation community into greater knowing, understanding and compassion.

Instead of perpetuating silence and avoidance, clinicians and programs that practice mindfulness are in a powerful and hopeful space where they can help reshape the positive purposes of guilt. They can bring to light the essential role of guilt in propelling us to take responsibility, help differentiate guilt from shame, and introduce somatic and breathing techniques for experiencing guilt (instead of running from it). This work may help mindfulness research and programs expand their base of knowledge about its associations, benefits and applications, and it may even provoke a conversation about the culture-bound ideas of guilt, responsibility and control.

Unforeseen implications of mindfulness. My hope was to identify mindfulness practices that are related to lower racial animosity and higher empathic or guilt response, yet the only correlations that were significant operated in the opposite direction. If we are to apply our clinical understanding to this work, perhaps the ambiguity and unexpected results should also be contemplated with future program participants in much the same way that a clinician might help an addict explore their addiction. Conversations might explore a person's ambivalence about changing their beliefs, the consequences of changing beliefs and behavior, and why their racism might seem to get worse before it gets better as greater attention is drawn to it. It might also be helpful to discuss the reasons why anti-racism programs might have some seemingly counter-intuitive results indicating higher levels of racism (including an increase of awareness about one's racism and greater honesty about it).

If part of the goal of social work is to alleviate individual suffering so that we might also alleviate the suffering of others, we hold a responsibility to ensure that the tools we use to alleviate individual suffering bear no negative consequences for others. With the rapid growth of utilizing mindfulness tools in social work practice, we need to understand how these tools shape our client's perceptions of their place, position and relevance to society. Mindfulness practices have constantly been rearticulated to meet the needs of their environmental context—so we shouldn't assume that their evolution has stopped, or that it will ever stop. We, too, are constantly rearticulated and reshaped by our environment and culture, as Kim (2002) and Sue (1978) have illustrated in their demonstration of western preference for themes of personal control and self-determination. Likewise, social justice work is constantly being re-evaluated to expose previous shortcomings, rigid binaries, counterproductive assumptions, and unintended consequences. For example, the paradigms that initially took on heteronormativity also helped to

create and maintain a binary that precluded more fluid states of bisexuality and transgendered individuality (McPhail, 2004). In the same vein, mindfulness teachings and anti-racism tools need to evolve as our conception of racism, its causes and its effects also evolve (Sears & Henry, 2003; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Simply stated, our efforts to apply mindfulness to effective anti-racism programming must constantly be subject to review—otherwise, we will be subject to simply repeating the past.

Future studies

I view this study as just the beginning of a new arena of racism and mindfulness research. This study sparked an assortment of follow-up questions to be explored in future research, new ideas on the methodology, and limitations to be addressed.

Even though research has begun on the short-term impact of mindfulness interventions on racial prejudice, researchers have not yet investigated the longer-term correlations of racism and mindfulness; this alone is a vast area for future work. A revision of the measurements also provides ample room for future research. I would like to replicate this study using expanded versions of the locus of control and mindfulness scales. I would also like to use observation assessments (rather than self-report) for measuring racial animosity, and add in measures of responsibility. Regardless of whether self-report measures of racial animosity are used or not, a mixed-methods approach that allows participants to reflect on their experience would provide a richer insight into the layers of beliefs and behavior. The questions could offer participants the chance to share thoughts and feelings on their participation experience, if they had any new realizations about racial animosity, and if they had any internal conflicts about their responses. Future studies could also benefit by focusing on assessment of past behavior and willingness to change behavior in the future. The inconsistency of the links between racism and locus of control

should also be revisited in future research to get clearer answers on how locus of control may be utilized as either an accurate reflection of one's life, a coping mechanism, or an aspiration (Burlin, 1976; Cain, 1994; Gurin, Gurin & Morrison, 1978; Trevino & Ernst, 2012).

It was suggested previously that content of the earlier scales may have primed responses in the later scales. In order to test that, future studies should consider rotating the order of the scales. It's possible that completing the racism scales first made participants consider race (or their racism) in every subsequent scale. If suggestions made by Augoustinos, Tuffin & Every (2005) are correct that cultural beliefs about individualism, control and responsibility are used to both legitimize and perpetuate racism, it may also be true that participants who scored high on racial animosity responded with higher than usual reports of internal control on the locus of control scale.

If similar scales are used in future studies, it would be helpful to add several questions for analysis. Locus of control should be analyzed as more than just a moderating variable; instead, I recommend tests of correlation to the racism and mindfulness scales for the purpose of understanding its more direct relationships. It might also be helpful to look at other moderating relationships, such as the moderating role of locus of control between racial animosity and the emotional response to racism. A more thorough study of all of these relationships may help to garner a much clearer understanding of how locus of control operates.

While all of these changes would provide helpful extensions to previous research, a qualitative exploration might offer more interesting information in the next round of inquiry. I believe a qualitative study might be better able to assess how issues of control and responsibility appear in the lives of White mindfulness practitioners. I would also like to ask in future qualitative studies what guilt means to practitioners: how do they feel about it, what role does it

have in their practice or in their teachings, and how do they understand the differences between guilt, shame and responsibility? In addition, given the importance of context and origin of a spiritual practice (Butler, 2005), it would be helpful to allow future participants to share more information about their socio-environmental context of their practice—not just the frequency or duration.

Future studies should aim to have larger and more diverse samples, with recruitment strategies that can gather larger sample sizes from more styles of practice and a broader geographic area. Additional reflection should go into whether the results are due to self-selection of people who begin a meditation practice, or the impact of the practice itself. And finally, future studies could benefit from measuring two groups known to differ in respect to racial animosity or locus of control in order to test the known groups validity. This could perhaps be accomplished with something as simple as dividing the self-identified male and female respondents.

Conclusion

The goal of this research was threefold: to find new ways of effectively delivering anti-racism programs that respond to the changing nature of racism in America; to explore the role mindfulness might play in managing the emotional response to racism and thereby reducing racial animosity; and finally, to uncover unforeseen correlations of mindfulness practices that might be attributed to its racial rearticulation for Western audiences. This study suggests that anti-racism programs could benefit from integrating mindfulness interventions, driving deeper discussions on the role of guilt, and bringing special attention to the conflicts people might feel between taking an anti-racist position and their cultural assumptions about control and responsibility.

On a personal level, my hope is that this study will help me to more deeply contemplate the intersection of these concepts in my own clinical social work practice, in my work for broad systems and organizational change, in my meditation practice, and in my meditation and spiritual communities. I want to use lessons from this research to support the ways that mindfulness can provide relief from internal shame, freeing clients to take greater effort to address racism when they see it. I want to more deeply integrate the mindful shift from emotional reactivity to thoughtful consideration to better explore the experiences of racism. Finally, I want to hold all of my practices with great scrutiny so that I can more readily see where they might hold oppressive cultural assumptions or distaste for uncomfortable emotions that ultimately serve an important role in providing liberation for all of us, together.

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APPENDIX A

HUMAN SUBJECT REVIEW APPROVAL LETTER

SMITH COLLEGE

School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950 F (413) 585-7994

February 20, 2013

Trina Zahller

Dear Trina,

Thank you for making all the requested changes to your Human Subjects Review application. Your project is now approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee.

Please note the following requirements:

Consent Forms: All subjects should be given a copy of the consent form.

Maintaining Data: You must retain all data and other documents for at least three (3) years past completion of the research activity.

In addition, these requirements may also be applicable:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), please submit these changes to the Committee.

Renewal: You are required to apply for renewal of approval every year for as long as the study is active.

Completion: You are required to notify the Chair of the Human Subjects Review Committee when your study is completed (data collection finished). This requirement is met by completion of the thesis project during the Third Summer.

Best wishes as you proceed with your research project.

Sincerely,

Marsha Kline Pruett /lhw

Marsha Kline Pruett, M.S., Ph.D., M.S.L.
Vice Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: David Burton, Research Advisor

APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

My name is Trina Zahller and I am a graduate student in the Smith College School for Social Work. This study is research for my Masters of Social Work thesis. The purpose of this research is to explore how mindfulness is related to racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, and how a person's sense of control is implicated in the relationships between mindfulness and racism.

This study is open to persons of all sex and gender identifications, political affiliations, and any range of familiarity with mindfulness practices. This study will be conducted through an online survey. You can expect the survey to take 25 minutes. This study is specifically looking at people over the age of 18 who identify racially as white.
Witnessing, reading about, and thinking about race and racism can be difficult and can bring up frustrating or embarrassing feelings and thoughts. At the end of the survey, you will receive resources to help you think about and understand your reactions, including a list of affordable mental health resources, mindfulness materials, and websites for more information. Even if you choose to withdraw from the study at any time, you will still receive access to these resources. Financial compensation is not provided for this study participation.

Your participation in this online study is anonymous. We will not ask for your name or contact information, but we will ask for minimal demographic information such as your age and gender. This information cannot be linked specifically to your responses or your name. The data will not be shared with anyone else, except my research advisor. If this study is published, data will be presented as group summaries and any personal identification information will be carefully disguised. Data will be stored in a secure electronic file for three years as required by Federal regulations. After that time, the data will be destroyed or I will keep them secure for as long as I need them. When the data are no longer needed, the files will be deleted and erased from the hard drive.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question. If you decide at any time during the survey that you don't want to continue, you may exit and discontinue the survey. Due to the anonymous nature of the study, however, I will not be able to remove entries once they are submitted, and any entries with more than 50 percent completion will be used in the study analysis. If you have any concerns about your rights or about any aspect of the study, you are encouraged to contact me at tzahller@smith.edu or the Chair of the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee at (413) 585-7974.

BY CHECKING "I AGREE" BELOW (OR INSERT ANOTHER MEANS OF INDICATING CONSENT) YOU ARE INDICATING THAT YOU HAVE READ AND UNDERSTAND THE INFORMATION ABOVE AND THAT YOU HAVE HAD AN

OPPORTUNITY TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, YOUR PARTICIPATION, AND YOUR RIGHTS AND THAT YOU AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY.

You should print and keep a copy of this webpage for your records.

Thank you for your participation!

Sincerely,

Trina Zahller
MSW Candidate, 2013
Smith College School for Social Work

APPENDIX C

RECRUITMENT EMAIL TO PERSONAL CONTACTS

Dear friends and colleagues,

I'm asking for your help recruiting participants for my thesis research on mindfulness and racism.

This research is for the completion of my Masters of Social Work at Smith College. My thesis research focuses on how mindfulness is correlated to racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, and how a person's sense of control moderates that correlation. This study is open to people over the age of 18 who identify racially as white and who have a meditation practice.

Participating in the study involves filling out a brief online survey that should take 25 minutes to complete. Potential participants will be presented with an informed consent form as part of the online survey.

Participation is anonymous and I will have no way of knowing who participated. If you are eligible, please take the time to participate in my research. Whether or not you are eligible, please forward this email to any friends or colleagues who may be eligible to participate. I greatly appreciate your help!

Please follow this link to the survey: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/P38N8TM

Participants will benefit from thinking about how their meditation practice can support the work of dismantling racism. Participants might also benefit by thinking about how their meditation communities can better engage in anti-racism work. At the end of the survey participants will receive links to meditation and anti-racism educational resources. By participating in this research, participants are helping to provide insight into how we can create a truly mindful approach to anti-racism work.

If you have any questions about my research or your participation, please feel free to contact me at tzahller@smith.edu.

Thank you for your support in making this research a success!

Sincerely,
Trina

Trina Zahller
Smith School for Social Work, MSW Candidate 2013

APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT EMAIL TO MEDITATION SANGHAS

Dear [[CONTACT NAME]],

I'm asking for your help recruiting participants for my thesis research on mindfulness and racism.

This research is for the completion of my Masters of Social Work at Smith College. My thesis research focuses on how mindfulness is correlated to racial animosity and the emotional response to racism, and how a person's sense of control moderates that correlation.. This study is open to people over the age of 18 who identify racially as white and who have a meditation practice.

Participating in the study involves filling out a brief online survey that should take 25 minutes to complete. Potential participants will be presented with an informed consent form as part of the online survey.

Participation is anonymous and I will have no way of knowing who participated. Please take the time to participate and consider forwarding this email to other meditation practitioners who may be eligible to participate. I greatly appreciate your help!

Please follow this link to the survey:

Participants will benefit from thinking about how their meditation practice can support the work of dismantling racism. Participants might also benefit by thinking about how their meditation communities can better engage in anti-racism work. At the end of the survey participants will receive links to meditation and anti-racism educational resources. By participating in this research, participants are helping to provide insight into how we can create a truly mindful approach to anti-racism work.

If you have any questions about my research or your participation, please feel free to contact me at tzahller@smith.edu.

Thank you for your support in making this research a success!

Sincerely,
Trina

Trina Zahller
Smith School for Social Work, MSW Candidate 2013

APPENDIX E

PERMISSION TO USE SCALES

Subject: Permission to use the PCRW Scale
Trina Zahller <tzahller@smith.edu> Sun, Jan 20, 2013 at 3:43 PM
To: lisa.spanierman@mcgill.ca
Dear Dr. Spanierman,

I'm a Masters of Social Work student at Smith College. I'm interested in your research on the costs of racism among Whites and would like to use the PCRW scale in my thesis research.

I'm looking at racism among White mindfulness practitioners-- their racist beliefs, how racism affects them, their inclination to respond to racism, how locus of control mediates their racism, and how the type or duration of mindfulness training mediates the results. I'm working with Dr. David Burton (Associate Professor at Smith School for Social Work) on this research and we hope to eventually publish our results.

I found the PCRW scale you used in the 2004 article published in the Journal of Counseling Psychology (Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW): Construction and Initial Validation) and would like permission to use it in my research. I would be happy to share more details of the research and the results with you, if you would like.

Thank you for your work and for your time in responding to this inquiry.

Sincerely,
Trina Zahller
MSW candidate, class of 2013
Smith College School for Social Work

Lisa Spanierman, Dr. <lisa.spanierman@mcgill.ca> Sun, Jan 20, 2013 at 8:18 PM
To: Trina Zahller <tzahller@smith.edu>
Dear Trina,
I am so sorry that I have not responded sooner. Yes, of course, you may use the scale. Please see attached scoring sheet.

All we ask is that you share your preliminary results or data so that I can track the psychometric properties of the scale.

I am also attaching an article where we used the scale among White practitioners. Best wishes on what sounds like a very exciting project!

Lisa Spanierman, PhD
VP Scientific Affairs, Society of Counseling Psychology | http://www.div17.org
Department of Educational & Counselling Psychology | McGill University | 3700 McTavish Street | Montreal, QC | 514.398.3449 | http://people.mcgill.ca/lisa.spanierman

APPENDIX F

RECRUITMENT PERMISSIONS

Hidden Valley and Mountain Gate Zen Center

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Mitra Bishop**
Date: Mon, Feb 18, 2013 at 2:59 PM
Subject: Re: Recruitment help for my thesis
To: Trina Zahller

I'll be happy to, Trina! And I was thinking it might be something to send to the Rochester Zen Center, too. There's more likely to be a sea of prejudice in Rochester NY where there's a black population in the inner city; with San Marcos the prejudice is more likely to be Mexicans or other Latinos. Warmly, Mitra

Insight Meditation Center of Pioneer Valley

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Adam Cohen**
Date: Wed, Feb 27, 2013 at 9:47 AM
Subject: Re: Reconnection
To: Trina Zahller
Cc: Jean Esther

Thanks, Trina. This has now been posted to the Google group.

Metta,
Adam

Rochester Zen Center

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **bodhin kjolhede**
Date: Wed, Feb 20, 2013 at 11:46 AM
Subject: Re: Mitra Bishop suggested I contact you
To: Trina Zahller

Yes, Trina, we'll give you access to our members. Presumably you'll give us a link address that people can just go to on their own if they want.

Yours, bk

APPENDIX G

SURVEY TOOL

Thank you for your interest in this research. This study is open to people over the age of 18 who identify racially as white and who have a meditation practice. If you don't meet these conditions, please click here and you'll be directed to our resource page.

Step 1: Meditation Practice

Primary style of meditation practice *(select one)*
Vipassana (Insight)
Secular mindfulness
MBSR (Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction)
Transcendental
Zen
Tibetan Buddhist
Christian Contemplative
Shamanic
Other [ ]

How do you practice meditation? (check all that apply)
individual/alone
in community/sangha
both
other [ ]

How many times a week do you practice meditation?
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
more than 7

On average, how many minutes do you meditate during each sit?
Less than 5 minutes
5-15 minutes
15-30 minutes
30-45 minutes
45-60 minutes
more than 60 minutes

How many years have you practiced meditation?

Less than 1 year
1-3 years
3-5 years
more than 5 years

Step 2: *Please mark the response that most accurately represents your views. Please treat each item separately from every other item.*

Please answer according to what really reflects your experience rather than what you think your experience should be. Please treat each item separately from every other item.

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
1> Strongly agree
2> Somewhat agree
3> Somewhat disagree
4> Strongly disagree

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.
1> Strongly agree
2> Somewhat agree
3> Somewhat disagree
4> Strongly disagree

3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?
1> Trying to push very much too fast
2> Going too slowly
3> Moving at about the right speed

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?
1> All of it
2> Most
3> Some
4> Not much at all

5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?
1> A lot
2> Some
3> Just a little
4> None at all

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
1> Strongly agree
2> Somewhat agree
3> Somewhat disagree
4> Strongly disagree

7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
1> Strongly agree
2> Somewhat agree
3> Somewhat disagree
4> Strongly disagree

8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
1> Strongly agree
2> Somewhat agree
3> Somewhat disagree
4> Strongly disagree

Step 3: *Please mark the response that most accurately represents your views. Your possible choices range from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree).*

Please answer according to what really reflects your experience rather than what you think your experience should be. Please treat each item separately from every other item.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.
2. I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition.
3. I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.
4. Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.
5. I have very few friends of other races.
6. I become sad when I think about racial injustice.
7. Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.
8. I never feel ashamed about being White.
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.
10. I am angry that racism exists.
11. I am distrustful of people of other races.

12. I feel good about being White.

13. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.

14. Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.

15. I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.

16. It disturbs me when people express racist views.

Step 4: *Pick between the two factors the response that most accurately represents your views.*

Please answer according to what really reflects your experience rather than what you think your experience should be. Please treat each item separately from every other item.

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
   b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
   b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
   b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
   b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
   b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
   b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what one is like.

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
   b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10. a. In the case of the well-prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
    b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really

useless.

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
    b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
    b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
    b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
    b. There is some good in everybody.

15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
    b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
    b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
    b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
    b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
    b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
    b. How many you have depends on how nice a person you are.

21. a. In the long-run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
    b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
    b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
    b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

Step 5: *Below is a collection of statements about your everyday experience. Please indicate how frequently or infrequently you currently have each experience on a scale of 1 (Almost Always) to 6 (Almost Never).*

Please answer according to what really reflects your experience rather than what you think your experience should be. Please treat each item separately from every other item.

1. I could be experiencing some emotion and not be conscious of it until some time later.

2. I break or spill things because of carelessness, not paying attention, or thinking of something else.

3. I find it difficult to stay focused on what's happening in the present.

4. I tend to walk quickly to get where I'm going without paying attention to what I experience along the way.

5. I tend not to notice feelings of physical tension or discomfort until they really grab my attention.

6. I forget a person's name almost as soon as I've been told it for the first time.

7. It seems I am "running on automatic," without much awareness of what I'm doing.

8. I rush through activities without being really attentive to them.

9. I get so focused on the goal I want to achieve that I lose touch with what I'm doing right now to get there.

10. I do jobs or tasks automatically, without being aware of what I'm doing.

11. I find myself listening to someone with one ear, doing something else at the same time.

12. I drive places on 'automatic pilot' and then wonder why I went there.

13. I find myself preoccupied with the future or the past.

14. I find myself doing things without paying attention.

15. I snack without being aware that I'm eating.

APPENDIX H

LIST OF RESOURCES

ONLINE MINDFULNESS RESOURCES

Mindful Way Through Anxiety Book
http://mindfulwaythroughanxietybook.com

Insight Meditation talks
http://www.dharmaseed.org

Thich Nhat Hanh's Plum Village
http://www.plumvillage.org/mindfulness-practice.html

Zen Buddhist talks
www.boundlesswayzen.org/teishos.htm

Jon Kabat-Zinn Mindfulness Meditation
http://www.mindfulnesscds.com

Pema Chodron´s guided meditation and teachings
http://www.pemachodrontapes.org

ANTI-RACISM AND MEDITATION RESOURCES

Making the Invisible Visible—Healing Racism in Our Buddhist Communities
http://www.spiritrock.org/page.aspx?pid=547

Healing Racism with Dharma
http://news.northwestdharma.org/08NovDecIssue/healingracism.php

The Center for Contemplative Mind in Society - Social Justice Program
http://www.contemplativemind.org/archives/socialjustice

International Network of Engaged Buddhists
http://www.inebnetwork.org

ANTI-RACISM RESOURCES

StirFry Seminars and Consulting
http://www.stirfryseminars.com

The White Privilege Conference
http://www.whiteprivilegeconference.com

Anti-Racist Alliance
http://www.antiracistalliance.com/index.html