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White Privilege Attitudes Scale—General Version: A Validation Study

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WHITE PRIVILEGE ATTITUDES SCALE—GENERAL VERSION: A VALIDATION
STUDY

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Texas, 1997
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submitted to the Graduate Faculty

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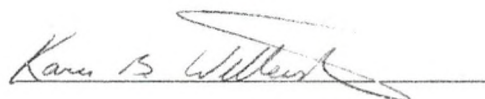
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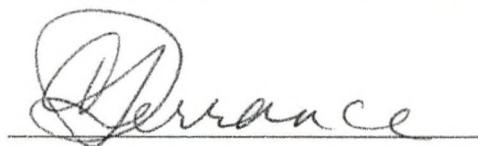
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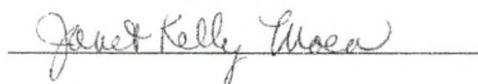
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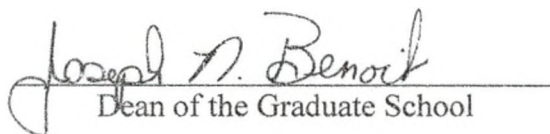


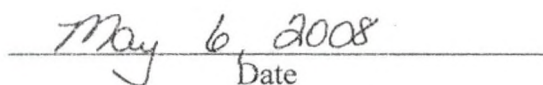






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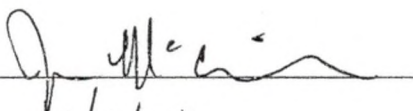
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“Hope” is the thing with feathers—
That perches in the soul—
And sings the tune without the words—
And never stops—at all—

And sweetest—in the Gale—is heard—
And sore must be the storm—
That could abash the little Bird—
That kept so many warm—

I’ve heard it in the chillest land—
And on the strangest Sea—
Yet, never, in Extremity,
It asked a crumb—of Me.

My mother’s home reflects the words of Robert Frost,

Home is the place where, when you have to go there,
They have to take you in.
I should have called it
Something you somehow haven't to deserve.

For that and telling me as a child that I could succeed in anything with enough determination, I will always love and appreciate you.

To my father, I also borrow Frost’s words to say:

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Thanks, Dad, for your support, pride and example of success.

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ABSTRACT

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale assesses the level of awareness and attitudes of White privilege in counseling students. The current study provided further validation for this scale in use with the general public by collecting data from 305 adults. The subsequently revised WPAS-GV contains 43 items on a 5-point Likert scale, derived from three hierarchical themes and corresponding to three subscales: Sustaining Disparity, Seeking Clarity and Acknowledging Responsibility.

This validation study provides supportive findings on the subscales' consistency and validity, conducted with the MRS, WRIAS, MCPR, and the MCSDS. This article also introduces new items for the subscale Seeking Clarity and discusses the inclusion of biracial individuals in research about White privilege.

CHAPTER I

RATIONALE AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Although White people in the United States have made great strides in overcoming rampant old-fashioned racism and learning to tolerate other races, White people have barely begun to incorporate accepting, inclusive actions into everyday life. For instance, White people may decide to watch a television program at any time of day or night and be assured that a wide variety of movies, sitcoms and news programs will be broadcast featuring White people. African Americans, Latino Americans and Asian Americans do not have that privilege. However, exposure to positive racial experiences is necessary for the development of a positive self-image as a racial being (Helms, 1990). High visibility of persons of one's own race provides several benefits: including the privileges of identifying with a positive role model, hope that one can attain such a status, and pride in one's own race or ethnicity. An accepting, inclusive action towards people of color in regards to accessibility of role models would entail having positive role models on television. Such corrective actions would begin to address the numerous inequities people of color encounter that White people generally do not.

White persons of average socioeconomic status generally carry out daily activities without worry that officials or persons in power may have a negative reaction if met face to face or upon hearing their last names and thus discriminate against them (McIntosh, 1988). For instance, when purchasing a home, people of color do not have the security of

knowing they will not be judged poor candidates for a loan due to skin color that may elicit prejudices from a lender (McIntosh, 1988). In fact, several articles suggest racial discrimination perpetuates segregated housing. First, the results of the Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality conducted with personal interviews of over four thousand people concluded that although Black people were the most likely of all ethnic groups to prefer integrated neighborhoods, housing remains racially segregated in the U.S (USA Today, 1997). The researchers concluded that institutional discrimination and White hostility toward Black homebuyers were the greatest contributing factors to racial segregation. Second, the Boston Federal Reserve study (cited in Buist, Linneman & Megbolugbe, 1999) concluded that illegal housing discrimination was a statistically significant contributor to the observed gap between White and minority residential mortgage rejection rates.

In the realm of law enforcement, White people can be sure that they will not be harassed by law enforcement officials due to a stereotype of perpetrators and skin color. People of color cannot. In fact, prior research on racial profiling has consistently reported that minorities are overrepresented among traffic stops compared with the general population in both urban (Smith & Petrocelli, 2001) and rural areas (Novak, 2004). Furthermore, African American youths are six times more likely to be incarcerated than White American youths for similar offenses even when the youths have similar criminal records (Texeira, 2000). The same is true for adults; in 1995, 54% of crack cocaine users were White, 34% were African American, and 12% were Latino; however, 90% of the crack related defendants in federal court in 1994 were African American, reported Morley, (as cited in Pewewardy & Severson, 2003). In 2006, the trend continued with

two-thirds of crack cocaine users being White or Latino; however, 81.8 percent of related defendants were African American (US Sentencing Commission, cited by The Sentencing Project, 2007).

This study will review several of the concepts proposed to examine the belief systems and actions associated with perpetuating inequalities amongst races. The next section begins with a review of early concepts including “traditional racism” and “modern racism.” Next, relatively newer theoretical concepts such as “aversive racism” and “White racial identity” will be explored. This review culminates in exploring the related concept that drives this research: White privilege. Finally, this section concludes with an outline of the steps for conducting a validation study of a new scale that measures attitudes of White privilege.

Traditional, Modern and Aversive Racism

At this time three concepts of racism are discussed in the literature: traditional racism, modern (or symbolic) racism and aversive racism. According to McConahay (1986), traditional or old-fashioned racism is inclusive of overt behaviors that assert the supremacy of the White race over that of other races, usually focused on the Black race. Such values are expressed in acts and verbalizations such as upholding apartheid and opinions that White people’s intelligence and general worth are higher than Black people’s. For example, support for segregation is an overt or traditional manifestation of racism as it is based on the skewed generalization that all men, particularly Black people and White people are not equal (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Traditional, old-fashioned racism is straightforward in expression and more amenable to measurement (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000) or was until people became more sophisticated in hiding such socially

unacceptable beliefs (McConahay, 1986). These beliefs then evolved into more modern racist belief systems.

In contrast, modern racism is characterized by the notion that although traditional racism is bad, Black people now possess too much freedom to compete with White people (McConahay, 1986). This includes a general disapproval of affirmative action and a consensus that Black people receive too much regarding equalizing attention and prestige. This newer racism construct is rooted in basic mores acquired through socialization as a youngster and not necessarily on personal experience with African American citizens (McConahay, 1986). Some researchers prefer the terms “sophisticated prejudice” and “racial attitudes” rather than the stigmatizing term "racism" as they posit that this concept is much more vague and ambivalent than traditional racism (McConahay, 1986).

The ambivalence present in modern racism can be explained by the conflict between negative feelings toward minorities and the values of equality and fair play White people have been socialized to hold. Modern Racism is the contemporary derivative of traditional in that it is also acquired early in life; however, its expression is indirect. The modern type of racism is expressed when people feel a tension between their egalitarian values and persistent negative feelings toward minorities, specifically African-Americans (McConahay, 1986). An example includes opposition to affirmative action on the rationale that all should be treated equally.

Aversive racism is defined as a subtle form of racism particularly found among liberal White people who commonly endorse egalitarian values (e.g., pro-affirmative action) and genuinely believe that they are not prejudiced. However, in less clear, more

ambiguous situations where the subject can rationalize his decisions as attributable to factors other than race, research shows that many liberal White people, even those with anti-racist identities have aversive racist beliefs and will discriminate against a person from a minority group. For instance, in one study further outlined in the Racism Studies Section, White applicants were strongly recommended over Black applicants when both parties' qualifications were considered ambiguous (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

Modern racism and aversive racism have few differences. One such difference, Dovidio and Gaertner stated, is that, "Whereas symbolic and modern racism are subtle forms of contemporary racism that seem to exist among political conservatives, aversive racism seems to be more strongly associated with liberals" (pp. 8, 1998). Another difference is the emphasis modern racism concept places on symbolic aspects of racism, or racism expressed through politics, while the aversive racism construct focuses on the personal manifestations (McConahay, 1986). McConahay also explained in his chapter that the modern racism construct results when people feel a tension between their egalitarian values and persistent negative feelings toward minorities, specifically African-Americans.

In summary, while old-fashioned racism has significantly decreased in overt expression (Sears, 1998), contemporary racism exists in a more subtle form that is often more difficult to identify (McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981). Modern and aversive racism constructs propose explanations, descriptions and means to identify racist acts. Higher measures of traditional racism negatively correlate with higher statuses of White racial identity (Helms, 1990), providing support for the premise of racism residing at the

opposite end of the spectrum from acceptance of oneself and others. A review of White racial identity development will follow in the next section.

Models of White Racial Identity Development

According to Helms (1990), people often use a person's racial categorization to incorrectly mean racial identity. The term "racial identity" refers to the individual's perception that he or she shares a collective identity or racial heritage with a certain racial or ethnic/cultural group. Race or genetics does not determine racial identity in our society, as exceptions can be found; for example, a person who is one-sixteenth African may have sufficient physical characteristics to identify with that group while still having a majority of Caucasian or other racial characteristics. Racial identity refers to the quality of an individual's feeling of belongingness to a racial group on the basis of a common ancestral experience.

Jones (1972) identified three types of racism: individual, institutional and cultural. In individual racism, personal belief systems, which serve to convince oneself of the superiority of Whites and the inferiority of other races, are prominent. Institutional racism consists of policies and regulations designed to support the economic superiority of Whites over other races. Cultural racism entails belief systems that promote the products of White culture, including ideals of beauty, language and customs over products of other races. Helms (1990) stated,

In order to develop a healthy White identity, defined in part as a nonracist identity, virtually every White person in the United States must overcome one or more of these [individual, institutional and cultural] aspects of racism. Additionally, he or she must accept his or her own Whiteness, the cultural implications of being White, and define a view of Self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group over another (p. 49).

Furthermore, Helms (1990) explained that when the existence of racism is denied, the potential for developing a positive White racial identity is lessened. Therefore, developing a positive White racial identity entails two parts: abandoning racism and generating a nonracist White identity and this is reflected in racial identity model, theory and scale development (Helms, 1990).

Helms (1990) explicated the evolution of a White racial identity theory evolved based upon defining levels of racism within an individual. At the time, these theories were based on the assumption that racism was only damaging to those being oppressed but it soon became apparent that racism damaged the identity of the oppressors as well. This is illustrated in a defense mechanism noted by several authors wherein White people denied their race. When asked to identify race, they would respond “Italian” or “English,” “Catholic” or “Protestant”. The meaning of White became a choice between exclaiming Whiteness or the option of denying it. This coincides with distorted views of one’s own White racial identity and feelings of self-deception, guilt and shame (Helms, 1990).

Several models of White racial identity development evolved from the theory that movement toward a positive White racial consciousness also means movement away from racist ideology (Helms, 1990). The theories differ somewhat in how that movement is achieved. Some models, such as Terry’s (1977), and one model separately proposed by Kovel, Gaertner and Jones’ (cited in Helms, 1990) are categorical and describe types of White identity. Other models such as those proposed by Carney and Kahn (1984), Ganter (1977), Hardiman (1979) and Helms (1984) describe White racial identity as a phenomenon of development through linear stages.

Terry (1977) outlined three categories of being White and of being racist in his White identity typology. First, Color blind attempts to ignore being White with the intention of being more humane and the rationale that acknowledging race equates with racism. Second, White Blacks are a group that abandons Whiteness and over identifies with Black people with the intention of attaining recognition from Black people for being "almost Black." Third, New Whites are a group which holds a pluralistic racial view of the world, understanding that racism is a White people problem and the New White people attempt to change it. This theory outlines six tasks of the New White paradigm: being agents of change, seeking ethical clarity, identifying racism, developing strategies for change, assessing power for change and refining personal styles of living consistent with this ideology. While acknowledging that the third type is the most desirable, Terry (1977), did not describe a process of growth to attain the various types, he merely defined them and focused more on the six tasks of the New Whites.

Another typology Kovel, Gaertner and Jones independently proposed (Gaertner, 1976; Jones, 1972; Kovel, 1970) described five types of White racial identities that were also descriptive types and not evolutionary stages. These included, in increasingly tolerant, accepting racial types and ascending order, Dominative racist, Aversive Dominative Racist, Aversive Liberal Racist, Ambivalent, and Non-racist. Dominative Racists openly seek to oppress Black people by forcibly keeping them in inferior positions. Aversive racists generally act in an effort to avoid contact with Black people with two different approaches: Dominative and Liberal (Gaertner, 1976). Aversive Dominative Racists believe in White supremacy but try to avoid conflict by ignoring the existence of Black people. Aversive Liberal Racists attempt to ignore the oppression of

Black persons with the nominal use of impersonal social reforms (e.g. voting for integration in public schools). Ambivalent identities act differently depending upon the situation, expressing exaggerated responses in an effort to avoid consequences for themselves (Katz, Glass, and Cohen, 1973). This identity is based on the Freudian concept of reaction formation and is termed response amplification; whereby an ambivalent racist finds himself in a situation that elicits a response toward Black persons, his reaction is the opposite of his impulse. Non-racist identities do not exhibit racist tendencies (Helms, 1990).

Carney and Kahn (1984) designed a stage model with five levels. Stage one was described as an identity where knowledge of other races is based on stereotypes. Stage two identities recognize their own culture but deal with others reservedly. Stage three consisted of denying the importance of race or expressing anger toward one's own race. Stage four identities begin combining aspects of one's own culture with those of other groups to form a new identity. Stage five persons act to promote racial equality and cultural pluralism (Carney & Kahn, 1984).

Ganter's (1977) White racial identity model outlined three phases from denial to integration. First, the person denies that White people practice racism. Second, the person experiences guilt as he/she acknowledges the reality of racism. Third, the person integrates awareness of the White culture's loss of integrity and begins moving toward becoming a nonracist (Ganter, 1977).

Hardiman (1984) constructed a four stage model of White racial identity from acceptance, resistance, and redefinition to internalization. In the acceptance stage White superiority is the main characteristic. In resistance the person becomes aware of a

personal racial identity. In redefinition the person begins to re-conceptualize Whiteness from a nonracist viewpoint. In internalization the person adopts a nonracist White identity (Hardiman, 1984).

The most prominent White racial identity theorist and scale developer is Janet Helms. Helms's (1984) model of White racial identity has become a standard for race related research in the social sciences. The model consists of six stages: contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy. Contact, the first stage, entails obliviousness to one's own racial identity. Disintegration, the second stage, is characterized by an acknowledgement of White racial identity and a resulting cognitive dissonance. Reintegration, the third stage, consists of idealizing White people and denigrating Black people. Pseudo-independence, the fourth stage, involves intellectualizing an accepting perspective regarding White identity and other races while continuing to act in ways that perpetuate racism.

Although Helms (1984) originally proposed a five stage model and corresponding scale, upon review of Hardiman's unpublished manuscript, which contends it is possible for White people to seek out accurate information about their historical contributions to the world and its effect on racial interactions, a process of self-reflections in White people facilitates defining a nonracist White identity, she amended the WRIAS with an additional stage (Helms, 1990). Immersion/ emersion, this additional stage, is the fifth of six stages and is differentiated by an honest appraisal of racism and the significance of Whiteness. The vehicle for formulating revelations regarding the positive potential of the White race is intense contact or "immersion" with cultural surroundings followed by an "emersion" or return to a more balanced life exposure. Autonomy, the sixth stage,

involves internalizing a multicultural approach to racial identity with a strong, personal non-racist White identity (Helms, 1984).

Helms (1994) asserted the term *stages* in the White Racial Identity Stage theory originally meant interactive and permeable, not static, linear or mutually exclusive categories a person would be rigidly assigned. Since other scholars repeatedly interpreted the theory's use of the term incorrectly, Helms began substituting the terms *statuses* and *schemas* for *stages*; however, the meaning inferred should be what she intended. The definition of the term *stages* in Helms's racial identity models is, "...a mutually interactive dynamic process by which a person's behavior could be explained rather than static categories into which a person could be assigned (Helms, 1994, pp.183)." Helms (1994) further explained that *statuses*, defined as "the dynamic cognitive, emotional and behavioral processes that govern a person's interpretation of racial information in her or his interpersonal environments" give rise to *schemata*, defined as, "behavioral manifestations of the underlying statuses". It is these *schemata*, in particular, that the racial identity attitude scales purportedly assess (p. 184).

White privilege model (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001) describes a range of White attitudes pertaining to unearned societal advantages White people utilize often to the indirect detriment of people of color. Similarly, White racial identity theory conceptualizes being White through how a White person views his or her own race. However, racial identity generally includes both attitudes toward Whites and people of color. Helms (1990) work in racial identity development produced a scale corresponding to the White racial identity development stage model, which this White privilege scale

emulates. The following section describes this scale, the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale

In an effort to further identify the stage of development of White racial identity a person has attained, Helms first designed a scale with Carter based on her original theory of five stages of White racial identity (1990). Carter and Helms constructed these items to correspond with the themes in the five stages. The higher the respondent's score on the subscale, the more relevant the subscale is to the person's racial identity.

The original scale contained 50 items which were statements with a five-point Likert scale response style. Ten items corresponded to each stage of Helms's five stage model and progress from a state of obliviousness of racism to a state of awareness and personal responsibility. Sample items from an original workshop self-assessment include "I personally do not notice what race a person is" and "I speak up in a White group when I feel that a White person is being racist," and "It is White people's responsibility to eliminate racism in the United States" (Helms, 1990, p. 64).

The revised White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) reflects Helms's (1990) addition of another stage, Immersion/Emersion. This subscale contains another ten items and is intended to reflect proactive self-reflection and adoption of a positive White racial identity. Items within the scale reflect seeking out positive racial and inter-racial experiences. This revised scale contains a total of sixty items; ten items corresponding to each of the six subscales. Further information on this scale is provided in the methods section.

While validating the scale, the researchers explored the affect of social desirability on response style and found that none of the items correlated with the Marlowe and Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Helms, 1990). Since the construction and validation of the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, Helms and others have utilized it in dozens of race related research studies including comparing personality facets (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001) and exploring cross-cultural counseling (Helms, 1990).

Research studies will be explored further in the section entitled “Studies Exploring White Privilege Attitudes, Racism and Racial Identity” to demonstrate the WRIAS’ reliability and validity and illustrate connections between White racial identity attitudes and attitudes about White privilege. White privilege attitude development is positively correlated with White racial identity development and negatively related to the development of racist beliefs (Swim & Miller, 1999). The methodology section provides further information on the WRIAS.

White Privilege

In the past, examples of discrimination, both overt and covert, were examined based upon the disadvantage of the racial minorities. However, the term White privilege evolved from “racism” and “racial identity” as a tool to explore the problem of prejudice and discrimination from the viewpoint of the advantaged majority culture (Sue, 2003). Not only does group membership put some people at a disadvantage, it also appears to place other people in an unearned position of privilege. As asserted by several scholars below, the process of acknowledging White privilege by first admitting that it (as well as the internalized sense of superiority associated with privilege) exists, and then acting to correct the imbalance, is a necessary process in developing a positive, non-racist White

identity (Bailey, 1999; McIntosh, 1988; Neville, Worthington & Spanierman, 2001; Sue, 2003).

McIntosh (1988), the most often cited scholar on the concept of White privilege, described racism as something that puts members of a racial minority group at a disadvantage while White privilege puts White people at an advantage. Her observational essay on White privilege evolved from her previous essays regarding male privilege and an unearned sense of entitlement. McIntosh suggested that just as men were taught not to recognize their state of privilege, she and other White persons were socialized not to acknowledge White privilege. This resulted in an invisible gift or package carried around and utilized but never acknowledged and therefore, never discussed or questioned. McIntosh decided to explore where privilege affected her daily life (1988).

She provided specific observations of her own White privilege in 46 items (McIntosh, 1988) in an essay and condensed reprints (McIntosh, 1997, 1998) and inferred generalizations for White people from them. For example, "I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group (1997, pp. 293) and "I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race" (1988, p. 140). Some of the items are broad in scope as in the preceding statements. However, most are situational, such as: "I can talk with my mouth open and not have people put this down to my color" (1997, pp. 293) and "If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race" (1988, p. 140) or "I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin" (p. 140, 1988). She asserted that privilege which confers dominance merely because of race is

unearned and should no longer be ignored or denied but discussed and disassembled, unpacking the invisible knapsack.

Bailey (1999) described the evolution of her attitude about White privilege as an initially angry, defensive response, "It's not *my* fault," through taking personal responsibility by asking herself, "How do I begin thinking of privilege as a resource for undoing institutional racism?" (1999, pp. 87). The essayist stated White women have historically had socially sanctioned reasons for denying the existence of White privilege including dependence on White men, complicity in maintaining institutionalized racism and White guilt. Bailey suggested White guilt is a defensive response to the existence of privilege and deters one from acceptance. Simply by acknowledging privilege, she felt some responsibility. She admitted to feelings of anger and powerlessness at contemplating the task of dismantling a tower of unjust domination (Bailey, 1999).

Bailey (1999) attempted to divest herself of privilege through a process termed racial disidentification and often characterized by actions such as marrying outside of the White race, associating with people of color and various antiracist work. However, she found it impossible as her skin color automatically conferred the privilege upon her. She described this attempt to avoid White guilt by emulating people of nonwhite races as "both a trivialization of oppression faced by African Americans and a disingenuous destruction of one's own identity" (1999, p. 90). Instead of futilely refusing to utilize White privilege in order to assist people of color, Bailey (1999) advises utilizing the position of privilege and adding her voice to demand privilege for people of color by calling attention to racial inequalities.

In an essay about Whiteness, Zack (1999) expressed skepticism about the notion that White people are capable of speaking of Whiteness without casting aspersions on people of color. She opined: "...the intellectual question is still whether a person of color can completely believe that it is possible for White people to talk about Whiteness in ways that are not racist against people of color (Zack, 1999, p. 78). Zack defined White privilege as, *not* a "legal tradition that grants special rights to Whites so much as [a] present social practice [with] a past legal history of excluding non-Whites from the privileges assumed to belong to all citizens..." (1999, p. 80).

Zack (1999) argued the word "privilege" is misused in this context as it makes the racial inequalities seem both better and worse than the reality. This makes the disparity appear worse as she believes it implies a time when benefits were conferred explicitly upon White people. The word usage makes the situation seem better in some ways, she stated, because it ignores the more obvious instances of exclusion and discrimination of people of color. Furthermore, the essayist asserted discussing privilege puts undue emphasis on the comparative disadvantages that people of color have in an "'in their face' way that would seem (to me) to add further insult to injury" (Zack, 1999, p. 81). Instead of embracing Whiteness including concepts like White privilege, Zack urged the White reader to defect from such an identity that delineates amongst people, to reject the concept of "race" that is not scientifically or empirically relevant and is ill-founded (1999).

In contrast, Sue (2003) reviewed a plan for White people to recognize and confront racism internally and throughout society largely by developing a positive racial identity. He reviewed McIntosh's essay and advised confronting racism by advocating for

social change in his text entitled, *Overcoming Our Racism: Journey to Liberation*. First, one must define the problem by beginning with oneself. This starts by asking, “Am I a racist?” or, “To what extent am I racist?” He stated, “If you focus on racism as only extreme acts of hatred, then you convince yourself that you are not capable of prejudice, bias, and discrimination (Sue, 2003, p. 3).” Sue continued by defining racism as an attitude or policy that subordinates people based on color. Next, he urged readers to ask the extent to which we participate in forms of racial oppression and to think about how to combat this in ourselves and society. Then, in this document, he defined the privileged nature of White America and how the majority culture has had control over information in general and in the history of America, specifically. Sue then explained since White Americans have largely held the power to oppress other groups, White or Euro-Americans are the ones largely responsible for changing this process of systematic discrimination. Sue described White privilege as “the unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to White folks by virtue of a system normed on the experiences, values and perceptions of their group (2003, p. 137).”

In the second section entitled, “Overcoming the Problem”, Sue offered specific suggestions for individuals, citizens and people of color to combat racism. For individuals, he suggested this: “As long as you deny that racism exists, then the greater the difficulty in developing an authentic and positive White identity (Sue, 2003, p163).” Sue referred to Janet Helms’s essentially two step process of developing a healthy White identity (1990). This consists of abandoning White racism and working to develop a nonracist identity. Sue then described seven stages of nonracist White identity.

including naiveté, conformity, dissonance, resistance/immersion, introspection, integrative awareness and commitment to antiracist action.

As citizens of the United States, Sue urged (2003) the reader to choose to combat racism. Once this choice is made, advocating for a non-racist society entails three basic tasks. First, have close contact with other races, religions and creeds. Second, cooperate with people from other cultures rather than competing. Third, learn the truth about other cultures. Advocating for equality consists of supporting racial equity politically and then ultimately fostering a sense of belonging in the cultural salad that is the world (Sue, 2003).

Finally, Sue (2003) addressed people of color and how these individuals can combat racism by heightening already existing strengths. First, he recognized that people of color understand White culture better than the reciprocal as this has been a survival method. He continued with a description of the distorted reality that White people have of society due to “possessing unchecked power and control over others (Sue, 2003, p.262)”. Sue elaborated,

This [distorted reality is due to] their high status and power [and] means they seldom have to worry or even think about people of color, they use one another to validate their sense of false racial reality, and they inaccurately define people of color from a stereotypical template (2003, p. 262).

Second, Sue encouraged people of color to continue to advance their comprehension of nonverbal and contextualized cues displayed by White people. He summarized by stating, “To truly understand White people, don’t listen to what they say but how they say it (Sue, 2003, p. 263)”. Nonverbal communication is likely to be more in evidence and more accurate than verbal communication and convey biases through

facial expressions, posture and hesitations of speech. Third, he recognized the adversity strength of bicultural flexibility, which entails being comfortable in social situations of more than one race or culture.

This led to a description of strengths of collectivism, racial pride, spirituality, interconnectedness of mind, body and spirit, family and community which people of color can draw on when in need. Specifically, Sue listed sixteen statements of courses of action and advice for people of color based on understanding the current racial climate and drawing on adversity strengths. White people may draw on some of the same strengths and strategies when combating racism and connecting with others (Sue, 2003).

The above theorists discussed the concept of privilege and how it impacts society. Why should we utilize the concept of White privilege to examine inequities rather than traditional concepts of racism? By examining the positions of populations generally discriminated against and exploring methods for assisting these populations in adjusting to society through the terms "racism" and "oppressed populations," researchers make several mistakes. One, researchers incorrectly assume that it is the responsibility of those treated unjustly to rectify the situation (Sue, 2003). Two, researchers assume that focusing on oppressed minority cultures reveals the entirety of the problem when it actually only reveals a portion of the problem, and can only generate partial solutions (Banaszynski, 2000).

Three, I assert that researchers incorrectly assume the disadvantaged population has a superior viewpoint of the actions of oppressors, when the majority culture can be a better source of information about their own actions. Four, researchers who focus on the disadvantaged to explain oppression may suggest that this population is deviant, cause

stress for the disadvantaged group and divert attention from how privileges are unfairly bestowed upon certain groups (Banaszyinski, 2000). Five, researchers overlook the benefits that prosocial action can have for the majority (Helms, 1990; McIntosh, 1988). White culture in part and America as a whole may benefit in assuming responsibility for examining disparities in privilege and progressing (Sue, 2003) toward a unified, inclusive society that is not only accepting of others but full of admiration for the spectrum of differences in humanity; race, culture, gender, religion, sexual orientation and ability among them (Bailey, 1999).

Understanding privilege and its effect on racial relations is a necessary step toward developing a non-racist White identity (Bailey, 1999; McIntosh, 1988; Neville, Worthington & Spanierman, 2001; Sue, 2003). While the preceding theorists varied somewhat in their means of becoming aware of White privilege and its effect in their lives, all describe a similar process of awareness. Awareness of privilege begins by first recognizing that it (as well as the internalized sense of superiority associated with privilege) exists, working through denial and guilt, and then acting to correct the imbalance. All agree that a positive, proactive attitude about White privilege is a crucial element in developing a positive, non-racist White identity. Research studies examined the elements that contribute to racist ideals and non-racist ideology. The next section will outline some of these elements.

Research Studies - Racism

Several scales measuring racism do exist and are employed to identify levels of racism for various purposes. These scales correspond to the concepts of racism described above including traditional racism, modern racism, aversive racism, White racial identity

and White privilege attitudes theory. Traditional racism found a measurement device in a scale entitled Racial Tolerance Values included in the Analytic Juror Rater, a tool for assessing the attitudes of potential jurors. Modern racism or symbolic racism gave rise to the Modern Racism scale, while aversive racism spawned the Aversive Racism Scale. Two devices named the Bogus Pipeline technique and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions are also described in this section as they were developed not only to assess racism but also to explore the performance of other racism measures. This section will begin by exploring scales corresponding to the three types of racism, and end by discussing research related to both the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the White privilege attitudes construct.

Traditional Racism Research

Traditional racism is a concept which has not been explored in decades as its lack of subtlety formed skewed results (McConahay, 1986). These results occurred when the public developed more tolerance for people of color or more sophistication in hiding traditionally racist beliefs. This sophistication arose due to negative reactions from the public in response to traditionally racist remarks. Therefore, current research studies on traditional racism in the United States do not exist. However, research in this realm was conducted over thirty years ago including studies exploring the evolution away from a racist identity (Gaertner, 1976, Jones, 1972; Kovel, 1970), related above in White racial identity theories. Other research also observed the influence of race on helping behaviors (Gaertner, 1976), explored the disparities between Black and White races (Jones, 1972), and focused on the evolution of stereotypes White people endorse regarding Black people (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1935).

Gaertner (1976) explored the influence of race on attempts to elicit altruistic acts by phoning 231 and 216 members of the Liberal and Conservative parties of New York, respectively. Callers previously identified as clearly male or female, and Black or White perpetrated a wrong-number call and requested automobile assistance and a further phone call. Results indicated respondents from the Conservative party discriminated against the Black callers to a greater extent than liberals did. Conservatives helped White victims 92% of the time and Black victims only 65% of the time.

Jones (1972) reported results of several studies in his text including that of children's prejudices and economical disparities between Black and White peoples. In a classic study conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark (cited in Jones, 1972, p. 90) in 1939, children were asked to choose a pale or darkly-complexioned doll. Over fifty percent of Black and biracial children at every age level preferred the White doll. White children chose the White doll nearly half of the time as well. Researchers interpreted this to indicate that children feel "black is not beautiful." In a follow-up study attempting to control for doll quality, Kiesler (cited in Jones, 1972, pp. 93) asked 165 kindergarteners were asked to choose a photograph of a child they identified as similar to them, with whom they would prefer to play with, work with, or felt were friendly. Black children chose photographs with Black children to play with 61% of the time and felt Black children in photographs were friendly 52% of the time and would choose to work with Black children 33% of the time. White children felt Black children in photographs were less friendly 33% of the time and chose to play with Black children in photographs less often (35%); however, they chose Black children to work with 60% of the time. The

author concluded racial self-awareness is associated with a preference for children perceived as same race for playmates and work mates.

Jones (1972) reported explorations on the evolution of institutional racism, defined as, "those established laws, customs, and practices which systematically reflect and produce racial inequities in American society" (p. 131) and occur in institutions such as schools and industries. First, he described one exploration on the use of standardized test scores as a primary criterion for admission to an academic program, since scores were deemed culturally biased. Second, an examination of employment data from 1910 through 1960 provided another example of institutional racism. According to a study by Ginzberg and Hiestad (1960, cited in Jones, 1972), in 1910, 23.8% of White people were employed in White collar jobs, while only 3% of Black people were identified in such fields. In 1960 this percentage increased to 44.1% for White people and 13.4 for Black people. More disturbing, according to the authors, Black people were primarily employed in manual labor positions in 1910 with 46.6% out of 49.6% of employed Black respondents in such positions and manual labor remained the major source of employment for this population in 1960 with 70.3% out of 83.7% of employed respondents in manual labor positions. However, the percentage of White persons in manual labor positions improved to a small degree from 1910 (48.2%) to 1960 (45.5%).

In 1933 Katz and Braly (1935) studied stereotypes of 10 racial and ethnic groups by asking 60 undergraduate students of Princeton to rank their personal and societal preferences for several races, ethnicities and nationalities including "negroes." In previous study a group of 100 Princeton undergraduate students ascribed racial attributes from a list of adjectives (1933). Results indicated a strong preference for "Americans"

from “Negroes” at 9th place in private interactions and 10th place in public interactions. Researchers speculated that Negroes were avoided more when social status was an issue. In a follow-up study, Karlins and colleagues (1969) built on that research by exploring what Gilbert (1951) termed the “fading effect”. They found that Princeton students’ stereotypes of Black people had evolved most dramatically over 25 years with some traits ascribed to Black persons fading and others emerging. The traits “superstitious” faded from 84% to only 13% ascribing this to the Black population and “lazy” dropped from 75% to 26%. The newer stereotype of Black people focused on traits such as “musical” (47%), “happy-go-lucky” (27%), and “ostentatious” (25%). Researchers concluded that while traditional racist stereotypes had faded, newer, more subtle stereotypes were replacing them (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969). Such changes would be better described in more modern theories of racism.

Modern Racism Research

The construct of modern or symbolic racism spawned the Modern Racism Scale or MRS (McConahay, 1986). Two items from the 1984 version of the MRS included, “Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Blacks than they deserve”. And “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States” (McConahay, 1986, p.108). While numerous studies have included the MRS as a validating instrument, several studies have employed the MRS as a primary focus, including seminal experiments by Wittenbrink and Henly (1996), and Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1995), and Dunton and Fazio (1997).

Wittenbrink and Henly (1996) conducted three experiments to examine the authors’ hypothesis that information about another person’s negative beliefs reinforces

the subject's currently held stereotypes. The Modern Racism Scale was utilized to determine the participants' baseline level of racism prior to exposure to the independent variable. The dependent variable employed was a scale with items of negative, prejudicial statements. The corresponding responses allowed the participants to either support or refute these statements. The main experiment in the study presented a simulated trial in written form and participants answered questions regarding the verdict they might render. Results indicated that participants with negative beliefs about the target groups were particularly influenced by the negative information. However, participants with positive beliefs were not significantly influenced.

According to Dunton & Fazio (1997) and their Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale, which was developed after their preliminary study (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995), the MRS was a highly reactive scale as participants censor their responses, thereby providing skewed results which are more socially desirable. The preliminary investigation responds to the claims that the MRS was a "nonreactive" instrument and that people do not censor their responses. This research compares Jones and Sigall's bogus pipeline technique and the Modern Racism Scale. The unobtrusive measure or "bogus pipeline technique" is based on "research [which] has succeeded in demonstrating the operation of stereotypes at an automatic processing level; stereotype-related constructs were activated by the various primes" (Fazio, et. al., 1995, pp. 1014). The variation of the technique used in this investigation consisted of evaluating reactions elicited by priming (e.g. flashing an image of a face, Black or White) and then selection of positive and negative adjectives. The experimenters concluded that the MRS is actually "reactive" (people *do* censor themselves regarding contemporary racism). In

addition, the MRS has not been updated since 1984, which results in outdated language, reference to past political events and increasing reactivity of the scale (McConahay, 1986).

MRS and Ability to Control One's Reactions

Dunton and Fazio (1997) developed the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale to assess the extent to which individuals differ in attempting to control their expressions of prejudice. Authors conducted two large sample surveys, compared findings from this scale with those of the sample's Modern Racism Scale and concluded that their scale had ample predictive validity. Subjects scoring higher in motivation to control prejudice scored lower on the MRS. Also MRS scores and unobtrusive scores corresponded more closely (subjects were more truthful) as motivation to control prejudice decreased.

In conjunction with several others, these authors also developed another method to investigate prejudice in participants (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995). Their article responds to the claims that the MRS is a "nonreactive" instrument, that people do not censor their responses. This research compares Jones and Sigall's bogus pipeline technique and the Modern Racism Scale. The unobtrusive measure/bogus pipeline technique, based on "research [which] has succeeded in demonstrating the operation of stereotypes at an automatic processing level; stereotype-related constructs [which] were activated by the various primes" (1014). The variation of the technique used in this investigation also consisted of evaluating reactions elicited by priming (flashing an image of a face, Black or White) and consisting of selection of positive and negative adjectives.

The experimenters conducted four studies comparing the scale to the unobtrusive measure. The initial study examined students with varying scores on the MRS on the bogus pipeline technique and measures of attitude toward the Rodney King incident. Results appeared to provide varying scores of facilitation suggesting to researchers that the method identified some negative attitudes overall from White people toward Black people. They also found no significant correlation with the Modern Racism Scale. However, measures of attitude regarding the Rodney King incident correlated with the MRS but not with the bogus pipeline. A similar design was employed again and the MRS was found to under-identify negative attitudes in relation to the unobtrusive bogus pipeline.

In study 3 they followed a similar design but also compared the effect of a White versus Black experimenter guiding the respondents. Results indicated that students responded in a less prejudiced manner with the Black experimenter nearby. Researchers concluded that the scale is actually "reactive" (people *do* censor themselves regarding contemporary racism). Therefore, in study 4 students participated in a similar design again but also filled out a scale to measure their motivation to control prejudice. Results indicated that lower scores on the MRS correlated with higher scores on the motivation to control racial prejudice scale. In addition, as motivation to control prejudice decreased, the relationship between the unobtrusive measure and the MRS grew stronger.

The authors concluded that higher motivation to control prejudice indicated the existence of stronger prejudice and the desire to hide it. Fazio and colleagues' (1995) article provided an excellent argument for the need for a more subtle method to gauge covert forms of racism, but functional in a non-laboratory setting. They also suggested

the possibility of future research as any scale that purports to measure racism may be compared to the bogus pipeline technique of measuring automatically activated stereotypes or racial biases.

Three experiments were conducted to test Wittenbrink and Henly's (1996) hypothesis that comparison information about a person's stereotypes reinforces a subject's currently held stereotypes. The Modern Racism Scale was used to determine the participants' current level of racism. The independent variable utilized was a response scale containing biased questions, negative or positive, about African Americans and the respondent's beliefs. The second experiment (part of study 1) included a simulated trial, presented in written form and participants answered questions regarding the verdict they might render. The third study utilized a similar questionnaire used in previous studies; however, it was revised to solicit opinions on the participant's belief in current widespread public opinion. Results indicated that participants with negative beliefs about the target groups were particularly influenced by the negative information, while participants with positive beliefs were not significantly influenced.

Aversive Racism Research

Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) proposed the contemporary concept of aversive racism, which they assert exists in people with lower levels of prejudice but resists measurement due to its nature of covert release and unconscious motivations. In their 1989-1999 longitudinal experiment, the same authors examined aversive racist expressions in relation to hiring practices (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). This experiment presented information regarding the qualifications of employment candidates, strong, weak and ambiguously average. White participants chose Black applicants when their

qualifications were noticeably stronger than White applicants qualifications were. However, when Black and White applicants presented average credentials, participants recommended the White applicant a significantly higher percentage of the time. The authors concluded that although self-reports of racism had decreased over time, discrimination continued to occur when discriminatory actions could be justified as related to some other qualification. These authors did not utilize a formal instrument to measure aversive racism because an accurate measurement of contemporary racism does not exist.

Dovidio and Gaertner's (2000) study gathered information over ten years regarding White people's self-reported racial prejudice, both overt and covert/aversive expressions. Aversive racism was defined as a subtle form of racism particularly found among liberal White people who commonly endorse egalitarian views in salient situations. In less clear, more ambiguous situations where the subject can rationalize decisions as attributable to factors other than race, the person with aversive racism will discriminate against a person from a minority. This hypothesis was supported by the study. Participants were rated on three racial-attitude items, randomly assigned to one of six conditions where they were asked to rate applicants of varying qualifications and from Black or White ethnicity. White applicants were strongly recommended over Black applicants when both parties' qualifications were neither weak, nor strong but in the middle (ambiguous). One limitation to this study might be these authors seemed to make little effort to identify respondents with aversive racism (simply as low in prejudice) as they assumed that all White subjects would display this form of racism (Dovidio &

Gaertner, 2000). An instrument to identify such individuals would have been more predictive. However, the results did favor their hypothesis.

In summary, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) presented the topic of contemporary and subtler types of racism and its influence on decision-making in ambiguous situations. The authors defined, compared and contrasted traditional, modern and aversive racism. Aversive racism implies denying the existence of inequities conferred due to skin color and denying to oneself that this is the reason underlying discriminatory acts in which one engages. Thus, aversive racism, White racial identity and White privilege attitude constructs seem to have a relationship. The next sections will explore studies related to these concepts and examine possible relationships amongst them.

Studies Exploring White Privilege Attitudes, Racism and Racial Identity

The main purpose of this project concerns exploration of the connection between a White privilege attitudes scale and the racism present in an individual by means of constructing a stage model scale to identify the participant's attitude. Underlying this purpose are the assumptions that contemporary racism, White racial identity and White privilege attitudes are interconnected and that the White privilege construct provides a superior description and related measurements of current negative and positive racial attitudes than others. Several studies provide supportive information pertaining to these assumptions.

Silvestri and Richardson examined the correlations among the concepts of racial identity development, personality constructs and aversive racism (2001). They found that aversive racism and the more developed stages of racial identity possessed a strong negative correlation. Several other researchers also agreed that development of racial

identity is inversely related to traditional racism (Helms, 1990; Pack-Brown, 1999). Therefore, since the concept of White privilege attitudes denotes a level and understanding of a White participant's own racial group in relation to other ethnicities as well as tolerance of other ethnicities, it should also negatively correlate with forms of racism.

Banaszynski (2000) utilized five questionnaires she formulated for this study, with both open and closed-ended questions about White privilege attitudes. She then conducted two studies to explore the beliefs and resulting actions of respondents. In the first study, she found that the questionnaires provided a varied measure of awareness. Results from study one also indicated that White privilege attitudes correlated negatively with the Modern Racism scale administered. In study two, results suggested a relationship between attitudes toward affirmative action and levels of awareness. Participants with stronger beliefs in the existence of privilege tended to be more active in supporting racial diversity by signing postcards at an activist event. This supports the notion of an inverse connection between acknowledging White privilege and racist acts (e.g. antiracist act of signing postcards) and a direct relationship between denying White privilege and racism (as measured in the questionnaires and the MRS).

Arminio (2001) explored the role of White guilt in facilitating racial identity and awareness of privilege. She interviewed six graduate students several times, discussing the meaning of Whiteness, oppression and, subsequently, race-related guilt. This data was then analyzed utilizing a hermeneutic phenomenology format. Results indicated race-related guilt stimulates growth and change; therefore, this author suggested liberation therapy as a tool for assisting clients to utilize race-related guilt, particularly in issues

related to career or interpersonal relations. Liberation therapy assists people to progress from a state of denying oppression to recognizing it, reflecting upon it and acting to change it. Recognizing oppression entails exploring guilt with clients so that they can admit to acts of oppression (e.g. tolerating racist slander). Reflection and redefinition consist of inquiring about the causes of clients' guilt and behaviors with the goal of gaining insight into situations where clients' actions are congruent with thoughts about privilege and oppression that occur in society. In the future, clients will be more likely to act upon these recognized instances of oppression. According to this article, assisting clients to move beyond White guilt promotes acceptance of White privilege, encourages a nonracist White identity and decreases the potential for racist beliefs and acts.

Swim and Miller (1999) conducted four studies to examine the relationship between White guilt and beliefs about: White people, privilege, racism and prejudices held toward Black people. In the first study nine scales measuring the above concepts as well as self-esteem were administered to over 100 students. The scale regarding White privilege attitudes was designed for this study based upon McIntosh's reflections and asked respondents the extent of their agreement to a set of six statements. Results supported the authors' hypotheses that stronger White guilt correlated with less positive personal evaluations of the White race, a positive correlation between White guilt and positive attitudes toward affirmative action. Results also indicated that lower scores on the Modern Racism Scale, identified as one of the most popular measures of prejudice, were related to higher White guilt. Their results suggested that White guilt acts as a mediator in the relationship from beliefs about White privilege to attitudes toward affirmative action and toward beliefs about discrimination. This was consistent with

White racial identity theorists' assertions that not only does White guilt arise from burgeoning awareness of privilege, it also influences beliefs about White people, Black people and the prevalence of discrimination.

Iyer, Leach and Crosby (2003) conducted two studies to examine the influence of White guilt on other-focus and social action. They explained that White guilt, which is dysphoria felt by European Americans regarding the disproportionate unearned privileges their group holds over minority groups such as African Americans, has three interrelated characteristics. The first characteristic in this concept is accepting responsibility for violating a moral standard. The second characteristic is this guilt focuses attention on one's self, which can result in a weaker basis for action to remediate the condition of disproportionate advantages through social action. The third characteristic is that this guilt or discomfort can motivate one to make restitution towards less privileged. The two studies examined whether this self versus other-focus tends to be motivating enough to promote action (Iyer et al., 2003).

Study one included 202 White undergraduate participants and entailed the completion of four questionnaires. These brief questionnaires assessed beliefs in the existence of racial discrimination, the existence of privilege, their White guilt and support of affirmative action. Results indicated that belief in the existence of privilege predicted the existence of White guilt, whereas the belief in the existence of racial discrimination did not predict White guilt. Results also supported their hypothesis that guilt is associated with efforts toward compensatory actions in the form of affirmative action. Results also showed a strong correlation between awareness of privilege and support for compensatory actions with a mediating relationship of White guilt. These results suggest

that assessing racist beliefs is not enough to formulate accurate predictions about tendency toward social action and that the presence of White privilege awareness does predict a tendency to support social action (Iyer et al., 2003).

Study two further explored hypotheses that guilt predicts tendencies toward compensatory policies and whether an other-focused orientation to racial inequalities would lead to sympathy for disadvantaged groups. Two hundred fifty White undergraduates participated in completing a questionnaire on the beliefs of discrimination, resulting emotions and tendencies toward the support of affirmative action. Results indicated the self-focus led to feelings of guilt while other-focus led to feelings of sympathy. This other-focus also led to increased beliefs in the existence of discrimination against racial minorities. The authors interpreted this to indicate that participants were more likely to recognize the existence of racial discrimination when their own group was not implicated as perpetrators. This other-focus and sympathy resulted in increased support for equal opportunity policy and a weaker relationship with compensatory actions. Conversely, self-focus and guilt were strongly associated with compensatory actions and less so with supporting equal opportunity policy (Iyer et al., 2003). These results suggest that self-focus, guilt and responsibility would be fostered by White privilege and racial identity attitude assessments and effect higher proaction in the form of compensation practices; while other-focus and sympathy would be fostered by assessments of racial prejudice and tendency toward discriminatory acts (e.g. MRS) and effect increased support of equal opportunity policies.

White Privilege, Therapy and Supervision

Pewewardy (2004) explored White privilege and social justice issues in behavioral science in her article. She pointed out mechanisms of privilege that continue to perpetuate disparity. One example was persistent segregation such that only two percent of White people have Black neighbors. The author also stated therapists tend to attribute White clients' problems to interpersonal issues and yet consider attributing problems to cultural issues with clients who are people of color, perhaps misattributing. She asserted awareness of oppression is necessary for prosocial change to occur; including reevaluating biased reports of historical events in our society and the underlying theories our beliefs are based upon. For instance, in the history of psychology the assumption that White people are the norm and other races are abnormal permeates the development of psychological theory. For example, G. Stanley Hall, the first president of the American Psychological Association, proposed theories based on racist ideas including the theory that "Africans, Indians and Chinese were members of adolescent races in a stage of incomplete growth" (Pewewardy, pp. 57, 2004). Specifically regarding therapy, the author called for White psychotherapists to examine their own White identity development and assist their clients in also examining their identity development. She opined that this is, to some extent, always a relevant pursuit. The author also encouraged readers to make reparations and oppose racism wherever it exists as citizens and therapists.

Manupelli's (2000) dissertation also explored the therapist's understanding of White privilege through a qualitative study consisting of focus group discussions with culturally diverse therapists. As a result of analyses of these discussions with twelve

Black, White and Hispanic therapists in San Antonio, Texas regarding White privilege, the author found six themes. These themes included defining racism versus White privilege, levels of White privilege, awareness, entitlement and power, freedom and oppression, and identifying related issues for therapists. Regarding White privilege attitudes, Black participants described White privilege as insidious and taken for granted, and that Black people of lighter skin were conferred some of that privilege. Hispanic participants claimed that they have had access to some privileges but had to “sacrifice a cultural identity to do so (2000, p. 108).” Regarding fostering awareness in therapists, the participants suggested that talking openly about privilege was the first step. They discussed the difficulty in doing this as well as the strength of openness of the profession, in general. The participants focused on the challenge of how to present the topic within the profession in a non-threatening, open manner to clients and other therapists (Manupelli, 2000).

Hays and Chang (2003) defined White privilege and examined methods for fostering awareness in counseling supervisees. First, the authors suggested defining racism, oppression and privilege and exploring how these play out in the supervisory relationship. Second, they encouraged supervisors toward self-exploration of values prior to assisting their supervisees. Third, they indicated facilitating discussions of real life examples to assist in understanding. Fourth, the authors state that use of group dynamics and discussion may assist in the cultural education of supervisees. Fifth and last, several practical suggestions were provided on facilitating understanding of White privilege in counseling students and supervisees including journaling, use of critical incidents, sharing stories, structured immersion, role plays and empty chair techniques and

journaling about experiences with clients. Further articles focused on younger students and White privilege.

White Privilege and Special Populations

Several articles on White privilege and special populations were recently published focusing on children, survivors of domestic violence and Mexican Americans. Brandon's article (2003) challenges the effectiveness of current White race consciousness as an effective approach in the current multicultural education agenda for educators. The author then discussed multicultural education in teacher preparation programs and examined the study of Whiteness as a method to combat racism. However, White racial identity development had not been shown to bring about teacher competence in diverse classrooms or to raise the academic performance of students of color and poverty. She suggested here that the social relations in the larger society, with its notions of deficit thinking, are embedded into the reality of a predominantly White class of educators preparing a largely White public school teaching force, thereby ensuring the academic failure of certain children. The author opined that improving current practice requires White teachers recognize when their classroom practices perceive the dominant culture has the best practice and their actions exclude the contributions of minority groups' methods of practice. She then argued for a multicultural education remediation that included an inclusive view of social justice for guiding White educators in the practice of fair play in diverse classrooms. Other populations were also investigated in further articles on White privilege.

Donnelly, Cook, Van Ausdale and Foley (2005) interviewed Service providers for battered women in a qualitative article. The authors presented the results of this descriptive, exploratory study of White privilege in battered women's shelters in the Deep South; Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. Based on three emerging themes, they summarized White privilege was intricately connected to executive directors' claims of color blindness, the othering of women of color, and viewing White as the norm. The authors concluded the article with implications for service provision to battered women which called for providers to focus on the needs of women of color as being somewhat different from those of White women.

Mexican Americans, another underserved population in the area of articles on White privilege, are the focus in this next article. LeBlanc and Smart (2005) explored the effects of White privilege on the service delivery of rehabilitation counselors and vocational rehabilitation agency with Latino Americans. The majority of counselors are White, non-Hispanic Americans; however, a growing number of Latino Americans with disabilities, the greatest numbers of whom are of Mexican origin, are their clients. Therefore, asserted the authors, it is necessary for rehabilitation counselors to examine the concepts, history, and results of White privilege. In rehabilitation, White privilege may affect the higher rates of disabilities experienced by Mexican Americans and the fact that once Mexican Americans acquire these disabilities, they experience more secondary complications than White, non-Hispanics. However, acceptance for services in the state and federal vocational rehabilitation system is often influenced by White privilege. White privilege may foster distance and a power differential between the rehabilitation counselor and the Mexican American client. In addition, counselor prejudice may lead to

inaccurate assessments and underestimation of the Mexican American client's potential for rehabilitation. The authors recommended encouraging awareness of White privilege on the part of the counselor, improving the counselor-client alliance and empowering the Mexican American client with a redistribution of power within the relationship and without by legally challenging racism in the community.

Toward a Measure of Attitudes on White Privilege

Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) study utilized an essay written by Peggy McIntosh, the version published in 1995, exploring her White privilege. Students were instructed to read the essay and write a reflection paper based upon their own affective or cognitive reactions. The reactions of these 34 White graduate counseling students were analyzed using qualitative methodology. Three general themes emerged with two underlying subthemes for each: One—denial of/lack of awareness of White privilege, subtheme one involved feelings of anger and defensiveness often resulting in an attack on the author, while subtheme two entailed denial and resentment, resulting in referring to examples of differential treatment to nonracial factors. Two—some awareness of but no responsibility or desire to change status quo, subtheme one respondents expressed guilt, sadness and disgust at the state of affairs, while subtheme two expressed awareness as well as a lack of willingness to challenge and at times contentment with the stability privilege provides. Three—awareness and commitment to change; subtheme one respondents indicated an understanding of privilege and acknowledged the resistance to change, subtheme two illustrated an understanding of the effect of privilege on people of color and a desire to initiate action to change themselves or society. Suggestions followed for encouraging development across the stages.

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS) was originally developed for the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of multicultural training practices. Pinterits's (2004) dissertation built upon Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) developing model of themes of White privilege attitudes, defining the themes and constructing a related scale. The study began by further developing Ancis & Szymanski's model, outlined the item generation process, the administration to students, analysis of data and discussion on the resulting strengths and weaknesses.

WPAS Model

Pinterits (2004) reviewed an existing model of attitudes about White privilege (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). She then established an empirical foundation for further defining attitudes. The researcher reflected on Ancis and Szymanski's schema and concluded the following.

First, she outlined their three overall themes (Lack of awareness and denial of White privilege, Awareness of White privilege and discrimination, and higher order awareness and action) as well as the affective subthemes (Anger and defensiveness, Sadness and disgust, and acceptance). Second, the author decided that awareness of privilege could be reinterpreted as reactions to awareness (e.g. denial or acknowledgment). Third, the researcher utilized 130 graduate education students' experiential process in multicultural courses.

In 2001 Pinterits incorporated a preliminary, unpublished paper focusing on White counseling students' awareness of White privilege from Ancis and Szymanski into the curriculum of her cross-cultural course. The students', who were reportedly primarily

European American (90%) and female (80%), discussions were elicited through video, lectures, and articles about White privilege. As a result of her empirical observations of these discussions on White privilege, Pinterits noticed two important deviations from Ancis and Szymanski's themes. First, rather than a lack of awareness of White privilege, some students exhibited a denial of White privilege. Second, students who acknowledged the existence of White privilege fell into three additional categories rather than merely two. These three categories (plus denial) comprised the cognitive behavioral stances in Pinterits's model. However, Pinterits also observed an affective reactionary component to students' discussions.

The cognitive-behavioral responses are denial, status quo, indecision and relinquish. Students who denied the existence of privilege also exhibited reactions of apathy or anger (e.g. why am I here to take another white-bashing class?). Students acknowledging privilege displayed reactions of guilt or shame. The corresponding affective responses outlined are anger, guilt, fear, and apathy/curiosity. The scale items derived from this four-themed hierarchical model consisting of four cognitive response styles with corresponding affective reactions (Pinterits, 2004).

WPAS Item Generation

Pinterits (2004) generated a list of 111 items through the utilization of multiple resources. First, she reviewed the literature on White privilege. This step was generally covered in the literature review and not explained further in the methodology section. Second, she recruited two item generation groups. Third, the scholar consulted with leaders in the field of White privilege for content validity, resulting in the Preliminary WPAS.

Pinterits (2004) recruited a racially diverse group of students and professors in her two item generation groups. The teams consisted of four graduate students in the multicultural education course with White privilege as a primary topic and five professors instructing multicultural education courses in teacher education. These nine students and professors included five women--three of Arab, European, and Mexican descent, respectively; and two multiracial women, one of both Mexican and European descent and one of Asian and European descent. There were four men—three of African, European and Mexican descent, respectively; and one multiracial man of Asian, Pacific Islander and European descent. These teams composed items reflecting Pinterits's four cognitive dimensions (denial, status quo, indecision and relinquishment) and four affective dimensions (anger, guilt, fear/anxiety, curiosity and apathy). Ten items were constructed for each of the 16 cells within the 4 X 4 model of the content dimensions.

Pinterits (2004) then recruited the five leading scholars in White privilege to rate each item on two dimensions. The two dimensions were clarity of meaning and content appropriateness to the proposed category (e.g. denial) and a 5-point Likert scale was utilized ranging from 1 (not at all appropriate or clear) to 5 (very appropriate or clear) was utilized to provide feedback. These raters included three women—two of European and one of African descent, and two men—both of European descent. All of the items with an average rating below 3 were dropped or revised. One hundred-eleven items then comprised the pool with twenty three of these negatively worded to control for response bias and a corresponding response format consisted of a five-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree).

WPAS Preliminary Administration

In the administration phase of the study Pinterits (2004) recruited students from several colleges with counseling psychology, counselor education, and teacher education programs where White privilege issues were part of the curriculum. The researcher solicited professors of courses focusing on the topic of White privilege utilizing listservs and asking them to provide contact information on other professors who covered the topic. Thirty six instructors were contacted. Eleven of these agreed to distribute packets. However, the three instructors who practiced accessible placement of the questionnaire and allowed class time for completion provided the only completed packets.

This strategy resulted in 358 potential participant packets. However, the seventy seven students who identified as people of color or did not indicate their race were not included in the study. Therefore, 284 students (220 women, 64 men) participated. Five of these participants identified as biracial, including White. All ranged in age from 18 to 55 ($M = 25.24$) (Pinterits, 2004).

The questionnaire packet (Pinterits, 2004) consisted of the following instruments in counterbalanced order: demographics sheet (always first), the Preliminary White Privilege Attitudes Scale (P-WPAS); a measure of preference for social hierarchy - the Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO); a measure of racial beliefs - the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRA); a measure of racist attitudes – the Modern Racism Scale (MRS). The Preliminary White Privilege Attitudes Scale consisted of the aforementioned 111 items. The Social Dominance Scale was a 14 item measure of preference for social hierarchy in social groups with a coefficient alpha of .83. The first racist measure, the Color-blind Racial Attitude Scale, was a measure consisting of 3

subscales: Racial privilege, Institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues; and higher scores indicated higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes. Coefficient alphas for the CoBRA and subscales reported were .91, .83, .81, and .76, respectively and split-half reliability was .72. The second racist attitude measure included was the Modern Racism Scale, which is designed to measure the attitudes of White people toward Black people. Coefficient alphas for internal consistency with college students range from .81 to .86 and a high test-retest reliability ranging from .72 to .93 was reported. The demographics sheet asked for age, gender, race/ethnicity, level of higher education pursuing, level of exposure to minorities (5 possible levels) and the number of multicultural courses and workshops completed.

WPAS Analysis of Data

Pinterits (2004) examined the preliminary 111 items for the purpose of shortening the subscales using item-total correlations. The researcher evaluated the items based on a comparison of their performance with the four cognitive-behavioral subscales and items falling below average were dropped. This resulted in a 54-item scale containing 14 items in Denial, 12 items corresponding to Status Quo, 14 items in the subscale Indecision and 14 items within the Relinquish subscale. The data analysis then focused on factor analysis, subscales' reliability, and the four subscales' validity as determined by comparison with the three other scales; the MRS, SDO and COBRA.

First, the factor analysis failed to strongly support the hypothesized 3 factor structure. Pinterits (2004) then conducted an exploratory factor analysis with an oblique rotation and found five factors with eigenvalues stronger than or equal to one. The scree plot suggested a two or three factor solution would better fit the data. The researcher then

determined that a two factor structure provided a more parsimonious interpretation of the data. The items were examined for loading on these two factors. All of the 54 items loaded greater than .30 on at least one factor and six of the items loaded at .30 or greater on both factors. Items loading on factor one were scrutinized and found to address maintaining privilege; therefore, this factor was entitled, Support of White Privilege. The sixteen items loading on factor two appeared to emphasize acknowledgement of privilege, emotional distress and confusion about how to act; therefore, it was entitled, Distressed Acknowledgement of White Privilege.

The 54 items evidenced high internal consistency, surpassing the minimum criterion for using the scale, with an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .87 (Pinterits, 2004), in comparison with Anastasi's (1982) reported median of .54 for personality measures. The Cronbach's alphas for the four cognitive-behavioral subscales were strong with Denial at a .91, Status Quo evincing a .92, Indecision resulting in a .83, and Relinquish at a .83 as well. Eleven of the sixteen cognitive-behavioral and affective subscales evidenced internal consistency reliabilities above .70.

Correlations were conducted between WPAS subscales and three other scales for convergent and divergent validity. Results between WPAS subscales and MRS, CoBRA and SDO were generally supportive of validity with the graduate school population. Hypotheses predicted no correlations between WPAS subscales Denial and Status Quo and SDO to provide evidence of divergent validity, and Indecision and Relinquish were predicted to evince a low, negative correlation with SDO to provide further divergent validity. Results supported these predictions, although correlations were stronger than anticipated. Denial and Status Quo were expected to evince a low to moderate, positive

correlation with CoBRA as further supportive convergent validity and results supported this. WPAS subscale Relinquish was expected to moderately and negatively correlate with CoBRA Factor 1, Race Privilege as supportive convergent validity. Indecision was not hypothesized about with CoBRA and no significant correlation found with CoBRA. Denial and Status Quo were hypothesized to moderately correlate with MRS for convergent validity and results supported it. Relinquish were expected to have a moderate, negative correlation with MRS and did; while Indecision was not included in hypotheses with MRS and no significant correlation was found.

WPAS Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths of the WPAS include attention to model and item development and strong inter-subscale reliability, divergent and convergent validity. Model development and item generation focused on graduate students in the social sciences and this might be considered both a strength and a weakness of this study. Pinterits (2004) stated, in reference to Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) study that such a sample assists in comprehending training issues in counseling; however, "the data from the sample could reflect floor effects stemming from the fact that most people attracted to helping professions have more egalitarian values (p.47)." Therefore, the sample is doubtful to be representative of White Americans as it is unlikely to have included more extreme racist attitudes. Another weakness might be the lack of inclusion of a social desirability scale to control for the respondents' acquiescent response style; tendencies to reply in a more acceptable manner. The current study attempts to control for these issues. The focus of the current dissertation is further validation of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale with

the general population and comparison with further scales for convergent and divergent validity.

Why Utilize White Privilege Attitudes?

As outlined above, there are numerous constructs which have been explored more fully than that of White privilege attitudes. Why does this study employ White privilege attitudes as the vehicle to examine today's society? First, this term is much more subtle than discrimination and therefore reflects contemporary society's evolving consciousness and subtleties of discriminating. As a society we tend to rationalize prejudices and the resulting discriminations, as explained in the evolution of the terms old-fashioned and aversive racism. As a society we also tend to explain away subtleties of treatment we receive as our rights or consequences. I assert that by examining White privilege attitudes we may more efficiently explore the extent to which the contemporary individual's beliefs about White privilege affect resulting discriminatory actions, react to various interventions and may predict future behaviors.

Secondly, White privilege examines this subtle form of discrimination based upon whether a privilege is given to certain people due to skin color. Historically, punishments given to people of various groups were examined. The punishment meted out to people based on skin color is a more traditional viewpoint of racism such as loss of job, tendency to be incarcerated and to experience racial epithets. Positive consequences are what the concept of White privilege examines, such as availability of hair care products or availability of high powered business role models.

Third, focusing on oppressed or disadvantaged groups, which has been the focus of research in the field of race relations thus far, reveals only a part of the phenomenon of

discrimination; however, focusing on the majority culture or the advantaged group will reveal another part long overlooked (Banaszynski, 2000). As illustrated by the majority of the scales outlined above, the focus of research on racism tends to be on disadvantaged groups. This focus on exploring the differences in behaviors often has two concurrent goals. First, a common goal is utilizing the advantaged group as a normative group and the disadvantaged as somehow deviating from that as a measurement. Then, this measure based on the advantaged group as a normative group is employed with the goal of assisting the disadvantaged groups to become more like the advantaged group, more “normal” and therefore more deserving of its privileges. The consequences of this approach are often quite deleterious and include reinforcing the idea that underprivileged groups are deviant and that the privileged group possesses qualities which justify such a status. Examples of this normative framework include utilizing the characteristics of men as a normative guide to exploring female sexuality or female success in the workplace. Another example is employing the personality scales of White males as norms for Black men. We have since found that such comparisons are not at all inclusive of the very different experiences of such populations. Another egregious effect of focusing on the underprivileged groups is that the diversion of such attention upon underprivileged groups affects the privileged group by overlooking the very system of conferring such privileges.

Fourth, exploring attitudes about White privilege places the responsibility for change upon the majority culture, where many argue it belongs (McIntosh, 1997; Sue, 2003). Sue asserts that since White Americans have largely held the power to oppress other groups, White or Euro-Americans are the ones largely responsible for changing this

process of systematic discrimination (Sue 2003). Further, as stated earlier, previous explorations into racial inequities have mainly focused upon the minority or underprivileged cultures with the exception being White racial identity models. However, the White racial identity model advocates becoming more knowledgeable about one's own culture largely through interaction with other races and cultures (Helms, 1990). This intervention is based upon the premise that it is possible for a White person to ignore Whiteness until a he or she interacts with people of other racial groups. While interventions such as interaction and self-knowledge are suggested, steps toward actively changing inequities are not. However, the White privilege attitudes model does suggest proactive themes to promote change including accepting, acknowledging and relinquishing unearned privileges; however, it does not outline specific actions.

In summary, the White privilege model is a necessary avenue to explore today's cultural climate for several reasons. First, White privilege is a much more subtle concept of social consciousness than racism and reflects the more subtle nature of contemporary society. Second, essays on White privilege examine common experiences where white skin color has determined that White people receive privileges or desired results, whereas historically, the receipt of negative consequences by various groups was examined. Third, examining the privileges of the majority culture will reveal a part of the picture long overlooked by research focusing on the minority or underprivileged cultures to find hints into the dynamics of racial inequalities. The aim of historical research was generally changing the beliefs and attitudes of the underprivileged populations to be more like that of the majority, thereby hoping to provide the peoples with the privileges here-to-for denied them. The aim of research exploring the beliefs of privileged populations is

measuring such beliefs with the ideal of eventually changing them in a positive direction with the hope of eventually having the privileged demand that underprivileged groups receive the same benefits. A fourth benefit, therefore, is that the majority culture is provided with a self-focus and impetus for improving racial relations in the model of White Privilege Attitudes (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Pinterits, 2004).

Purpose

The purpose of this study is the validation of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale with the general population. Understanding White privilege as a process is better explained in a schematic format just as racial identity development (Helms, 1990) has been and privilege is a more contemporary concept than popular racism concepts. It is believed that exploring the understanding of White privilege among the population will increase our comprehension of the current climate of racial relations from a new perspective, that of the oppressors (Banaszynski, 2000; Swim & Miller, 1999). This new perspective highlights the privileges White people receive rather than the punishments peoples of color receive.

The concept of awareness of or attitudes toward the existence of White privilege places responsibility for change in the hands of majority culture that not only has responsibility for oppressing the minority cultures but has the power to rectify the situation (Sue, 2003). The White culture in general and individuals in particular will benefit from having more of a blueprint for the subtle intraracial understanding he or she holds. This self-identification regarding progress toward racial equality is in pursuit of the highest attitude about privilege: proaction in relinquishing such benefits (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001).

This capacity to identify readiness in a respondent to take action towards racial equality, or proaction, should have many practical applications. The benefit of developing a stage model as many other researchers in racial relations have in the past is providing a more developmental explanation of awareness of and attitudes toward White privilege with the aim of assisting its growth in the future. Therefore, referring to the aforementioned literature, this study will provide information on the validity of the WPAS-GV by testing its ability to identify the level of understanding of privilege and racism present in an individual scale with a general population of adults. Next, this study will examine one hypothesis and several post hoc analyses pertaining to the White Privilege Attitudes Scale for the general population.

Hypotheses

Null Hypothesis: The identified subscales of White privilege attitudes will not be internally consistent, or correlate with racial identity development or with modern racism.

Hypothesis I: Analysis of the items will reveal the existence of underlying factors.

The remaining hypotheses are considered post hoc analyses.

Post Hoc Analysis I: The White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version (WPAS-GV) will be explored for internal consistency.

Post Hoc Analysis II: The WPAS-GV subscale Sustaining Disparity will be explored for convergent validity for the WPAS as a measure of intrapersonal racial understanding with the general population. It is expected to have a moderate, positive correlation with the WRIAS subscales Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration and no correlation with the final three WRIAS subscales.

Post Hoc Analysis III: The WPAS-GV subscale Acknowledging Responsibility will be explored for convergent validity for the WPAS-GV measurement of intrapersonal racial understanding with the general population. It is expected to correlate positively and moderately with the WRIAS subscales Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy and not correlate with the first three WRIAS subscales.

Hypothesis IV: Specifically, the WPAS-GV subscale Sustaining Disparity will have a moderate, positive correlation with racial intolerance, measured on the MRS. These results will provide support for the subscales as a measure of interpersonal racial understanding and data toward convergent validity with the general population.

Post Hoc Analysis V: The WPAS-GV subscale Acknowledging Responsibility will have a moderate, negative correlation with the MRS, providing additional support for the scale as a measure of interpersonal racial understanding and data toward convergent validity with the general population.

Post Hoc Analysis VI: The WPAS-GV subscales will not evince significant correlations with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, providing support for divergent validity and support for the hypothesis that the WPAS-GV is resistant to social desirability effects.

Post Hoc Analysis VII: The WPAS-GV subscales will not correlate significantly with the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions, providing further support for the premise that the WPAS-GV is resistant to reactivity and for divergent validity with the general population.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

An independent sample of 305 qualified participants completed the protocol for this stage of scale validation. The original contributors numbered 319; however, fourteen of these protocols were disqualified and not utilized in the study. Disqualification was primarily based upon significant incompleteness, and secondarily due to non-White race response.

In an effort to recruit White respondents from a diverse racial, ethnic, geographic, socioeconomic, religious, and educational background, all varying in age and gender; I solicited adult participants through a variety of means including newspaper advertisements, in-person solicitation at numerous public venues and through word-of-mouth. Advertisements first appeared for two weeks in the Cincinnati Enquirer, a Cincinnati, Ohio newspaper with related publications and online web site, chosen for the number and variety of publications, and the Northern tri-state area they served. The second set of newspapers utilized, Prime Time Newspapers' Herald, served the communities surrounding San Antonio, TX and ran for two weeks. Third and last, the San Antonio Express News ran the study advertisement for one week. However, these advertisements solicited a small number of responses; since the rate of return on these mailed packets was negligible, they were discontinued.

On site solicitation garnered the highest rate of return on the survey packets followed by packets mailed to call-in referrals, about 80% and 20%, respectively. The venues for in-person solicitation in San Antonio, Texas included a Baptist church, several restaurants, strip mall parking lots, a clinic, city parks (parents during Little League games), a San Antonio community college campus and U.S. post offices. The most successful locations for solicitation had people waiting for a table, a game, an appointment or a class and this type of venue garnered a success rate of about 30%. The locations chosen may have affected the composition of race, ethnicity, occupations, religious affiliation, age, gender and education levels (see Table 1).

As in Pinterits's (2004) study, respondents who endorsed White race or White and other race were considered acceptable data sources. According to Kerwin and Ponterotto (1995), it is a fallacy to assume that biracial people must choose to identify with the parent of color only; in reality, biracial people may identify with both parents and both races. While the majority of the respondents identified as White ($n = 262$; 85.9%), 14.1% identified as White and another race ($n = 43$). Upon further examination of biracial respondents, the races reported with White include Hispanic/Latino ($n = 29$; 9.5%), Black/African American ($n = 6$; 2.0%), Pacific Islander ($n = 4$; 1.3%), Native American ($n = 3$; 1.0%), and Asian ($n = 1$; 0.3%). Ethnicity was not consistently reported here as it either tended to be confused with race or participants were not certain of their ethnicity. Respondents tended to leave it blank ($n = 142$, 46.6%) or write in "White", "Caucasian", or "Anglo" ($n = 49$; 16.1%). However, 37.4% ($n = 114$) did report some cultural influence but these were so diverse the list is too long to be reported here. The three most

common ethnicities reported include American (n = 23; 7.5%), Mexican-American/Latino (n=18; 5.9%), and German (n = 8; 2.6%).

Since the recruitment efforts were based in San Antonio, Texas, Texans comprise the majority of respondents (n = 253, 83%). Tennesseans (n = 23; 7.5%) comprise the second largest state or residence, most of whom were either visitors at the Baptist church or referred by the visitors. Upon further examination respondents' demographics, it is determined the majority of Texan respondents reside in San Antonio (n = 58; 19%), followed by several close ties for most common city of residence including Amarillo (n = 21; 6.9%), Waco (n = 21; 6.6%), Lubbock (n = 20; 6.6%), Austin (n = 19; 6.2%), and Houston (n = 19; 6.2%).

The recruitment at a Baptist church may have skewed endorsement of religion, since a large percentage of respondents endorsed denominations in the category of Protestant Christianity (n = 157; 51.5%). Due to the high amount of recruitment in Texas restaurants and strip malls, participants often endorsed occupations in the food and services industry (n = 105; 34.4%). A secondary field of occupations endorsed was that of students, retired and unemployed (n = 57; 18.7%). Close third and fourth fields endorsed were Officials and Managers (n = 37; 12.1%) and Professionals (n = 36; 11.8%).

Age groups clustered in the 20s due to the major recruitment sites; the 18-24 group comprised 32.1% (n = 98) with ages 25-34 the second largest (n = 88; 28.9%). However, all of the age groups were represented; ranging from 18 to 77 (M = 34.62, SD = 14.72). The male gender was mildly underrepresented (n = 118; 38.7%). Recruitment at a community college did not appear to skew representation of education levels, since

academic achievement appeared similar to the United States Census for 2007 (U.S. Census Bureau Web Site, 2007). High school graduates represented the majority of respondents (n = 142; 46.6%) with Bachelor's degrees (n = 70; 23%) and Associate's degrees (n = 43; 14.1%) following second and third, respectively. Respondents also reported having an evenly spread income with the most common below \$25,000 (n = 65; 21.3%), second most common income level endorsed is between \$25-49,999 (62; 20.3%) and third is \$50-74,999 (n = 57; 18.7%).

This sample of the White adult population, primarily Texan, tended to endorse having daily interactions with people of color. Fifty five percent (n = 169; 55.4%) of respondents indicated their families of origin are all the same race. However, the remainder of the sample who responded indicated their families are comprised of some people of color; 25.6% (n = 78) endorsed having 75-99% of the family members of their birth of the same race, 7.2% (n = 22) indicated 50-74% of their family of origin members are of the same race, and 5.9% (n = 18) endorsed having only 0-24% of their family members of the same race. Respondents were much more likely to attend a work or academic environment comprised of people of color. Only 6.9% (n = 21) endorsed having an educational or employment situation with all White people. The majority of respondents endorsed having an employment/academic situation with 75-99% White people (n = 129; 42.3%), followed by a situation with 50-74% White people (n = 50; 16.4%), and the third most common situation consisted of 0-24% White people in the work place or school (n = 44; 14.4%).

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Validation Sample.

Variable	n	%
Gender		
Female	183	60.0
Male	118	38.7
Age		
18-24	98	32.1
25-34	88	28.9
35-44	38	12.5
45-54	33	10.8
55-64	29	9.5
65-74	10	3.3
75-84	2	.7
Race		
White only	262	85.9
White + Latino/ Native American	32	10.5
White + Asian/Pacific Islander	5	1.6
White + Black	6	2.0
State of Residence		
Texas	253	83.0
Tennessee	23	7.5
Virgin Islands--US	10	3.3
Oregon	6	2.0
Oklahoma	4	1.3
South Carolina	2	.7
State of Residence		
New York	2	.7
Washington	1	.3
Missouri	1	.3
Alaska	1	.3
California	1	.3
Religious Affiliation		
Protestant Christianity	157	51.5
Catholic Christianity	58	19.0
Atheism/Agnostic	35	11.5
Non-denominational Christianity	16	5.2
New Age	6	2.0
Other	4	1.3
Judaism	3	1.0
Hindu	1	.3
Current Occupation*		
Service Workers	105	34.4
Unemployed, Retired, Student	57	18.7
Officials and Managers	37	12.1
Professionals	36	11.8
Sales Workers	24	7.9
Administrative Support Workers	17	5.6

Table 1 cont.

Variable	n	%
Craft Workers	12	3.9
Technicians	6	2.0
Operatives	5	1.6
Laborers and Helpers	5	1.6
Level of Education		
High School/GED	142	46.6
Associates	43	14.1
Vocational	18	5.9
Bachelors	70	23.0
Masters	14	4.6
Doctorate	8	2.6
Current Income*		
\$1-24,999	65	21.3
\$25,000-49,999	62	20.3
\$50,000-74,999	57	18.7
\$100,000 + more	43	14.1
\$75,000-99,999	32	10.5
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	273	89.5
Bisexual	12	3.9
Questioning	8	2.6
Lesbian/Gay	4	1.3
Other	3	1.0
Family of Origin of Same Race		
100%	169	55.4
75-99%	78	25.6
50-74%	22	7.2
0-24%	18	5.9
25-49%	5	1.6
Work/School Mates of Same Race		
75-99%	129	42.3
50-74%	50	16.4
0-24%	44	14.4
25-49%	36	11.8
100%	21	6.9

Note: All sample sizes and percentages are of those participants who reported for that variable.

*Occupation and income categories according to 2000 Census

In sum, the majority of the packets received were completed at the spot of recruitment and the most common type of locale was the eating establishment. The typical respondent was a heterosexual, Baptist female, in her twenties, a high school

graduate employed at an eating establishment and a resident of San Antonio, Texas. However, I also received contacts referred by previous participants and either mailed or personally delivered the packets at request of prospective participants. These respondents' packets resulted both in a much higher rate of return than those solicited in the newspaper advertisements and in more geographic diversity as many of the referring respondents were visitors to Texas. This sample of respondents appears representative of a variety of income levels, educational levels and interacts with people of color on a daily basis.

Procedure

In the completed study I first revised Pinterits's WPAS for use with the general public. In a collaborative effort with the author, I revised the instructions including a replacement of the term White privilege with other descriptive phrases such as "benefits of having white skin" and "advantages from being white," and adjusting the language for readability. I asked each participant to read a consent form; since the biggest risk here was to confidentiality, I wished to protect this by getting a "waiver of written informed consent". The consent form explained all pertinent information including benefits and risks to the participants.

I then asked participants to fill out a demographics sheet and five surveys. The surveys consisted of: the White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General (WPAS-GV), the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS), the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR). The order of the scales was as follows:

demographics sheet, WPAS--GV and the remaining scales were counterbalanced, alternating the order to control for effects.

Upon receipt of three hundred five useful packets of information from adult volunteers of varying demographic characteristics, the data collection was complete. At this time I entered and analyzed the coded data and stored the packets in a locked cabinet where it will remain for three years before being shredded. The 91 slips the respondents filled out (225 declined to enter) to participate in the drawings were kept in a separate box, not connected with their surveys in any way. Two participants received \$100 money orders and I encountered no difficulties in contacting or mailing the prizes to the persons identified on the raffle slips. These slips were destroyed immediately following the drawings.

Measurement Instruments

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS)

Racial identity refers to “a sense of group or collective identity which is based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms, 1990, p.3). Helms’s (1990) White Racial Identity theory was based on the premise that White racial identity begins with a two phase process of abandoning racism and defining a positive White identity. The first phase corresponded with the first three schemata, which were entitled, Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. The second phase corresponded with the second three schemata, which were entitled, Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy.

Helms and Carter (Helms, 1984) constructed the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) which corresponded to the five statuses; Contact, Disintegration,

Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, and Autonomy. The Immersion/Emersion subscale was added later by Helms. The items were constructed based on rationally derived methodology from the White racial identity model. Each of the subscales contained 10 items and were based on a 5-point Likert format (1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Uncertain, 4=Agree, and 5=Strongly Agree). The scores were expected to determine the amount of agreement between a subscale or schemata and the respondent's beliefs about racial issues. For instance, a higher score on a subscale indicated better fit between the subscale's related schemata and the person's beliefs about race while a lower score indicated a worse fit between the person's racial beliefs and the schemata (e.g. Autonomy). In 1984 Carter (unpublished) administered these original items in a pilot study. Each item had a minimum of 0.30 item-total subscale correlation and none of the items correlated with the Crowne and Marlowe Social Desirability scale. In addition, reliabilities were in the 0.90 for each subscale.

First, Carter and Helms (Helms, 1990) administered the scale to a larger sample of 506 White university students in the Eastern United States. The researchers found strong reliability alphas for Contact (.55), Disintegration (.77), Reintegration (.80), Pseudo-independence (.71), and Autonomy (.67). Second, Helms and Carter administered the scale to 176 White clients in an inter-racial counselor preference study and found alpha reliabilities for Contact (.67), Disintegration (.76), Reintegration (.75), Pseudo-independence (.65), and Autonomy (.65) (Helms, 1990).

Regarding criterion validity, Carter found that higher Contact attitudes were related to higher reports of feeling supported, interpreted as interpersonal receptivity and a lack of awareness of cross-racial interactions. Carter reported clients scoring high on

the Disintegration subscale felt challenged by counselor interventions. Conversely, clients high on Reintegration were less likely to report feeling challenged by counselor interventions. Clients scoring high on Pseudo-independence indicated decreased preference for White counselors, interpreted as an intellectualized, prosocial racial discomfort by the researchers. High scores on Autonomy were negatively related to preference for White counselors and the less supported White clients felt by their counselors. This supported the researchers' description of Autonomy as the most flexible and accepting of racial differences.

Lemon and Waehler's (1996) test-retest reliability study for the WRIAS and the RIAS consisted of administering the WRIAS to over 100 White (74 women and 26 men) students attending the University of Akron in Ohio. Researchers administered the instruments twice and over a one month interval. This resulted in a test-retest reliability coefficient of .64 (Contact), .80 (Disintegration), .86 (Reintegration), .69 (Pseudo-independence), and .74 for Autonomy. The researchers concluded the test-retest reliabilities of the two measures implied that racial identity may reflect more state characteristics than trait characteristics. Measures of self-derogation, self-esteem, and ethnic identity were also weakly correlated with the racial identity subscales.

Helms (1990, 1995) posited the first three stages of racial identity reflect the reactive process of abandoning racist ideology and the final three stages describe the more proactive process of defining oneself with a nonracist identity. Since the first hierarchical WPAS-GV subscale, Sustaining Disparity, also characterizes beginning stages of a passive awareness toward racial disparity, it is expected to evince a parallel relationship with the first three WRIAS subscales. The final WPAS-GV subscale,

Acknowledging Responsibility, illustrates the increasingly active awareness of racial disparity similar to the final three WRIAS subscales and is expected to strongly compare with these subscales. In conclusion, the WRIAS will provide data toward convergent validity for the WPAS-General Version for use with the general population. Cronbach's alpha with the current sample from the general population was moderate, according to DeVellis (1991) for Contact (.56), acceptable for Disintegration (.69), very good for Reintegration (.81), unacceptably weak for Pseudo-independence (.40), respectable for Immersion/ Emersion (.77), and weak for Autonomy (.47).

The Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

According to McConahay (1986), "the Modern Racism Scale is intended to measure a dimension of the cognitive component of racial attitudes." It therefore asks respondents to agree or disagree with a set of beliefs that White people may have about Black people. The survey distinguishes this set of beliefs from another set of beliefs called old-fashioned racism. According to the symbolic racism theory, both cognitive belief systems are influenced by the affective component of attitudes toward Black Americans as well as by other beliefs and values and by the historical context specific to the form of racism (McConahay, 1977). In other words, a person constructs his or her meaning of race, and attributes values to that based upon the factors of environment including religion, political events and time in history.

Expanding on the idea of subtle prejudices, McConahay, Hardee and Batts (1981) developed a Modern Racism Scale consisting of seven questions that gauged modern racism. He compared the answers to a traditional racism scale that also consisted of seven questions. His results displayed a positive correlation between the two scales, although

more people were inclined to display modern racism than traditional racism. McConahay worked with colleagues on the scale; he and Hough formulated the concept of symbolic racism in 1976 (McConahay & Hough, 1976), formulated the first Modern Racism Scale in 1981 (McConahay, et al., 1981), and revised these items himself to change with the political climate in 1984 (McConahay, 1986). McConahay has not revised them since then. He has used them in a study evaluating equal opportunity hiring practices for African Americans (McConahay, 1983). They are based on a five point Likert scale and include, "Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights (p. 108, 1986)". This seven-item version received a Cronbach's alpha of .82 when administered to 167 undergraduate students at Duke University. Regarding validity, the MRS correlated with Old-Fashioned Racism items at .59.

The MRS has been employed to provide validating data for several scales. Most recently, the Multicultural Counseling Inventory (Boero, 2002) and the Measure of Race Schematicity (Runkle, 1999) utilized the MRS to provide divergent validity for their scales. In this study, the MRS will be used for the opposite reason, to provide convergent validity. Since higher scores on the MRS indicate higher prejudicial attitudes and higher scores on the WPAS-GV indicate lower prejudicial attitudes, the two scales should be inversely correlated. Cronbach's alpha for the MRS with the current sample of the general population of adults was very respectable at .84.

The Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR)

Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale measures individual differences in controlling expression of prejudice. Dunton and Fazio (1997) developed the instrument in part for the purpose of challenging McConahay's (1986) assertions that the MRS was

nonreactive and that participants would respond honestly. This MCPR Scale contains 17 items, with responses from -3 to +3, measuring the extent to which a respondent strongly disagreed to strongly agreed with a statement. Higher scores on this scale indicated higher tendency to respond to questions about race in a socially acceptable manner, while lower scores indicated less of such a tendency. This scale was administered to at least 50 students with a wide range of scores on the MRS. One sample item is as follows: "It's never acceptable to express one's prejudice." The researchers concluded that the two scales measured two different forms of prejudice, explicit and implicit prejudice. The Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale was also administered to large samples for validation purposes. Four hundred eighteen undergraduate students received the scale, resulting in a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .77. The following semester, a sample of 429 students received the scale, garnering an alpha of .76, which provided consistency. Another sample from the general population of Bloomington, Indiana was solicited through newspaper and other advertisements as well. The resulting Cronbach's alpha for this group was .74. The MCPR scale will provide divergent validity for the WPAS-General Version in this study. Cronbach's alpha for the current study's sample from the general population was unacceptable, according to DeVellis (1991) at .57.

The Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS)

The Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale employed in the current study consists of eight. The MCSDS asked participants to answer yes, not sure, or no to the eight items. For example, "Are you quick to admit to making a mistake?" Higher scores on the measure have indicated tendency to modulate responses in a more socially acceptable manner and lower scores indicate less of a tendency to alter responses. The

current study exploring the properties of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale utilized the MCSDS to discover if the reactivity of the scale or the desire of participants to respond in an acceptable manner has affected their truthfulness on the WPAS-GV. Several research studies in the social sciences have employed the MCSDS to examine underlying variables of theories, the veracity of response style and in scale construction.

Results of a search for the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale in PsycInfo revealed that over 1100 articles mention this scale in the social sciences alone. In 2003 and 2004, over 40 studies in the social sciences utilized the scale. The most recent of these studies examined the concept of socially desirability responding by comparing the predictions of competing theories— Attribution-Denial model and Alpha-Gamma model (Phillips, 2004). Other studies published in 2004 explored coping amongst various populations including patients diagnosed with breast cancer (Zachariae, Jensen, Pedersen & Jorgensen, 2004), the impact of spirituality and coping on social functioning among people diagnosed with severe mental illnesses (Bremer, 2004), the ironic effects of thought suppression upon pain management (Elfant , 2004), and the relationship between religious faith and coping with the terrorist attacks of September 11th (Plante & Canchola, 2004). Many studies simply employed the social desirability scale to examine the veracity of the responses including a study on the impact of elementary school principle's leadership style upon teacher empowerment and job satisfaction (Martino, 2004).

Several studies have utilized the social desirability scale to explore the psychometric properties of a new instrument. In the past five years alone research studies in the social sciences employed the scale to provide validation for the Strong Black Woman Attitudes Scale (Thompson, 2004), the Family Health Inventory (Roudkovski,

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2003), the Religious Identity Development Scale (Veerasingam, 2003), the Modified Secondary Trauma Questionnaire (Motta, Hafeez, Sciancalepore & Diaz, 2001), the Life Regard Index-Revised (Harris & Standard, 2001), the Adolescent Partner Aggression Scale (Leisen, 2000), the Choice Theory Basic Needs Scale (Lafond, 2000) and the General Decision-Making Style Inventory (Loo, 2000). While many of these studies used the long form of Marlowe and Crowne's social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), many also used the short form.

Several researchers from the social sciences evaluated the MCSDS short forms and found equal or greater statistical support for such forms than the original long version. Ballard (1992) administered three short forms to 399 university students, 361 of whom were White, and with methodology utilized in other studies narrowed the original 33 items down to a 13 item scale. Results provided a reliability coefficient of 0.7 for the short form, which was only .05 less than that for the full scale. Frabnoni and Cooper (1989) examined three short forms developed by R. Strahan and K. C. Gerbasi (cited in Frabnoni & Cooper, 1989). They collected descriptive data, scale inter-correlations, and alpha coefficients using 231 volunteers. Correlational data suggest that the short forms adequately measured the same construct as the full scale. Three other studies also examined the validity and reliability of using the short forms with undergraduate populations and found further support for the short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale as an economical measure of social desirability (Loo & Thorpe, 2000; Reynolds, 1982; Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Studies also examined the generalizability of the short forms with less educated groups from the general populations. Basic military trainees received the form with strong correlations resulting with the MMPI validity

scales (Robinette, 1991). Over one thousand individuals receiving forensic evaluations also received a short form with strong reliability results of .75 and .70 (Andrews & Meyer, 2003). In conclusion, an overwhelming amount of support for short forms of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale exists in the literature.

Therefore, a short form of the popular Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Ray, 1984) was employed in the current study to investigate the need of participants to provide acceptable answers. According to Ray (1984), Greenwald and Satow (cited in Ray, 1984) administered items 6, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 34 and 35 to a random sample of 95 subjects in Sydney, Australia. The reliability (alpha) for the eight-item scale was .77. As items 35 and 15 were very similar in content to 16 and 34, the former pair was dropped and the scale readministered to a random mail-out survey of the Australian state of New South Wales and 122 persons responded. The resulting alpha for the six-item scale was .60. The researcher decided to rewrite the stem from the "I behave" to the "Do you behave?" format and readministered it to a Sydney community sample of 87, the alpha was .77. Ray (1984) then examined the translatability of the short scales into German and administered to a random door-to-door sample of 136 participants in Munich, West Germany. The alpha was .65. For comparison, the same eight items were administered in English to a random mail-out sample of 214 people in New South Wales, the alpha was .74. In his next survey, a random door-to-door sample of 200 Sydney residents, the eight items were presented and the alpha was again .74. In summary, the reliability for this eight item short form ranged from .60 to .87, a strong reliability coefficient. The version used in this study will have no stem, as shown in Ray's (1984) article and will provide divergent validity for the WPAS-General Version. Cronbach's alpha for the current

study's sample from the general population was unacceptable, according to DeVellis (1991) at .57.

White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Pinterits (2004) constructed the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS) to provide a means with which to evaluate counselor training. The items address cognitive-behavioral and affective reactions about White privilege. Two hundred eighty four students from counseling psychology, counselor education, and teacher education programs were recruited nationally to complete the questionnaire packet, consisting of the following instruments: the Preliminary WPAS (P-WPAS); a measure of preference for social hierarchy, a measure of color-blind racial beliefs, a measure of racist attitudes, and a demographic information sheet. The resulting 54-item scale evidenced high internal consistency of 0.83 to 0.92 for the subscales.

DeVellis (1991) offers specific directions for the construction of a scale in the social sciences. Step one entails clarifying the meaning of the underlying construct; in this case, White privilege attitudes, and specifies a setting or population. Building on previous researchers and theoreticians (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; McIntosh, 1988, 1998), Pinterits (2004) explored and accepted their definition of White privilege and targeted her study specifically to White counseling students. In the current study, the target population broadens to include White adults in the general population with no known exposure to the concept of White privilege awareness.

Step two involves generating an item pool, which should be much larger than the actual scale. Pinterits (2004) recruited two teams of item generators: the first team consisted of five instructors of multicultural education courses in teacher education in

which White privilege was examined, the second team consisted of four graduate students who had taken a graduate-level multicultural education course in which White privilege was a primary topic. These teams represented the following gender and ethnic/racial groups: four women of Arab, European, of Mexican, and of multiracial-Mexican and European- descent; and four men of African, European, Mexican, and of multiracial- Asian, Pacific Islander and European- descent, respectively. The researcher is multiracial, of Asian and European descent. Both teams composed items reflecting the four content dimensions of cognitive responses (denial, acknowledgement with tendency to maintain status quo, acknowledgement with indecision, and acknowledgement with willingness to dismantle White privilege) and four content dimensions of emotional reactions (anger-type, guilt-type, fear/anxiety type, and interest vs. apathy type) comprising White privilege attitudes. This process resulted in a total of 160 items.

Steps three and four consist of determining the format for measuring and having the item pool reviewed by experts, respectively. Pinterits (2004) decided on the popular Likert scale format with five response categories including “strongly disagree, disagree, not sure, agree,” and “strongly agree”. In step four, Pinterits recruited five leading scholars in White privilege issues to rate each item on both content appropriateness and clarity of meaning on a Likert scale of one to five. The expert raters represented the following gender and ethnic/racial groups: one woman of African descent, two of European descent, and two men of European descent. Items with average ratings below three were dropped or revised, resulting in 111 items. Step five applies to studies which decide to embed social desirability items within the scale and does not pertain to this study. Step six involves administering the items to a sample of participants. This

comprises the bulk of Pintents's (2004) quantitative data. As a result, the items were evaluated, which is step seven, and poorly performing items were dropped, step eight.

The current study focused on steps six through eight; revising the items for use with the general population, administering the revised WPAS-GV to a large sample, evaluating items, dropping the poorly performing items and providing analysis of their effectiveness. Since the respondents in the current study may not have been exposed to the concept of White privilege, a brief definition was explored for inclusion. However, it was decided that such an inclusion would act as an intervention and not be a true measure of current attitudes toward the existence of a systematic advantage for people with White skin. Therefore, the term "White privilege" was removed from the items and replaced with "advantages to having White skin" and similar variations, with the consent of the scale developer. The instructions and items were also revised for readability to an eighth grade reading level. Finally, this study provided additional validating data for the WPAS with the general population utilizing an alternate version, the White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version. Higher scores on a subscale indicate its increased suitability as a descriptive theme or schema for the respondent's attitude toward privilege. Coefficient alphas for the resulting 3 subscales were .91, .82 and .35. This is considered by DeVellis (1991) to be "very respectable" for the Acknowledging Responsibility and Sustaining Disparity subscales and "unacceptable" for Seeking Clarity. The following results section illustrates the data in detail.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Main results of this study are described in the following chapter. The aim of part one is to identify items and the theorized dimensions underlying the White Privilege Attitudes Scale for use with the general population (WPAS-GV). The purpose of part two is to provide data on descriptive statistics and internal consistency of the WPAS-GV, the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS), the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) for the current sample, and to examine the reliability and validity of the WPAS-General Version subscales through testing post hoc hypotheses two through eight. Part three explores potential demographics effects through interaction between WPAS-GV subscale scores and several demographic variables.

Part One – Analysis of the Items and Hypothesized Subscales

Item-Subscale Correlations

The goal of this analysis was to identify the effective items within the proposed WPAS (Pinterits, 2004) for a different sample representative of the general population instead of a sample of graduate students primarily in teacher education. I computed corrected item-total correlations for each item on the cognitive-behavioral dimension which it was hypothesized to belong based on Pinterits's (2004) categorization of the items. Evaluating the items was an iterative and sequential process, balancing the items'

contribution to variance and the coefficient alpha of the original subscales. This process resulted in revision of the number of items from 54 to 50. Next, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis to further examine the 50 items and reran the coefficient alphas for the resulting three subscales and items.

Exploratory Factor Analyses

Hypothesis I stated that the White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version would have common underlying factors to describe the data. In order to test Hypothesis I, I conducted a Principal Components factor analysis with Varimax rotation on the 50 items using SPSS 14.0. I selected a principal components extraction because of the assumed relationship between the variables and a normal distribution of the scores could not be assumed. I selected the Varimax rotation as the two main factors were not hypothesized to correlate. I then evaluated the results based upon Kaiser (DeVellis, 1991), Cattell (1966) and factor loading criteria. First, Kaiser's criterion (DeVellis, 1991) thirteen eigenvalues were greater than or equal to one. Second, Cattell's (1966) elbow on the scree plot supported three or four components (See Figure 1: Scree Plot of 50 WPAS-GV items). In addition, the three-factor solution covered 36% of the variance, while a four-factor solution covered 40% of the variance. Third, I examined the factor loadings and found Factor 4 provided no unique factor loadings unaccounted for by the first three factors (See Table 2: Factor Loadings for WPAS-GV, 50 Items). I determined that Factor 3 accounted for minimal unique information consisting of factor loadings over .3 on three items. However, I decided to retain this factor as these items addressed a unique theme of confusion and curiosity about the existence of White privilege that should mediate a White person's journey from related hierarchical theme one to three. More description of

the themes and subscales is provided below. I then dropped items which had overlapping factor loadings within .15 of each other. (Items 4, 9, 30, 35, 40) and conducted a follow-up factor analysis.

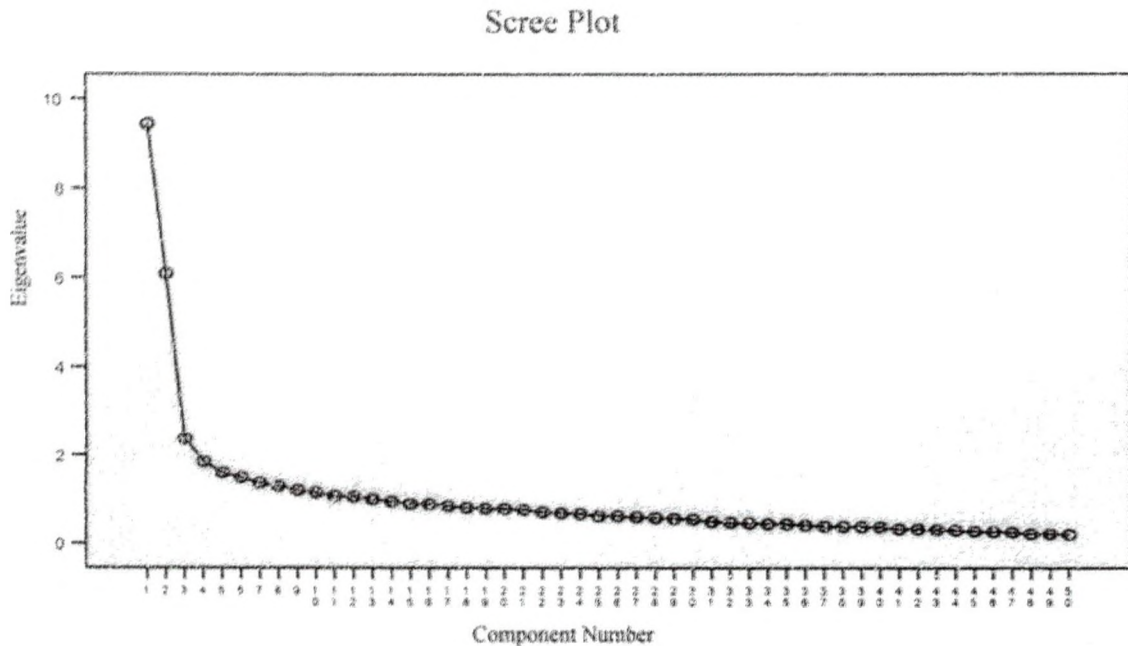


Figure 1: Scree Plot for the 50 item White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version

The second factor analysis employed Principal Components extraction with Varimax rotation on 45 items (see Table 3). Kaiser (DeVellis, 1991) criterion indicated no more than eleven factors with eigenvalues greater than or equal to 1. According to Cattell's (1966) criterion, the scree plot levels off after an elbow at three components. Therefore, the scree plot suggested that three- or four-factor solutions would best fit the data, (see Figure 2). Three- and four-factor solutions were examined again. The three-factor solution was found to be more parsimonious and covered 36% of the variance, while a four-factor solution covered 40% of the variance. In an effort to further narrow down the solution, factor loadings were also examined; 26 items loaded over .40 on

Factor 1 and 16 items loaded over .40 on Factor 2 and three items loaded at .40 or better on factor three. Although only 3 items loaded at .40 or better on Factor 3 and two of these cross loaded with another factor, a perusal of the items suggests Factor 3 provides a unique underlying component not provided by the other two factors. Also, in exploring Factor 4, I determined that only two of the items loaded on Factor 4 significantly, however, they loaded just as strongly on one of the first two factors. Therefore, I concluded a three-factor structure best fit the data.

I then scrutinized the items and corresponding factor loadings to define the three factors. Factor one had 26 items over .40 and these included items acknowledging the existence of White privilege. For example, "I accept responsibility to change white advantages and feel glad to do my part." Some items addressed taking responsibility for action, "I am angry about White advantages and I intend to work towards doing away with it". Therefore, I entitled this "Factor 1, Acknowledging Responsibility." It is the most progressive of the themes and corresponds to the third hierarchical WPAS-GV subscale.

However, alpha for this subscale was originally .92 and I reviewed the items and found four to be redundant with each other—10, 26, 28 and 42. Therefore, I decided to retain items 10 and 42 as they both appeared to have the most clarity and readability and reflected the factor "Acknowledging Responsibility" better and I dropped 26 and 28. Items 10 and 28 addressed anger about "I have" about white privileges and I found item 10 to fit the underlying factor better. Items 26 & 42 addressed, "I am angry people in general have white privileges" and 42 was more clearly stated (see the four items in

Table 3). The final Acknowledging Responsibility subscale consists of 24 items with an alpha of .91 (see Table 4 below for items and statistics).

Table 2. Factor Analysis Results for the 50 Item White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version (WPAS-GV).

WPAS-GV ITEMS	F1	F2	F3	F4
2. I am shocked that I have been so sheltered about advantages of having White skin, but now I will work to change our unfair social structure.	.47	-.08	-.19	.49
3. Frankly, I do not care to change the system, because it could only be worse.	-.006	.53	-.19	-.13
4. The more I learn, the more empowered I feel to dismantle white privilege.	-.14	.46	-.37	-.17
6. It is not my fault I was born with White skin and have advantages, so why should I do anything about it?	-.00	.64	-.33	-.14
7. I am interested in finding ways to feel less confused about having advantages from being White.	.48	-.08	-.18	.40
8. I calmly dismiss so-called benefits of having White skin.	-.01	.33	.16	.26
9. I do not know how I will cope with changing White privilege in my life, but I am willing to find out more.	.12	.49	-.42	.09
10. I am angry that I keep benefiting from having White skin and want to put a stop to it.	.51	-.11	-.15	.30
11. I feel bad that people of color are oppressed but it doesn't have anything to do with White people.	-.13	.51	-.20	.34
12. I am mad that people think I do not understand White advantages, just because I do not know what to do about it.	.49	.18	-.20	.29
13. I take action against White advantages with people I know but I am worried that it hurts my relationships.	.50	.03	-.22	.36
14. I don't believe I'm advantaged because I'm White, but I'm open to learning more.	-.00	.25	.40	.22
15. I feel awful about the existence of White advantages and feel paralyzed not knowing what to do.	.56	-.04	-.07	.06
16. I accept responsibility to change White advantages and feel glad to do my part.	.50	-.29	.23	.23
17. I am not worried about whether or not advantages exist for White people.	-.15	.43	.22	.06

Table 2 cont.

WPAS-GV ITEMS	F1	F2	F3	F4
18. I am ashamed of my White advantages and am prepared to give them up.	.59	-.26	.07	-.07
19. While I can see I have benefited due to being White, bringing up race relations makes things worse.	.23	.47	-.02	-.32
20. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White but it's a waste of time trying to change it.	.54	.28	-.15	-.17
21. I feel anxious, not understanding what White advantages really mean in terms of giving it up.	.61	.19	.12	.07
22. I cannot change being White and what it does for me, so it is not my problem.	-.08	.64	-.17	.13
23. I want to get over feeling conflicted about having benefits due to my White skin, so I am willing to look into the issues more.	.60	-.13	.14	-.03
24. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White advantage is really White-bashing.	-.24	.54	.10	.25
25. I know White advantages exist and I do not care one way or the other.	.19	.52	-.21	.12
26. How can White people be so ignorant about White advantages? I am not going to stand for it anymore.	.71	-.05	-.05	.12
27. I am disturbed by the terrible racist crimes that happen, but those are isolated incidents.	.02	.43	.02	.18
28. I am angry knowing I have advantages due to having White skin, but do not know what to do.	.71	-.00	.02	.02
29. I fear losing my friends when I speak up against White advantages.	.55	.10	-.23	.01
30. The system is stacked in favor of whites, so I just accept it.	.18	.42	.31	-.08
31. I feel ashamed that I have not done anything about White advantages yet.	.56	-.10	-.18	-.02
33. I do not see the use of talking about so-called benefits from being White because I am afraid it would make race relations worse.	.28	.44	.06	-.26
34. It is sad that I have benefited from racism but I know I have the power to make changes now.	.62	-.05	.14	-.08
35. I calmly accept my confusion over what to do about having white privilege.	.33	.47	-.13	-.15
36. I feel hesitant and unable to make progress towards doing something about White advantages.	.52	.23	.02	-.26
37. It is disturbing that I am better off as a White person, but that's the way it goes.	.35	.50	-.15	-.24
38. Just because most White people have it easier compared to people of color doesn't mean White people are to blame.	-.13	.48	.29	.00

Table 2 cont.

WPAS-GV ITEMS	F1	F2	F3	F4
39. I am curious if and what we can change about White advantages in our society.	.56	-.24	.24	-.01
40. I do not feel guilty since Affirmative Action laws eliminated discrimination.	-.11	.53	.45	.13
41. Being White is just the luck of the draw so I am not interested in the issue of benefiting from White skin.	-.01	.63	.22	.08
42. I am angry about White advantages and I intend to work towards doing away with it.	.69	-.21	-.01	-.07
43. I do not feel guilty since Affirmative Action laws eliminated discrimination.	.07	.50	.19	.16
44. I'm frustrated: I wish I could talk about having White advantages without someone thinking I am racist.	.50	.20	.07	-.16
45. Though I take action to break down White advantages, I fear it won't make a difference.	.53	.10	.17	-.14
46. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White.	-.08	.53	.23	-.11
47. I am disgusted by White advantages but am unsure there is something I can do.	.61	-.00	.10	-.20
48. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White benefits.	.62	-.20	.21	-.10
49. I oppose White advantages and those racists who perpetrate it, so I am confused what this has to do with me.	.32	.10	.48	-.08
51. I walk on eggshells, worried about the ways my White advantages will offend people of color.	.60	.07	-.17	-.19
52. I don't know how to begin to address my White advantages, so I'm glad to explore it.	.65	-.08	.11	.13
53. I want to begin the process of eliminating White advantages but I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself.	.66	.03	-.04	-.08
54. Plenty of people of color have advantages so I would like to know more about how that is different from White advantages.	.12	.28	.44	.23

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
a 12 components extracted.

Factor two had 16 items and these included items preferring the continuance of White privilege. For example, "I calmly dismiss so-called benefits of having white skin." Some items focused on denying the existence of White privilege, "Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White advantage is really White-bashing." Some

items also addressed denying responsibility for perpetuating White privilege, “I feel bad that people of color are oppressed but it doesn’t have anything to do with White people”. I entitled this “Factor 2, Sustaining Disparity”. Coefficient alpha for this subscale was .82 (see Table 5 for item statistics).

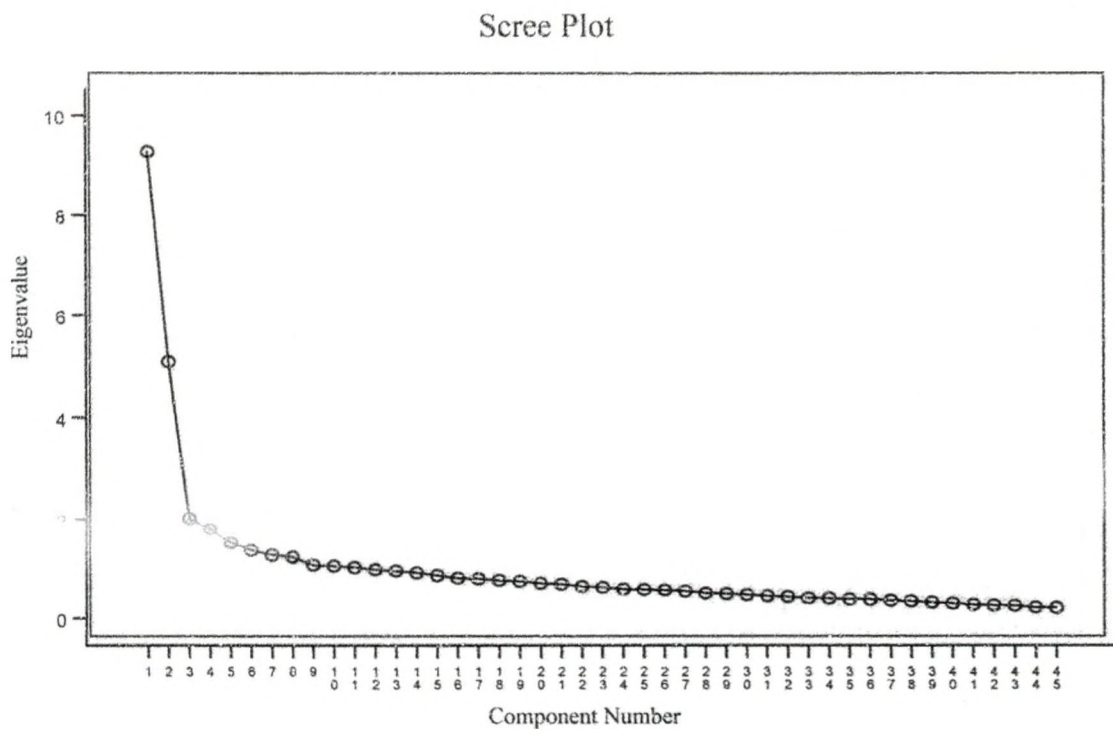


Figure 2: Scree Plot for the revised 45 Item White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version
Note. The above scree plot refers to results of the Principal Components factor analysis conducted on the 43 items.

Table 3. Factor Analysis Results (N = 305) for the 45 Item White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version (WPAS-GV).

WPAS-GV Items	F1	F2	F3	F4
2. I am shocked that I have been so sheltered about advantages of having White skin, but now I will work to change our unfair social structure.	.47	-.07	-.25	.48
3. Frankly, I do not care to change the system, because it could only be worse.	-.03	.53	-.20	-.22
6. It is not my fault I was born with White skin and have advantages, so why should I do anything about it?	-.02	.63	-.28	-.19
7. I am interested in finding ways to feel less confused about having advantages from being White.	.48	-.08	-.23	.38
8. I calmly dismiss so-called benefits of having White skin.	-.02	.34	.09	.31
10. I am angry that I keep benefiting from having White skin and want to put a stop to it.	.52	-.10	-.25	.25
11. I feel bad that people of color are oppressed but it doesn't have anything to do with White people.	-.15	.51	-.26	.28
12. I am mad that people think I do not understand White advantages, just because I do not know what to do about it.	.49	.21	-.26	.25
13. I take action against White advantages with people I know but I am worried that it hurts my relationships.	.50	.05	-.28	.30
14. I don't believe I'm advantaged because I'm White, but I'm open to learning more.	-.01	.24	.34	.29
15. I feel awful about the existence of White advantages and feel paralyzed not knowing what to do.	.56	-.04	-.14	.03
16. I accept responsibility to change White advantages and feel glad to do my part.	.51	-.27	.16	.27
17. I am not worried about whether or not advantages exist for White people.	-.17	.43	.17	.12
18. I am ashamed of my White advantages and am prepared to give them up.	.61	-.24	.05	-.10
19. While I can see I have benefited due to being White, bringing up race relations makes things worse.	.21	.47	.11	-.27
20. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White but it's a waste of time trying to change it.	.54	.31	-.17	-.25
21. I feel anxious, not understanding what White advantages really mean in terms of giving it up.	.60	.22	.07	.07
22. I cannot change being White and what it does for me, so it is not my problem.	-.11	.64	-.24	.09
23. I want to get over feeling conflicted about having benefits due to my White skin, so I am willing to look into the issues more.	.60	-.10	.20	.01

Table 3 cont.

WPAS-GV Items	F1	F2	F3	F4
24. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White advantage is really White-bashing.	-.26	.54	.01	.22
25. I know White advantages exist and I do not care one way or the other.	.17	.52	-.21	.14
26. How can White people be so ignorant about White advantages? I am not going to stand for it anymore.	.71	-.01	-.12	.06
27. I am disturbed by the terrible racist crimes that happen, but those are isolated incidents.	.01	.45	-.00	.15
28. I am angry knowing I have advantages due to having White skin, but do not know what to do.	.71	.02	.01	-.01
29. I fear losing my friends when I speak up against White advantages.	.55	.12	-.29	-.12
31. I feel ashamed that I have not done anything about White advantages yet.	.56	-.09	-.23	-.11
33. I do not see the use of talking about so-called benefits from being White because I am afraid it would make race relations worse.	.27	.46	.16	-.27
34. It is sad that I have benefited from racism but I know I have the power to make changes now.	.62	-.03	.20	.01
36. I feel hesitant and unable to make progress towards doing something about White advantages.	.51	.23	.08	-.19
37. It is disturbing that I am better off as a White person, but that's the way it goes.	.36	.50	-.07	-.22
38. Just because most White people have it easier compared to people of color doesn't mean White people are to blame.	-.14	.47	.35	.11
39. I am curious if and what we can change about White advantages in our society.	.57	-.25	.32	.13
41. Being White is just the luck of the draw so I am not interested in the issue of benefiting from White skin.	-.02	.64	.12	.05
42. I am angry about White advantages and I intend to work towards doing away with it.	.70	-.20	-.01	-.07
43. I do not feel guilty since Affirmative Action laws eliminated discrimination.	.05	.53	.16	.15
44. I'm frustrated: I wish I could talk about having White advantages without someone thinking I am racist.	.49	.21	.07	-.18
45. Though I take action to break down White advantages, I fear it won't make a difference.	.52	.12	.17	-.07
47. I am disgusted by White advantages but am unsure there is something I can do.	.61	.02	.10	-.18
48. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White benefits.	.63	-.17	.30	.00

Table 3 cont.

WPAS-GV Items	F1	F2	F3	F4
49. I oppose White advantages and those racists who perpetrate it, so I am confused what this has to do with me.	.32	.12	.43	-.05
51. I walk on eggshells, worried about the ways my White advantages will offend people of color.	.60	.10	-.12	-.28
52. I don't know how to begin to address my White advantages, so I'm glad to explore it.	.65	-.04	.12	.16
53. I want to begin the process of eliminating White advantages but I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself.	.66	.07	-.01	-.10
54. Plenty of people of color have advantages so I would like to know more about how that is different from White advantages.	.11	.31	.48	.30

Note. F1 = Acknowledging Responsibility, F2 = Sustaining Disparity, F3 = Seeking Clarity, F4 is dropped.

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Part Two—Scale Reliability and Validity Post Hoc Analyses

Part two provides data on descriptive statistics and internal consistency of the WPAS-GV, the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS), the Modern Racism Scale (MRS), the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) for the current sample, and examines the reliability and validity of the WPAS-General Version subscales through testing post hoc hypotheses two through eight.

Post hoc analyses I through VII were exploratory and provided supportive data for the cognitive-behavioral dimensions and related subscales with results presented in the following section. I performed intra-correlational comparisons amongst the WPAS-GV subscales. However, no predictions are provided for the three item subscale Seeking Clarity due to its early development and extremely small number of items. I conducted inter-correlations between the subscales and the WRIAS, MRS, MCPR and the MCSDS

to provide data supporting convergent and divergent validity for the WPAS-GV with the general population. Critical alpha for the study was set at $\leq .05$.

Table 4. Acknowledging Responsibility Subscale (ARS) Item Statistics.

ARS Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	N
Item 2	2.57	1.15	.45	302
Item 7	2.51	1.02	.44	302
Item 10	2.29	1.04	.48	302
Item 12	2.70	1.05	.45	302
Item 13	2.27	.97	.46	302
Item 15	2.30	1.08	.52	302
Item 16	2.80	1.07	.47	302
Item 18	2.28	1.09	.56	302
Item 20	2.43	1.10	.48	302
Item 21	2.66	1.00	.54	302
Item 23	2.69	1.07	.55	302
Item 29	2.12	.98	.48	302
Item 31	2.30	1.02	.50	302
Item 34	2.71	1.03	.57	302
Item 36	2.65	1.03	.46	302
Item 39	2.95	1.10	.52	302
Item 42	2.46	1.06	.66	302
Item 44	2.56	1.18	.44	302
Item 45	2.66	.94	.49	302
Item 47	2.46	1.01	.59	302
Item 48	2.81	1.04	.59	302
Item 51	2.31	1.10	.52	302
Item 52	2.74	1.02	.59	302
Item 53	2.52	.98	.60	302

In post hoc analysis I, I examined the White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version (WPAS-GV) for internal consistency. Subscales were tentatively expected to correlate moderately and positively with adjacent scales, and to provide no significant correlation with subscales at opposing ends. Specifically, this means that subscales Sustaining Disparity and Seeking Clarity would have a moderate, positive correlation; while Sustaining Disparity and Acknowledging Responsibility, which are first and last

subscales, would have no significant correlation. Results support this hypothesis (see the data in Table 8).

Table 5. Sustaining Disparity Subscale (SDS) Item Statistics.

SDS Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	N
Item 3	2.70	1.06	.42	304
Item 6	2.80	1.18	.54	304
Item 8	3.26	1.16	.29	304
Item 11	2.75	1.16	.42	304
Item 17	3.08	1.21	.36	304
Item 19	2.88	1.16	.38	304
Item 22	2.90	1.10	.55	304
Item 24	3.23	1.24	.44	304
Item 25	2.66	1.14	.44	304
Item 27	2.79	1.17	.38	304
Item 33	2.70	1.09	.38	304
Item 37	2.56	1.07	.40	304
Item 38	3.21	1.20	.40	304
Item 41	2.85	1.14	.55	304
Item 43	2.88	1.06	.45	304
Item 46	2.95	1.12	.45	304

Table 6. Seeking Clarity Subscale (SCS) Item Statistics.

SCS Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Item-Total Correlation	N
Item 14	3.33	1.25	.17	305
Item 49	2.87	1.06	.21	305
Item 54	3.27	1.21	.23	305

Sustaining Disparity and Seeking Clarity, the first and second of the three WPAS-GV subscales, correlated positively and moderately ($r = .300, p < .01$). Seeking Clarity and Acknowledging Responsibility, the second and third subscales, also correlated positively and moderately ($r = .176, p < .01$). Sustaining Disparity and Acknowledging

Responsibility did not correlate significantly ($r = -.001$). In conclusion, inter-subscale correlations resulted as anticipated, with adjacent subscales evincing significant moderate, positive correlations and nonadjacent subscales evincing no significant correlations.

Table 7. Measurements' Descriptive Statistics for the Validation Sample (N = 305).

	Mean	SD
WPAS Subscales		
Sustaining Disparity	9.47	2.33
Seeking Clarity	32.81	7.68
Acknowledging Responsibility	60.78	14.30
WRIAS Subscales		
Contact	31.30	5.15
Disintegration	26.19	5.99
Reintegration	25.11	7.30
Pseudo-independence	32.47	4.52
Immersion/Emersion	27.63	5.99
Autonomy	32.82	4.70
MRS	-2.19	5.90
MCPR Scale	-1.54	11.59
MCSDS	16.71	3.98

Note. WPAS-GV = White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version, WRIAS = White Racial Attitudes Scale, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, MCPR = Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions, MCSDS = Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

Post hoc analysis II evaluated scores on the WPAS-GV subscale Sustaining Disparity and the White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) for information on convergent validity for the WPAS-GV with the general population. It was expected to have a moderate, positive correlation with the WRIAS subscales Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration and no significant correlations with the three higher WRIAS subscales, Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion and Autonomy. Results indicate the Sustaining Disparity subscale did not exhibit a significant, moderately positive

correlation with the first WRIAS subscale ($r = .02$). Sustaining Disparity did correlate significantly with the second subscale, Disintegration ($r = .32, p < .01$) and with the third WRIAS subscale, Reintegration ($r = .36, p > .01$). As predicted, Sustaining Disparity did not significantly correlate with the final three subscales, Pseudo-independence ($r = -.07$), Immersion/Emersion ($r = -.01$), and Autonomy ($r = -.07$). In sum, Sustaining Disparity significantly correlated with the second and third of the six WRIAS subscales; however, it did not correlate with the first WRIAS subscale.

Post hoc analysis III investigated scores on the WPAS-GV subscale Acknowledging Responsibility and the WRIAS for data on convergent validity for the WPAS-GV with the general population. I expected the subscale to correlate positively and moderately with the first three WRIAS subscales; Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy, and not correlate with the first three WRIAS subscales. Data indicated Acknowledging Responsibility correlated moderately and positively with Pseudo-independence ($r = .13, p < .05$) and Immersion/Emersion ($r = .31, p < .01$), the fourth and fifth subscales of the WRIAS. However, it also significantly correlated with the first ($r = .21, p < .01$) and second subscales ($r = .16, p < .01$) but not with the sixth subscale ($r = .08$). In sum, while the lowest subscale of WPAS-GV did correlate with lower WRIAS subscales and not with higher WRIAS subscales, the highest WPAS-GV subscale not only correlated unreliably with higher subscales but also with lower subscales of the WRIAS. These mixed results provide supportive data for the WPAS-GV subscale Sustaining Disparity's convergent validity and weak support for the subscale Acknowledging Responsibility's convergent validity (see Table 8 for details).

These discrepancies between anticipated effects and results are explored in the discussion section.

Post hoc analysis IV explored scores on the WPAS-GV subscale Sustaining Disparity and the MRS. I expected these results to provide support for the subscale as a measure of low interpersonal racial understanding and data toward convergent validity with the general population. Sustaining Disparity ($r = .527, p < .01$) correlated significantly with the MRS (see Table 8). In sum, results supported this expectation, providing supportive data for concurrent validity for use of the subscale with the general population.

Post hoc analysis V examined scores on the WPAS-GV subscale Acknowledging Responsibility and the MRS, to provide additional support for the scale as a measure of interpersonal racial understanding and data toward convergent validity with the general population. Results supported the predictions as Acknowledging Responsibility correlated negatively and significantly with the MRS ($r = -.123, p < .05$). In sum, both the lowest and highest hierarchical subscales of the WPAS-GV as predicted with the MRS, providing overall supportive convergent validity for the WPAS as a measure of interpersonal racial understanding.

Post hoc analysis VI evaluated the scores for WPAS-GV subscales and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, to provide supportive data for divergent validity for the WPAS-GV as a measure resistant to social desirability effects. Results indicated Sustaining Disparity ($r = -.10$) and Acknowledging Responsibility ($r = .04$) did not correlate significantly with MCSDS (see Table 8). Therefore, the WPAS-GV subscales did not demonstrate significant positive effects of social desirability, providing

support for the hypothesis and for divergent validity for the WPAS-GV with the general population.

Post hoc analysis VII examined scores on all of the WPAS-GV subscales and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) to provide supportive data for divergent validity and further for the WPAS-GV as a measure resistant to reactivity, another form of social desirability. Results were not supportive (see Table 8). Sustaining Disparity ($r = -.30, p < .01$) positively correlated and Acknowledging Responsibility ($r = -.29, p < .01$) negatively correlated with the MCPR scale to an unexpectedly significant degree. This provides no support for either the prediction that Sustaining Disparity and Acknowledging Responsibility are resistant to this form of social desirability or for the related divergent validity. Implications are investigated in the Discussion section below.

Part 3—Confounding Variables

WPAS Subscales and Demographic Effects

I explored whether participants' scores differed on the three resulting White Privilege Attitudes Scale for general population (WPAS-GV) subscales on the basis of several demographic variables. These potentially confounding variables included gender, age, race, sexual orientation, occupation, state of residence, religion, frequency of religion, income, percentage of work/school mates of same race, percentage of family of origin of same race, and education level (See Table 1 for demographic frequencies). Using SPSS 14.0, I conducted one-way analyses of variance (see Table 9, 10, 11).

Table 8. Inter-Scale Correlations—Convergent and Divergent Validity Data for the White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version (WPAS-GV).

	Sustain Disparity	Seeking Clarity	Acknowledging Responsibility	Contact	Dis-integration	Re-integration	Pseudo-independence	Immersion/Emersion	Autonomy	MRS	MCPRS	MCSDS
WPAS-GV Subscales												
Sustain Disparity	1	.30**	-.00	.02	.32**	.37**	-.07	-.01	-.07	.53**	-.30**	-.10
Seeking Clarity	.30**	1	.18**	.16**	.00	-.03	.11	.03	.07	.08	.01	.08
Acknowledging Responsibility	-.00	.18**	1	.21**	.16**	.007	.13*	.31**	.09	-.12*	.27**	.04
WRIAS Subscales												
Contact	.02	.16**	.21**	1	.03	-.16**	.60**	.36**	.49**	-.07	.14*	.00
Disintegration	.32**	.00	.16**	.03	1	.74**	-.03	.42**	-.12*	.38**	-.04	.16**
Reintegration	.37**	-.03	.01	-.16**	.74**	1	-.21**	.31**	-.21**	.47**	-.18**	.14*
Pseudo-independence	-.07	.11	.13*	.61**	-.04	-.21**	1	.32**	.53**	-.20**	.08	.11
Immersion/Emersion	-.01	.03	.31**	.36**	.42**	.31**	.32**	1	.28**	.08	.04	-.10
Autonomy	-.07	.07	.08	.49**	-.12*	-.21**	.53**	.28**	1	-.10	.08	.05
Modern Racism Scale	.53**	.08	-.12*	.07	.38**	.47**	-.20**	.08	-.10	1	-.31**	-.13*

Table 8 cont.

	Sustain Disparity	Seeking Clarity	Acknowledging Responsibility	Contact	Dis-integration	Re-integration	Pseudo-independence	Immersion/Emerion	Autonomy	MRS	MCPRS	MCSDS
Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale	-.30**	.01	.27**	.14*	-.04	-.18**	.08	.04	.08	-.31**	1	.15**
Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale	-.10	.08	.04	.00	-.16**	-.14*	.11	-.10	.05	-.13*	.15**	1

Note. WPAS-GV = White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version, WRIAS = White Racial Attitudes Scale, MRS = Modern Racism Scale, MCPR = Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions, MCSDS = Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

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

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

Table 9. White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version Sustaining Disparity Subscale's F-tests for Demographics Effects.

Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sex	10.12	1	10.12	.13	.72
Age	784.82	7	112.12	1.43	.19
Race	194.00	3	64.67	.83	.48
State	826.70	10	82.67	1.06	.40
Religion	364.52	8	45.57	.53	.84
Frequency of Religious Attendance	505.59	6	84.27	.97	.45
Sexual Orientation	677.97	4	169.49	1.96	.10
Occupation	1854.55	9	206.06	2.38	.02
Income	338.25	5	67.65	.84	.52
Workmates of same race-%	50.33	5	10.07	.13	.99
Family members of same race-%	798.71	5	159.74	1.99	.08
Education Level	472.42	6	78.74	.98	.44

Note. df = degrees of freedom, F = F-test, Sig. = level of significance.

First, I conducted analyses of variance for 12 demographic variables and the subscale Sustaining Disparity (see Table 9). Examinations of scores on the Sustaining Disparity subscale evinced only one significant difference and this was for percentage of occupation $F(9, 305) = 2.4, p = 0.02$. However, further investigation of post hoc comparisons using Dunnett C test, which does not assume equal variances, yielded no significant differences. This test was utilized as the data violated the test for homogeneity.

Table 10. White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version Seeking Clarity Subscale's F-tests for Demographics Effects (N = 305).

Variable	Type III Sum Of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sex	2.22	1	2.22	.44	.51
Age	68.90	7	9.84	1.94	.07
Race	38.25	3	12.75	2.51	.06
State	58.80	10	5.88	1.16	.32
Religion	36.83	8	4.60	1.04	.41
Frequency of Religious attendance	30.04	6	5.01	1.14	.34
Sexual Orientation	28.27	4	7.07	1.60	.18
Occupation	59.77	9	6.64	1.51	.15
Income	5.75	5	1.15	.22	.95
Workmates of same race--%	47.04	5	9.41	1.83	.11
Family members of same race--%	34.31	5	6.86	1.33	.26
Education Level	10.58	6	1.76	.34	.91

Note. df = degrees of freedom, F = F-test, Sig. = level of significance.

Second, I conducted analyses of variance for 12 demographic variables as the independent variables and the subscale Seeking Clarity as the dependent variable (see Table 10). Comparisons of scores on the Seeking Clarity subscale resulted in no significant differences for demographics. The variables race $F(3, 305) = 2.51, p = .06$ and age $F(7, 305) = 1.94, p = .07$ were nearly significant.

Third, I conducted analyses of variance for 12 demographic variables and the subscale Acknowledging Responsibility (see Table 11). Examinations of scores on the subscale Acknowledging Responsibility evinced one significant differences; for race $F(3, 305) = 4.70, p < 0.02$. Further investigations of post hoc comparisons utilized Dunnett C

test, which does not assume equal variances, yielded significant differences among the four racial groups. This test was employed as the data violated the test for homogeneity, due to the unequal group sizes. Given the lack of significant results, only the variable of race was explored further (see Table 12).

Table 11. White Privilege Attitudes Scale-General Version Acknowledging Responsibility Subscale's F-tests for Demographics Effects.

Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sex	1.44	1	1.44	.01	.93
Age	1595.78	7	227.97	1.16	.33
Race	2081.69	3	693.90	3.53	.02
State	1720.06	9	191.12	.97	.47
Religion	1644.58	8	205.57	1.04	.41
Frequency of Religious attendance	1234.09	6	205.68	1.04	.40
Sexual Orientation	725.71	4	181.43	.94	.44
Occupation	833.40	9	92.60	.47	.89
Income	542.94	5	108.59	.53	.75
Workmates of same race--%	831.57	5	166.31	.82	.54
Family members of same race--%	1842.34	5	368.47	1.81	.12
Education Level	757.37	6	126.23	.62	.72

Note. Df = degrees of freedom, F = F-test, Sig. = level of significance.

Race consisted of only four categories including White, as "Biracial/White plus other" was further broken down into three biracial categories including White with Latino or Native American, White with Asian or Pacific Islander and White with Black race (See Table 1 for frequencies). According to the means, White plus Latino/Native

American (M = 69.58, SD = 2.77) tended to score significantly higher than White only (M = 57.46, SD = 1.37) respondents and White plus Asian/Pacific Islander (M = 69.58, SD = 6.27) respondents tended to score highest. White plus Black respondents (M = 67.17, SD = 5.72) scored nearly as high as White plus Latino/Native American respondents. The Dunnett C test (see Table 10) for unequal groups indicated significance at the .05 level for the difference between White only respondents and White plus Latino/Native American respondents (Mean Diff = -10.21, SD = 1.84).

Table 12. Dunnett C Post hoc Results for Acknowledging Responsibility and Race.

(I) Racial Category	(J) Racial Category	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
White	White				
	White + Latino & Native American	-10.21(*)	1.84	-15.16	-5.27
	White+ Asian & Pacific Islander	-14.67	4.77	-33.83	4.50
	White + Black	-8.03	2.70	-17.68	1.61

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

a Dunnett t-tests treat one group as a control, and compare all other groups against it.

However, due to the extremely small sample of White plus Asian/Pacific Islander and White plus Black respondents (see Table 1), homogeneity was violated and results deemed uninterpretable. The difference in means between White only and White plus Latino/Native American respondents suggests increased willingness to act to dismantle White privilege in comparison with White only respondents. The 95% confidence

intervals for the pairwise differences, as well as the mean difference and standard errors for the two groups are reported in Table 10 above.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Brief Overview

Prior to the current study, there was only one theoretical model of White privilege attitudes in the psychology literature (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001) and only one scale to measure it (Pinterits, 2004). The purpose of this study was to revise the existing scale for use with the general population and to evaluate the fit of Ancis & Szymanski's (2004) thematic, hierarchical model of White privilege attitudes in White adults from the general population. To accomplish this purpose, this study had four primary objectives: (1) to explore the WPAS-GV's underlying factor structure; (2) to provide initial construct validation and psychometric data on the WPAS-GV; (3) to provide further convergent and divergent validity through the exploration of statistical relationships between the scale and conceptually related measures and (4) to investigate potentially confounding variables.

Initial Validity Findings

The most important outcome of this study was the revision of an existing instrument to provide a new version of the instrument, the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS-GV), to measure White privilege attitudes in White people from the general population. Additionally, the study provided additional support for the concept of a White privilege attitudes model. The WPAS-GV, with its initial estimates of validity

and reliability, provides a foundation for further refinement of a measure of the within-group differences amongst European Americans on their awareness and complicity towards benefiting from the racial hierarchy of our society. The development of the WPAS-GV will contribute to the still emerging literature on privilege in a variety of populations including counseling, education, and practice research as the only quantitative examination of its this type at this time. The following sections analyze the results underlying factor structure of the WPAS-GV, correlations and descriptive statistics conducted on the three subscales and interpret their related validity implications and the affect of demographics on respondents' attitudes.

WPAS-GV Exploratory Factor Analysis

In the original study with graduate students, evidence supported a two factor structure post facto (Pinterits, 2004). First, the confirmatory factor analysis did not entirely support the hypothesized 3-factor structure. Second, Pinterits decided a 2-factor structure was both more parsimonious and interpretable. Factor 1 reflected a bipolar continuum of maintaining privilege to willingness to dismantle privilege and this was entitled, "Support of White Privilege" and Factor 2 was interpreted as a commonality of acknowledging the existence of privilege for White people combined with a feeling of ambivalence about what, if anything, to do about this state of affairs. This factor was entitled, "Distressed Acknowledgement of White Privilege".

However, the current study did find more support for a 3-factor structure. This structure accounted for more of the variance than a 2-factor structure would have and 3 factors described the items more than 2 factors would have. The first two factors in the current study, "Sustaining Disparity" and "Acknowledging Responsibility" seemed

similar to Pinterits's "Support of White Privilege" and "Distressed Acknowledgment of White Privilege". However, I also found a third factor and entitled it, "Factor 3, Seeking Clarity", as it seemed to cover items not accounted for by the first two factors. This factor seems similar to the third underlying factor in Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) qualitative study, theme 2: Demonstrated awareness of White privilege with discrimination, and may reflect a curiosity and confusion subtheme of several items in Pinterits's (2004) scale.

As a result of this factor analysis and loadings, the three subscales contain unequal numbers. Subscale two, Seeking Clarity, consists of only three items and should be increased by about 10 items. This theme of curiosity and confusion in seeking further answers may assist in identifying individuals at a key point when they would be open to interventions assisting in development from denial of disparity to acceptance and assumption of personal responsibility. Suggestions for future items include: I am curious about how I support white advantages in my life. I am confused about how benefits from being White occur in daily life. I am interested in finding out more about how white privilege may affect people. I don't know that people have advantages from white skin but I might be interested in more information. Future research should focus on providing validation for these items.

WPAS-GV Construct Validity

Regarding the construct validity of the WPAS-GV subscales, results reported above provided strong support for the scale's internal consistency. As anticipated, correlational analyses within and between subscales resulted in both positive and then negative correlations illustrated with Cronbach's alpha. Strong positive correlations between items within a subscale supported its measurement of the construct.

Comparisons between the first and last subscales resulted in a strong negative correlation, as predicted. This indicates support for the measurement of opposing viewpoints on the spectrum or beginning to higher subscales of awareness of the existence of White privilege. A correlation between the adjacent subscales was anticipated, as a low but significant correlation. This is consistent with the descriptions of the subscales as somewhat discreet but with the former subscales as prerequisites for the latter. This is also consistent with information provided by Helms's (1990) in validating her racial identity development scales. The correlations between the WPAS-GV subscales and the WRIAS, MRS, MCPR, and the MCSDS also provide convergent and divergent validity, respectively.

WPAS-GV Convergent Validity

The results of the correlations between the WPAS-GV subscales and the WRIAS subscales were expected to provide convergent validity, supporting the notion that knowing one's own culture and identifying with it (i.e. basic WRIAS underlying theory) is also required for basic awareness of White privilege. However, the two are entirely different constructs and the relationship was not expected to be strong. The higher subscales of the WRIAS were expected to evince a moderate correlation with higher subscale of the WPAS-GV, and lower subscales of the WRIAS were also expected to correlate with lower subscale of the WPAS-GV to provide convergent validity for the WPAS-GV subscales as measures of intrapersonal understanding of the equality of races and awareness of the actual inequities portrayed in society. In actuality the WRIAS subscales did follow this pattern except for the first and sixth subscales.

The first WRIAS subscale, Contact, did not correlate significantly with the first WPAS-GV subscale but did with the other two subscales. I propose this occurred because Contact, characterized by interaction between the White respondent and the African American or other minority racial population, is not a requirement for Sustaining Disparity (the first WPAS-GV subscales) but is a requirement for the other highest WPAS-GV subscale. The highest WRIAS subscale, Autonomy, did not correlate with any of the WPAS-GV subscales. Similarly, I propose that this highest subscale of racial identity development may be inclusive of the highest WPAS-GV subscales and may be more progressive with an assumption of a nonracist identity.

Another purpose of this research project was to provide a new measure of self-awareness for the general public that is related to racism from the perspective of the White person utilizing the MRS to provide further convergent validity. The relationship between the MRS and WPAS-GV was hypothesized and supported with the results described earlier as an inverse relationship where the MRS' higher scores correlate negatively with the highest WPAS-GV subscale, providing concurrent validity for the idea that the higher subscale corresponds with more awareness of the existence of racial inequities in treatment. The lower WPAS-GV subscale correlated positively with the MRS, providing support for the theory of privilege which states that less awareness of privilege is similar to racist beliefs about people of color and White people (Banaszynski, 2000). This replicated Pinterits's (2004) findings with graduate students.

Results from running Pearson Product-Moment correlations with WPAS-GV subscales and the MRS indicated that the MRS correlated moderately with the first subscale and negatively with the last subscale. The results described in Pinterits's (2004)

study of counseling graduate students and the WPAS-GV were similar to the current study of a general population and the WPAS-General Version. It is interesting to note that Indecision does not significantly correlate; perhaps it taps into both acknowledgment of privilege and denial of responsibility so well that it is ambiguously related to racism.

WPAS-GV Divergent Validity

A third aim, utilizing the Marlowe Crowne social desirability scale as another kind of manipulation check to ensure that the WPAS-GV was not judgmental and that it does not elicit a motivation to hide prejudiced reactions as the Modern Racism Scale has been accused of doing (Fazio et al, 1995), provided divergent validity. Results indicated the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) and the WPAS-GV subscales did not correlate, providing data supporting divergent validity for the scale with the general population. Helms (1990) also reported her and Carter's original 5 subscales (specific data not provided) did not correlate with the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scales in the pilot study.

A fourth goal of this study was to introduce support for this scale as a less "reactive", non-pejorative interpretation of racial identity and race in general, which participants would respond to with honesty. The low correlation between this new scale and MCPR and social desirability was predicted to provide support for its lack of reactivity. In other words, this scale was expected to elicit responses the participant could relate to on a personal level but that do not suggest that he or she might be racist. Using judgmental wording would cause a certain level of "reactivity" expected to confound the results. As Table 8 indicated, all three WPAS-GV subscales correlated with the MCPR Scale, a measure of reactivity to racial interaction investigations. This provided little

support for the prediction that the WPAS-GV is resistant to this form of social desirability and did not support nonreactivity at all for the other two subscales or the related divergent validity. One interpretation of this disparity could be that the MCPR taps into reacting to social norms as behavior modifiers and not that it taps into a response style only. MCSDS and MCPR should correlate strongly since both hypothetically tap into the preference to respond in an acceptable manner. Since MCSDS and MCPR only correlate somewhat significantly ($r = .15, p < .05$), perhaps MCPR does not measure what it purports to, it may tap into racism too.

Potentially Confounding Variables

Racial Differences

Racial category produced one significant F-test among the subscales. Race and Acknowledging Responsibility provided a significant, positive correlation, indicating biracial respondents who self-identified as White plus Latino or Native American responded in such a way to suggest increased willingness to act to dismantle White privilege in comparison with White only respondents. The potential interpretation of these findings is people of color with White heritage may have the unique benefit of viewing life from a place of privilege in some instances and disadvantage at other instances. This may allow such multiracial respondents to observe a fuller array of consequences from White privilege than either White people or people of color.

While such a vantage point may increase acknowledgment with willingness to act, it does not appear to increase the likelihood of acknowledgment or decrease the tendency to deny privilege. Confusion may remain for the person in regards to what action to take but once a course of action is decided upon, the multiracial respondent tends to act.

Conversely, such a privileged vantage point may result in identification with the oppressor or resentment by ones' peers.

Regarding ethnicity, nearly two-thirds of respondents appeared confused and provided their race or chose not to provide their ethnicity. According to Helms and Talleyrand (1997), an improved understanding of the term ethnicity might benefit the field of psychology and the general population of clients by encouraging social science professionals to view cultural differences more meaningfully. Behavioral science professionals should "consider the possibility that people, including Black and White Americans, could be differentially exposed to racial and ethnic socialization and each type of socialization might have distinct implications for their group and individual or one-to-one behavior" (p. 1247).

In conclusion, biracial people may tend to avoid acknowledging White privilege for fear of losing all of their privileges. However, once they do acknowledge the existence of White privilege, biracial people, particularly White and Latino biracial adults, tend toward a willingness to act more often than monoracial White adults. This should be explored in future studies; the impact of biraciality on willingness to act to reduce the privilege or oppression.

Inclusion Argument for White Multiracial Respondents in White Research

I assert that the growing population of White, multiracial respondents provides valuable and pertinent viewpoints about racial interactions. Many multiracial White people have the unique perspective of receiving the benefits of being White in some instances and the advantages and disadvantages associated with having a minority racial heritage in other instances. According to Lee and Bean (2004), 1 in 40 people identify as

multiracial and by the year 2050 1 in 5 will be biracial. I believe this population is an untapped resource for further understanding attitudes about White privilege and here I will provide information and opinions to support the assertions that biracial people may identify as White, that people with lighter skin may receive benefits of being White, and that multiracial people exhibit a variety of awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of being White and a person of color.

First, biracial people may identify as White just as they may identify as biracial or as the racial minority. Kerwin and Ponterotto (1995) opined it is a fallacy to assume that biracial people must choose to identify with the parent of color only; in reality, biracial people may identify with either or both parents and races. Brunsmas and Rockquemore (2001) surveyed 177 college students who identified as having a White and Black heritage and found that only 13.7% identified as solely Black. The researchers also concluded that the public perceptions of biracial respondents' most clearly determines biracial White-Black individuals' identification as White, biracial or Black. In addition, these public perceptions tend to be based on the phenotype of skin color (Brunsmas & Rockquemore, 2001). Therefore, the lighter skinned the multiracial White person is, the more likely he or she is to be perceived as White and to receive the unearned privileges associated with being White.

Second, multiracial White people may receive the benefits of being White that come with lighter skin. Also interesting to this study is Keerdoja's (1984) assertion that children of White-Hispanic backgrounds tend to assimilate to the White culture more easily than children of White-Black heritage. Ten percent of biracial college students in Brunsmas and Rockquemore's study (2001) affirmed "I appear White, I could pass as

White.” According to Hall (1994), Hispanic Americans tend to assimilate to the United States by process of the “bleaching syndrome” which is an internalized preference for lighter skin. Furthermore, the author summarizes research which found correlations between lighter skin and higher levels of income and housing for Hispanic Americans. Root (1998) surveyed and interviewed 20 biracial adult sibling pairs, primarily of Black-White and Asian-White or –Black heritage, regarding racial identity development. She suggested two conditions, which influence biracial self-identification as White; an absent minority race parent and a present White parent. The author concluded that such self-identified biracial White respondents tend to benefit from an upper-middle class education previously reserved for monoracial White people (1998).

Third, multiracial-White people display a variety of attitudes and awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of being White or a person of color. Kerwin and Ponterotto’s (1995) biracial identity model stated there is a growing recognition from adolescence on of the advantages and disadvantages of biracial heritage. Poston (1990) asserts that adopting a bi- or multiracial identity is essential for a positive, healthy identity among multiracial people and that psychological issues develop when a multiracial individual assimilates prejudices from the majority culture. Rockquemore and Lazloffy (2003) state that multiracial people sometimes experience pressure to identify as monoracial, generally of the minority race, which may induce symptoms of anxiety and depression. Coleman and Carter (2007) conducted a study among biracial respondents supporting the hypothesis that internalized pressure to identify as monoracial, the minority race, tended to elicit negative racial feelings and symptoms of anxiety and depression. Assuming a multiracial or biracial identity tended to promote a more positive

viewpoint about race and personal racial identity and was associated with lower reports of depression and anxiety (Coleman & Carter, 2007). In addition, Root (1998) found Black-White biracial respondents tended to experience the most hazing among their peers in the Black community. This suggests a disadvantage for biracial people in the minority racial culture.

This provides support for my assertion that biracial and multiracial White people have a unique, valid perspective and opinions to add to attitudes about White privilege. First, biracial people are often perceived as White. Second, multiracial people may receive benefits based upon that perception as exhibited by higher income. Third, multiracial people possess varying perspectives about privilege and oppression from both the majority and minority cultures.

Conclusion

In summary, several hypotheses related to the White Privilege Attitudes Scale—General Version were explored and generally supported in the current study. First, item-subscale correlations contributed to dropping 4 items for a total of 50 items. Second, an exploratory analysis was conducted and results indicated support for a 3-factor structure. The factors are entitled, Acknowledging Responsibility, Sustaining Disparity and Seeking Clarity. This 3-factor model was more consistent with Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) themes. Third, results supported an internally consistent scale since the three subscales correlated significantly with adjacent subscales and not with opposing subscales. Fourth, the WPAS-GV subscales were expected to correlate with White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) subscales in ascending order; however, while such correlations did occur not all followed these guidelines, providing mixed results. Fifth,

the WPAS-GV lowest subscale, Sustaining Disparity, correlated positively and significantly with the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) while the highest subscale, Acknowledging Responsibility, evinced a strong, negative correlation, providing supportive data for convergent validity for all three subscales of the WPAS-GV with the general population. Sixth, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) did not evince a significant positive correlation with the WPAS-GV subscales, supporting divergent validity for the scale with the general population. Seventh, the correlations between the WPAS-GV subscales and the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) provided unexpected results and did not support divergent validity with the general population.

Limitations

The limitations of the research design described are fivefold. First, the validity for the concept of a model for developing a prosocial attitude toward White privilege has little support and several potential difficulties remain. For instance, the content validity should be examined by clear descriptions of each hierarchical schema of development, which Pinterits's (2004) seems to have done with Ancis and Szymanski's (2001) preliminary model. Further validation studies are needed to provide construct validity for the WPAS-GV subscales by comparisons of the corresponding items to their constructs with another measure of White privilege attitudes. Second, the nonreactivity of the scale and corresponding veracity of item responses is also yet to be fully supported as it is difficult with self-report scales (Devellis, 1991, Dunton & Fazio, 1997) and should be compared to the bogus pipeline technique in future.

Third, administering a scale intended for graduate students already exposed to the concept of White privilege may have complications generalizing to the general population who has not been exposed to the concept and may be more naïve to such scales. While the modifications of revising the language regarding the concept of White privilege and revising the instructions to an eighth grade level should be ample for the participants to gain the comprehension necessary to understand the items on the White Privilege Attitudes Scale, some participants may continue to lack this basic grasp of the concept necessary to relate their current attitudes about the existence of White privilege. In addition, participants may have answered differently to WPAS-GV items subsequent to more intense exposure to the concept of White privilege and its pervasiveness throughout American society. Therefore, the topic of exposing persons with a variety of educational backgrounds to the concept of White privilege through interventions such as exposure to McIntosh's (1988) essay and exploring its effectiveness with the WPAS-GV should be explored in future studies.

Fourth, this research study relies on information from respondents of a newspaper advertisement and convenient samples. The population of readers that respond may not be representative of the general population. Respondents must have the money and education to read the newspaper. They must also have the time to call about the advertisement and fill out the packet of forms. However, recruitment practices attempted to control for these representative issues by recruiting a large number of respondents in a variety of locations to increase diversity across age, gender, income and education (see Table 1 for demographic details).

Fifth, the primary settings for this study, in an urban area in south Texas and various northern United States, may not generalize across the entire population of the United States. However, since the newspaper is received by persons in rural areas as well, the demographics form included a question regarding the area the respondent resides including within the city, in surrounding suburbs or rural areas. This provided information toward discovering the extent to which the scale generalizes to rural areas as well. However, univariate analyses did not discern demographics or geographical effects.

According to the U.S. Census, the race, income levels and gender presented in this study are similar to that of the United States. Seventy seven percent of the U.S. was White in 2000 in comparison with 86% here. In 2006 income in the U.S. averaged 69,000 for monoracial White households and multiracial White households. Participants in the current study resided largely in the 50-75,000 category, for household income. Male gender was underrepresented in this study (see Table 1). Additional studies should be conducted to provide support for the scale with White people in a variety of geographical areas in the U.S.

Future Research Implications

Future qualitative research may deliberate issues of how White privilege attitudes and contemporary racism develop and, therefore, how to enhance one while stifling the growth of the other. The measurement scale may also be instrumental in a variety of applications, across other disciplines such as criminal justice, education and political science. The next study might focus on the use of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale—General Version in a variety of criminal and civil cases where the defendant is identified as a person of color.

The concept of White privilege attitudes affects a variety of areas. These include counselor training, and interpersonal interactions. People of color may also evolve through similar themes of awareness of privilege or oppression. Other constructs may also affect the development of awareness of privilege, such as emotional intelligence. Future research may focus on personality constructs as they correlate with White privilege attitudes.

Sabnani and Ponterotto reviewed several scales utilized in measuring racial identity development with various populations and for a variety of purposes (1992). Investigation into utilization of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale—General Version (WPAS-GV) may pursue similar comparisons and end in discovery of several application areas. Such applications in counseling might include integration with supervision models and as a measure of establishing the cross-cultural working alliance between client and counselor. The WPAS-GV may also be an instrumental in measuring the effectiveness of cultural sensitivity trainings.

The WPAS-GV and its effectiveness as an evaluative instrument may be evaluated by comparing it to unobtrusive measures such as Jones' and Sigall's bogus pipeline technique together with the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (Fazio et. al., 1995). Any scale that purports to measure racism may be compared to the bogus pipeline technique of measuring automatically activated stereotypes or racial biases. Further examination of the MCPR should also be conducted to explore whether it truly measures reactivity or if it also measures aspects of racism.

The validity of the WPAS-GV should be explored further, particularly its construct and predictive validity. First, the additional items suggested for the middle

subscale, Seeking Clarity, should be explored further in a validation study. Second, after another scale measuring White privilege attitudes is co-constructed, the two should be examined together. Third, after ascertaining the attitudes toward White privilege of various groups of respondents, a research study can explore whether this predicts their tendencies toward taking part in an activist task such as mailing a postcard or signing a petition.

Study Conclusion

The term White privilege evolved as a tool to explore the problem of prejudice and discrimination from the viewpoint of the advantaged majority culture who is largely responsible for correcting this state of affairs (Sue, 2003). McIntosh (1998) asserts White privilege is unearned and should no longer be ignored or denied but discussed and disassembled. The White Privilege Attitudes Scale was (Pinterits, 2004) developed to measure the level of acknowledgment, willingness to take action and desire to relinquish White privilege in an effort to facilitate the process of dismantling it. The primary purpose of the current study was to provide further validation for the WPAS-GV scale for generalized application. Results provided divergent and convergent validity data and suggestions for further research. Inferences suggest privilege tends to perpetuate and reinforce other privileges while disadvantages tend to provide awareness of other disadvantages. It is the aspiration of this research to highlight paths toward a future of equality and acceptance between people of privileged and disadvantaged circumstances.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A CONSENT FORM

Public Opinion Study

This research study is conducted by Jana C. McCormick, MA, a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program at the University of North Dakota. The purpose of this research is to better understand people's opinions on the state of social interactions in the United States. Taking part in this study requires a small time commitment of about 30 to 45 minutes. Participants who respond to the in person and newspaper advertisements will be asked to complete several brief surveys and a personal information sheet. You will be asked some personal information regarding your sexual orientation and religion and this may cause some discomfort. If this is the case, you are under no obligation to answer such a question. You may choose to skip the question and you may stop participating at any time without this causing problems for you with the researchers, the Counseling Psychology Department, UND, or the locations where the surveys will be administered in person. In addition, the only situation where your participation in the study would be terminated by the investigator is if you display illegal or inappropriate behavior such as obscene language or the consumption of alcohol.

There is no cost to participate in this study. I hope you benefit from this research by increasing your understanding of the beliefs you have about American society. You will also receive either a five dollar gift or a raffle ticket with the possibility of winning \$100 (at investigator's discretion and dependent only upon means of solicitation) for your participation which is a thank you for your contribution to the study. All participants will receive an incentive similar to fellow participants when they return a packet of surveys regardless of whether they decide to stop participating. This means that you need to return a packet to the investigator in the state of completion with which you feel comfortable and you will receive the thank you gift.

Your replies will be kept private since we will not ask for your name on the forms. The packet of forms will all be coded to coordinate your replies. Ms. McCormick is the only person who will have access to these packets. The consent forms, and all other data, will be stored separately in a locked cabinet of the investigator's (Jana McCormick, MA) for up to five years following the study. At that time she will destroy the data by shredding it. If you have any questions about the research, please call Jana McCormick, MA at her cell phone, (701) 610-9260 or her educational advisor, Dr. Michael Loewy at (701) 777-3740. If you have any other questions or concerns, please call the University of North Dakota Office of Research and Program Development at (701) 777-4279.

For information on the results of this study, you may contact Ms. McCormick after the study has ended. All participants may receive a copy of this consent form. By completing these surveys you agree that you understand the above information and voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Information

Gender (Circle One): Female Male

Age (Circle One):
18-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 71+

Race (Circle One):
White Black Hispanic/Latino Asian Native American Bi/Multi-Racial

Ethnicity/culture: _____

What city/town do you live in (Enter one only)? : _____

Religion: _____

How often do you attend a religious service/organization? (Circle One):
Zero Once/Year Once/Month Once/Week Twice/Week
More

Sexual orientation (Circle One):
Heterosexual Questioning Bisexual Homosexual

Occupation: _____

Family income (Circle one):
\$0—20,000 \$21,000—40,000 \$41,000—60,000 \$61,000—80,000 More

What was the percentage of the people at your last workplace or school environment of same race/ethnic background as you? (Circle One):
0% 1-20% 21-40% 41-60% 61-80 81-100%

What was the percentage of the people in your family of same race/ethnic background as you? (Circle One):
0% 1-20% 21-40% 41-60% 61-80 81-100%

Level of education completed (Circle one):
No Degree High School/GED Associates Vocational
Bachelors Masters Doctorate

APPENDIX C
SURVEYS

WPAS

Instructions

Presented below are descriptions of different attitudes you might have about the treatment of people in the United States who have White skin.

Please read each numbered sentence carefully and circle the number that best describes how much you agree with it. Work quickly. Please reply to every sentence, even if they seem to be the same as others. Think of each item's sentence as a whole: for example, if you disagree *partly* with a statement, mark "disagree" for that item.

If you are a person of color, many items will not apply to you. You may leave those items blank. If you are European American, Caucasian or White, please answer all items.

There are no correct answers so please answer honestly.

Thank you for your cooperation.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I am not afraid of losing any so-called benefits of having White skin because color has nothing to do with my status.				1 2 3 4 5	
2. I am shocked that I have been so sheltered about advantages of having White skin, but now I will work to change our unfair social structure.				1 2 3 4 5	
3. Frankly, I do not care to change the system, because it could only be worse.				1 2 3 4 5	
4. I do not feel guilty for having advantages due to White skin, because I like what this does for me.				1 2 3 4 5	

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Though I am against advantages of White skin, my actions won't make a difference in the grand scheme of things. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. It is not my fault I was born with White skin and have advantages, so why should I do anything about it? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. I am interested in finding ways to feel less confused about having advantages from being White. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. I calmly dismiss so-called benefits of having White skin. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Whites made this country what it is, so I am interested in supporting benefits for Whites. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. I am angry that I keep benefiting from having White skin and want to put a stop to it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. I feel bad that people of color are oppressed but it doesn't have anything to do with White people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. I am mad that people think I do not understand White advantages, just because I do not know what to do about it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. I take action against White advantages with people I know but I am worried that it hurts my relationships. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. I don't believe I'm advantaged because I'm White, but I'm open to learning more. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. I feel awful about the existence of White advantages and feel paralyzed not knowing what to do. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. I accept responsibility to change White advantages and feel glad to do my part. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. I am not worried about whether or not advantages exist for White people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. I am ashamed of my White advantages and am prepared to give them up. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. While I can see I have benefited due to being White, bringing up race relations makes things worse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White but it's a waste of time trying to change it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. I feel anxious, not understanding what White advantages really mean in terms of giving it up. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. I cannot change being White and what it does for me, so it is not my problem. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. I want to get over feeling conflicted about having benefits due to my White skin, so I am willing to look into the issues more. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White advantage is really White-bashing. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. I know White advantages exist and I do not care one way or the other. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. How can White people be so ignorant about White advantages? I am not going to stand for it anymore. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. I am disturbed by the terrible racist crimes that happen, but those are isolated incidents. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. I fear losing my friends when I speak up against White advantages. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. I find the topic of having benefits from White skin interesting, but I do not think it has anything to do with my place in society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. I feel ashamed that I have not done anything about White advantages yet. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. I look forward to creating a more equitable society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. I do not see the use of talking about so-called benefits from being White because I am afraid it would make race relations worse. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. It is sad that I have benefited from racism but I know I have the power to make changes now. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. Though I do have an advantage as a White person, it is unsettling to imagine the world any other way. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. I feel hesitant and unable to make progress towards doing something about White advantages. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. It is disturbing that I am better off as a White person, but that's the way it goes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Just because most White people have it easier compared to people of color doesn't mean White people are to blame. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. I am curious if and what we can change about White advantages in our society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. I do not see how my being White is supposed to have anything to do with my social status. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. Being White is just the luck of the draw so I am not interested in the issue of benefiting from White skin. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 41. I am angry about White advantages and I intend to work towards doing away with it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. I do not feel guilty since Affirmative Action laws eliminated discrimination. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. I'm frustrated: I wish I could talk about having White advantages without someone thinking I am racist. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. Though I take action to break down White advantages, I fear it won't make a difference. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. I am disgusted by White advantages but am unsure there is something I can do. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White benefits. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 48. I oppose White advantages and those racists who perpetrate it, so I am confused what this has to do with me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. I feel more comfortable with being White because I have started working towards social equality. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. I walk on eggshells, worried about the ways my White advantages will offend people of color. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. I don't know how to begin to address my White advantages, so I'm glad to explore it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. I want to begin the process of eliminating White advantages but I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 53. Plenty of people of color have advantages so I would like to know more about how that is different from White advantages. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Modern Racism Scale
(Entitled "Political Opinions Survey" in the study)

Political Opinion Survey

On the page that follows there are a number of opinion statements about public issues, politics and your beliefs about the world in general. You will agree with some, disagree with some and have no opinion about others. You are under no obligation to give an opinion on any item. However, we would like for you to indicate when you do not have an opinion or when you do not wish to answer, so please do not leave any question blank. Please circle a response for each number to indicate your degree of agreement with each item.

Your replies will be completely confidential. We are interested only in group averages and percentages, so do not put your name or anything else on this form that might identify you.

1. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Blacks than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree -- Strongly Agree

2. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree -- Strongly Agree

3. Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree -- Strongly Agree

4. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree -- Strongly Agree

5. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree -- Strongly Agree

6. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree --
Strongly Agree

7. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Strongly Disagree -- Somewhat Disagree -- No Opinion -- Somewhat Agree --
Strongly Agree

Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale
(entitled "Responses to Diversity" during the study)

Responses to Diversity

For each of the items below, please choose a whole number ranging from -3 to +3 to indicate how much you agree with the item, according to the following scale:

strongly disagree								strongly agree	
-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+3		
1. In today's society, it is important that one not be perceived as prejudiced in any manner.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
2. I always express my thoughts and feelings, regardless of how controversial they might be.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
3. I get angry with myself when I have a thought or feeling that might be considered prejudiced.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
4. If I were participating in a class discussion and a Black student expressed an opinion with which I disagreed, I would be hesitant to express my own viewpoint.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
5. Going through life worrying about whether you might offend someone is just more trouble than it's worth.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
6. I feel it's important to behave according to society's standards.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
7. I'm careful not to offend my friends, but I don't worry about offending people I don't know or I don't like.									
			-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

8. I don't enjoy getting into discussions where the causes for people's behavior are being talked about.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
9. I think that it is important to speak one's mind rather than to worry about offending someone.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
10. It's never acceptable to express one's prejudices.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
11. I feel guilty when I have a negative thought or feeling about a Black person.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
12. When speaking to a Black person, it's important to me that he/she not think I'm prejudiced.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
13. It bothers me a great deal when I think I've offended someone, so I'm always careful to consider other people's feelings.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
14. If I have a prejudiced thought or feeling, I keep it to myself.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
15. I would never tell jokes that might offend others.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
16. I'm not afraid to tell others what I think, even when I know they disagree with me.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
17. If someone who made me uncomfortable sat next to me on a bus, I would not hesitate to move to another seat.	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

Janet E. Helms and Robert T. Carter

Instruction: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different viewpoints. So try to be as honest as you can. Beside each statement, circle the number that best describes how you feel. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

	1		2		3		4		5
	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Uncertain		Agree		Strongly Agree
(circle one)									
1	2	3	4	5	1.	I hardly ever think about what race I am.			
1	2	3	4	5	2.	There is nothing I can do by myself to solve society's racial problems.			
1	2	3	4	5	3.	I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks.			
1	2	3	4	5	4.	I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites.			
1	2	3	4	5	5.	I am making a special effort to understand the significance of being White.			
1	2	3	4	5	6.	I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.			
1	2	3	4	5	7.	I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.			
1	2	3	4	5	8.	I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.			
1	2	3	4	5	9.	There is nothing that I want to learn about Blacks.			
1	2	3	4	5	10.	I enjoy watching the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life.			
1	2	3	4	5	11.	I am taking definite steps to define an identity for myself that includes working against racism.			
1	2	3	4	5	12.	I seek out new experiences even if I know that no other Whites will be involved in them.			
1	2	3	4	5	13.	I wish I had more Black friends.			
1	2	3	4	5	14.	I do not believe that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively.			
1	2	3	4	5	15.	A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something.			
1	2	3	4	5	16.	Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.			
1	2	3	4	5	17.	Rather than focusing on other races, I am searching for information to help me understand White people.			
1	2	3	4	5	18.	Black people and I share jokes with each other about our racial experiences.			
1	2	3	4	5	19.	I think Black people and White people do not differ from each other in any important ways.			
1	2	3	4	5	20.	I just refuse to participate in discussions about race.			
1	2	3	4	5	21.	I would rather socialize with Whites only.			
1	2	3	4	5	22.	I believe that Blacks would not be different from Whites if they had been given the same opportunities.			
1	2	3	4	5	23.	I believe that I receive special privileges because I am White.			

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|-----|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 24. | When a Black person holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my opinion |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 25. | I do not notice a person's race. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 26. | I have come to believe that Black and White people are very different. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 27. | White people have tried extremely hard to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks. Now it is time to stop! |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 28. | It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 29. | I am making an effort to decide what type of White person I want to be. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 30. | I feel comfortable in social settings in which there are no Black people. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 31. | I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 32. | I do not express some of my beliefs about race because I do not want to make White people mad at me. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 33. | Society may have been unfair to Blacks, but it has been just as unfair to Whites. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 34. | I am knowledgeable about which values Blacks and Whites share. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 35. | I am examining how racism relates to who I am. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 36. | I am comfortable being myself in situations in which there are no other White people. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 37. | In my family, we never talk about race. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 38. | When I interact with Black people, I usually let them make the first move because I do not want to offend them. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 39. | I feel hostile when I am around Blacks. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 40. | I believe that Black people know more about racism than I do. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 41. | I am involved in discovering how other White people have positively defined themselves as White people |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 42. | I have refused to accept privileges that were given to me because I am White. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 43. | A person's race is not important to me. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 44. | Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about White people. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 45. | I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 46. | I believe that a White person cannot be a racist if he or she has a Black friend(s). |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 47. | I am becoming aware of the strengths and limitations of my White culture. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 48. | I think that White people must end racism in this country because they created it. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 49. | I think that dating Black people is a good way for White people to learn about Black culture. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 50. | Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about Black people. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 51. | When I am the only White in a group of Blacks, I feel anxious. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|-----|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 52. | Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 53. | Given the chance, I would work with other White people to discover what being White means to me. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 54. | I am not embarrassed to say that I am White. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 55. | I think White people should become more involved in socializing with Blacks |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 56. | I do not understand why Black people blame me for their social misfortunes. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 57. | I believe that Whites are more attractive and express themselves better than Blacks. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 58. | I believe that White people cannot have a meaningful discussion about racism unless there is a Black or other minority person present to help them understand the effects of racism. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 59. | I am considering changing some of my behaviors because I think that they are racist. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 60. | I am continually examining myself to make sure that my way of being White is not racist. |
| | | | | | 61. | Estimate the percentages of your neighbors that are in each of the following groups:
_____Asian _____Black _____Hispanic
_____Native American _____ White |
| | | | | | 62. | Indicate the numbers of your closest friends who are members of the following groups:
_____Asian _____Black _____Hispanic
_____Native American _____ White |

Crowne & Marlowe Social Desirability Scale
(entitled "Personal Reaction Inventory" in the study)

Personal Reaction Inventory

Please circle one answer, "Yes, Not Sure or "No" for each question.

1. Have there been occasions when you took advantage of someone?

Yes Not Sure No

2. Have you sometimes taken unfair advantage of another person?

Yes Not Sure No

3. Are you always willing to admit when you make a mistake?

Yes Not Sure No

4. Are you quick to admit making a mistake?

Yes Not Sure No

5. Do you sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget?

Yes Not Sure No

6. Do you sometimes feel resentful when you don't get your own way?

Yes Not Sure No

7. Are you always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable?

Yes Not Sure No

8. Are you always a good listener, no matter whom you are talking to?

Yes Not Sure No

APPENDIX D
RAFFLE TICKET DRAWING SLIP

The following information is required for the raffle ticket drawings. Seven \$100 prizes in the form of money orders will be given away. Entrants must have participated in this study. Remember that this form and your name are not connected in any way with the opinions you provided on the questionnaires. These entries are kept separate from the survey packets and will be destroyed immediately following the drawings. The drawings will be held upon completion of the study, which should be within the next few months. These prizes are to thank you for your participation in this important research into social opinions. Thank you for your assistance.

Please be sure to write clearly.

Name: _____

Phone Number: _____

Address (optional): _____

If your name is drawn and yet you do not respond to a telephone call, your prize may be given to another participant after 7-14 days. If you indicate that you do not have a phone and give your address here, you must respond to a letter within two weeks of the post mark by calling the primary investigator (Jana McCormick, MA).

If you received a survey packet by mail, you should return the packet in the enclosed, pre-addressed and stamped envelope. If, however, you misplaced the envelope, please make sure to return this slip along with your completed survey materials to the following address and at your own expense if you wish to be entered in the drawings:

Social Opinion Research Study
c/o Jana McCormick, MA
12260 Nacogdoches Ste. 102
San Antonio, TX 78217

APPENDIX E
ADVERTISEMENT

Advertisement in San Antonio newspaper:

SOCIAL OPINIONS STUDY. Receive a chance to win a \$100 prize by filling out surveys for research. Several prizes will be given away. Call Jana McCormick at (210) 655-9484 for info or an appointment.

Advertisement in a large city in a northern state:

SOCIAL OPINIONS STUDY. Receive a chance to win \$100 by filling out surveys for research. Call Jana McCormick at (210) 655-9484 for info or to have the surveys mailed to you.

APPENDIX F
WPAS: GENERAL VERSION-REVISED

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Not Sure	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I am shocked that I have been so sheltered about advantages of having White skin, but now I will work to change our unfair social structure.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Frankly, I do not care to change the system, because it could only be worse.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I do not feel guilty for having advantages due to White skin, because I like what this does for me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is not my fault I was born with White skin and have advantages, so why should I do anything about it?	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am interested in finding ways to feel less confused about having advantages from being White.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I calmly dismiss so-called benefits of having White skin.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Whites made this country what it is, so I am interested in supporting benefits for Whites.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I am angry that I keep benefiting from having White skin and want to put a stop to it.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel bad that people of color are oppressed but it doesn't have anything to do with White people.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am mad that people think I do not understand White advantages, just because I do not know what to do about it.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I take action against White advantages with people I know but I am worried that it hurts my relationships.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I don't believe I'm advantaged because I'm White, but I'm open to learning more.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I feel awful about the existence of White advantages and feel paralyzed not knowing what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I accept responsibility to change White advantages and feel glad to do my part.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I am not worried about whether or not advantages exist for White people.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I am ashamed of my White advantages and am prepared to give them up.	1	2	3	4	5
17. While I can see I have benefited due to being White, bringing up race relations makes things worse.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White but it's a waste of time trying to change it.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I feel anxious, not understanding what White advantages really mean in terms of giving it up.	1	2	3	4	5

20. I cannot change being White and what it does for me, so it is not my problem.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I want to get over feeling conflicted about having benefits due to my White skin, so I am willing to look into the issues more.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White advantage is really White-bashing.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I know White advantages exist and I do not care one way or the other.	1	2	3	4	5
24. How can White people be so ignorant about White advantages? I am not going to stand for it anymore.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I am disturbed by the terrible racist crimes that happen, but those are isolated incidents.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I am angry knowing I have advantages due to having White skin, but do not know what to do.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I fear losing my friends when I speak up against White advantages.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I find the topic of having benefits from White skin interesting, but I do not think it has anything to do with my place in society.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I feel ashamed that I have not done anything about White advantages yet.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I do not see the use of talking about so-called benefits from being White because I am afraid it would make race relations worse.	1	2	3	4	5
31. It is sad that I have benefited from racism but I know I have the power to make changes now.	1	2	3	4	5
32. Though I do have an advantage as a White person, it is unsettling to imagine the world any other way.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I feel hesitant and unable to make progress towards doing something about White advantages.	1	2	3	4	5
34. It is disturbing that I am better off as a White person, but that's the way it goes.	1	2	3	4	5
35. Just because most White people have it easier compared to people of color doesn't mean White people are to blame.	1	2	3	4	5
36. I am curious if and what we can change about White advantages in our society.	1	2	3	4	5
37. I do not see how my being White is supposed to have anything to do with my social status.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Being White is just the luck of the draw so I am not interested in the issue of benefiting from White skin.	1	2	3	4	5
39. I am angry about White advantages and I intend to work towards doing away with it.	1	2	3	4	5
40. I do not feel guilty since Affirmative Action laws eliminated discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
41. I'm frustrated: I wish I could talk about having White advantages without someone thinking I am racist.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Though I take action to break down White advantages, I fear it won't make a difference.	1	2	3	4	5
43. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White.	1	2	3	4	5
44. I am disgusted by White advantages but am unsure there is something I can do.	1	2	3	4	5

45. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White benefits.	1	2	3	4	5
46. I oppose White advantages and those racists who perpetrate it, so I am confused what this has to do with me.	1	2	3	4	5
47. I walk on eggshells, worried about the ways my White advantages will offend people of color.	1	2	3	4	5
48. I don't know how to begin to address my White advantages, so I'm glad to explore it.	1	2	3	4	5
49. I want to begin the process of eliminating White advantages but I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself.	1	2	3	4	5
50. Plenty of people of color have advantages so I would like to know more about how that is different from White advantages.	1	2	3	4	5

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