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MULTICULTURAL EFFICACY AMONG WHITE RESIDENT HALL DIRECTORS:
PREDICTING WHITE PRIVILEGE ATTITUDES

by

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A dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

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This Dissertation, submitted by Sarah J. Szerlong in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

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Sarah J. Szerlong

July 1, 2012

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ABSTRACT

This study contributed to the expanding field of research examining the various aspects of White privilege attitudes. This study extended White privilege research by incorporating the predictive relationships of multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training in assessing White privilege attitudes among a sample of White resident hall directors (N =206). Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used in the current study to examine the mediating effect of multicultural efficacy on White privilege attitudes measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale, Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, and Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale. Goodness of fit was not found for the hypothesized model. However, additional correlation analyses (multiple regressions and univariate correlations) revealed that multicultural empathy, rather than multicultural efficacy, is a significant predictor of all the White privilege attitudes measured by the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS. Recommendations for future research and multicultural training efforts in residence life are discussed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

University campus climates have been growing rapidly in ethnic and racial diversity since Affirmative Action was implemented by President John Kennedy in 1961. Literature has indicated that the diversity of college campuses has expanded to encompass a more equitable enrollment of students from various cultural, ethnic, racial, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds (Ashcrof et al., 2004; Umbback & Kuh, 2006; St. Clair, 2008). Researchers have reported that students (especially Whites) involved in various diversity-based activities, multicultural experiences, and classes where a diverse student body is present are benefiting from their education in numerous ways (Umbback & Kuh, 2006; Saenz, Nagi and Hurtado, 2007). Villalpando (2002) found that diversity involvement (defined as student participation in diversity/multicultural education or enrollment in institutions or courses where there is a greater percentage of students from minority or marginalized communities) was correlated with the ability to recognize race-based political issues, an increased awareness of the social effect of diversity, as well as higher educational satisfaction compared to less diverse programs. Such research outcomes have provided encouragement for universities to revise their ideals, missions and programs offered, to reflect a higher emphasis on diversity for

their student communities (Cabrera, Crissman, Bernal, Nora, Terenzini, & Pascarella, 2002).

The past two decades have brought changes in in the number of diversity programs and multicultural experiences provided outside of the classroom. These programs have come in the form of inter-cultural dialogues, events that focus on non-dominant group religious holidays, and training and educational experiences that teach pro-social behaviors related to diverse groups (Banks, 1993; McIntosh, 2000; Healea, 2006). Literature has cited adjustments in curricular and communities resources as the primary source of influence on campus programming efforts (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). However, despite these apparent changes, research also has indicated that campus racial climate issues (defined as the perceived level of racism and discrimination in the policies, attitudes, and practices embedded within the infrastructure of an institution of higher education; Johnson, 2003) continue to be a significant concern, particularly for minority racial and ethnic groups. One participant in a qualitative study commented on this paradox saying that “The university has diversity plastered everywhere, but I have yet to see any real evidence of it” (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000, p. 16)

Concerns related to racial tension and campus climate issues are prevalent in research that examines perceptions of racism on college campuses, and experiences of students of color (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Hurtado (1992) found that one in four survey respondents at predominantly White institutions perceived significant racial tension on their campuses. Hurtado’s results also indicated that White students were less likely than Black and Latino students to recognize racial tension due to the belief that racism was no longer a problem. This same difference in perception was indicated

by Rankin and Reason's (2005) data which noted that racial/ethnic minorities experience campus climates as more racist and less accepting as their White counterparts. In their research, Caberera and Nora (1994) found that though both White students and students of color experienced alienation on their college campuses, students of color cited racial prejudice and discrimination as the primary source of their alienation, whereas racism and prejudice were identified by White students only as a source of concern.

Research examining the experiences of students of color, particularly on predominantly White college campuses, has found that racial/ethnic minority students continue to feel isolated, alienated, and stereotyped (Flowers & Howard-Hamilton, 2002). Studying the experience of first-year students of color, Smedley, Myers, and Harell (1993) discovered that racial conflicts and race-based accusations of intellectual inferiority came primarily from White peers and faculty. In their qualitative study examining daily experiences of Black undergraduates, Swim and colleagues (2003) found that large percentages of participants experienced unfriendly looks from White faculty, derogatory or stereotypical remarks aimed at them personally, and bad service at dining halls and other facilities on campus compared to their White peers. Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) described this experience of students of color as relating to microaggressions from White faculty/staff and students.

Due to the empirical evidence drawn between issues of racism, campus climate concerns, and the perpetration of racism and prejudice, multicultural research has examined the specific factors and experiences of White students and faculty/staff. Current research examining White individual's perceptions of race is influenced by

level of exposure to and experience with diverse others (Radloff & Evans, 2003), level of awareness surrounding systemic issues such as White privilege (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001; Pinterits, Poteat & Spanierman, 2009; Sue, 2003), and the level of endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes (Gushue & Constantine, 2007; Neville et al, 2000).

Correlational research assessing the relationship between awareness/knowledge of racial issues and participant racial background has found that White students who grew-up in predominantly White neighborhoods have limited firsthand exposure to racism and minimal awareness of the modern issues of racism (Radloff & Evans, 2003; Guyton & Wesche, 2007).

This lack of awareness has been connected theoretically to systemic concerns related to White privilege and color-blind racial attitudes (Pinterits, Poteat & Spanierman, 2009). White privilege is characterized as an expression of institutional power that is largely unacknowledged by most White individuals (Sue, 2003). Research has broken the study of White privilege into three dimensions; affective, cognitive, and behavioral expressions and beliefs of privilege and oppression (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1999). As such, it has become increasingly important to recognize the relationship between how a White individual feels and thinks about race-based issues and their actions to dismantle or uphold the status quo

Research looking at White privilege has found that White privilege attitudes are associated with affective reactions to racism (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). These affective responses include remorse, empathy, guilt, anger and fear for White individuals (Goodman, 2001; Jensen, 2005; Kivel, 2002; Pinterits, et al, 2009). Studies

examining these affective responses have found that a person's emotive response to White privilege, whether that be positive as in empathy or negative as in anger or fear, correlates strongly with cognitive and behavioral responses, particularly thoughts and behaviors that either support or reject whiteness and social dominance (Swim & Miller, 1999). Research has specifically highlighted empathy as being a central component in the development of positive cognitions surrounding racial differences (Wang et al., 2003).

Color-blind racial attitudes are another well-researched manifestation of the cognitive dimension of White privilege (Gushue & Constantine, 2007) and the continuum of privilege awareness (Hardiman, 2001; Helms, 1995). Worthington, Navarro, Lowey, and Hart (2007) found that White students endorsing high levels of color-blindness were more likely to perceive campus racial climate as positive; whereas, White students endorsing lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes were found to be more aware of racial tensions and concerns. Researchers have also cited awareness of whiteness as being foundational in the development of a critical consciousness of White privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009; Arredondo, 1999). White individuals with greater levels of privilege awareness have been found to be more likely to accept responsibility for change at both the personal and institutional level (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). Such responsibility has been noted as being indicative of a readiness for action against racial injustices.

The third dimension of White privilege, behavior, speaks to the actions and manifestations of pro-social behavior university campuses could benefit from in order to change campus racial climates. Scholars have discussed behavioral responses to

White privilege as ranging from unwillingness to discuss the existence of privilege and whiteness (Rains, 1998), to actions to dismantle White privilege (Leach et al., 2006).

Research has shown that unwillingness to discuss White privilege is related to feelings of apathy and ambivalence (Díaz-Rico, 1998). Whereas, feelings of anger and guilt are predictive of the desire to engage in political action against racial injustice (Leach et al, 2006; Harvey & Oswald, 2000). Guyton and Wesche (2005) identify multicultural efficacy as being a central component of a person's willingness to take action surrounding diversity issues.

Multicultural efficacy was highlighted by Guyton and Wesche (2005) as being theoretically integral to behaviors that stem from cognition and affect. This connection between multicultural efficacy and affect (surrounding multicultural issues) is rooted in social cognitive research that has shown self-efficacy to be a mediating factor in the cognitive and affective processes that promote behavior (Bandura, 1990; Constantine & Ladany, 2000). As such, Guyton and Wesche contended that if a person believes in their ability to engage in diversity work, whether that is teaching about systemic issues, participating in campus events supporting non-dominant groups, or developing programming for the student community, then they will be able to turn their self-efficacy into action (Guyton & Wesche, 2005).

Research has examined the relationships between multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, multicultural training and White privilege attitudes using a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods. However, the majority of this research has surrounded the experiences of undergraduate students as a whole or White student within the counseling profession. In addition, research findings may be limited in their

generalizability due to the participant pools, and often do not adequately connect how examining White privilege and multicultural efficacy will help to change campus racial climate. In her 2003 article, Johnson suggested that one way to begin changing campus climate concerns is to enhance multicultural awareness and knowledge by targeting White on-campus student leaders.

Healea (2006) identified student affairs, specifically residence life, as being integral to the establishment of positive campus climates because they serve as role models of pro-social behavior which “trickles down” to the student body. The daily interactions between residence life leaders and college students highlights the significant and important role resident assistants and hall directors play in affecting change (Johnson, 2003). Resident hall directors in particular have a vital role in monitoring and influencing the environment of their residence halls. The role of a resident hall director often involves training student leaders on various aspects of their job and leadership development (Komives, 1991), working with student leaders to foster positive relationships between students of all backgrounds (Johnson-Durgans, 1992), and establishing healthy norms and procedures for resident living communities.

Residence life leaders and professionals are uniquely positioned to strengthen and develop healthy multicultural campus climates for students of all racial backgrounds (Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2001). However, limited research has attended to this influential group on college campuses. Literature that has commented on the role of residence life is generally theoretically-based and speaks broadly to the importance of including multicultural competence as a facet of student affairs work (Pope et al., 2004). No published research to date has examined White racial attitudes

among residence life hall directors as a specific group, and limited research has focused on the relationship between multicultural efficacy and co-occurring facets of multicultural competence (Constantine & Ladany, 2000). Addressing this gap in the literature may provide insight into how to best help White student leaders and residence life personnel build healthy White privilege attitudes and positive multicultural efficacy. In turn, this multicultural efficacy may support residence life leader's abilities to advocate for their colleagues of color, develop programming to educate and build awareness of race issues, and provide a climate of acceptance and awareness within student residence halls.

Purpose of Study

This dissertation added to research on campus racial climate issues and multiculturalism by exploring factors that relate to White privilege and multicultural efficacy among White resident hall directors. The purpose of this study was two-fold; to examine explore the prevalence of affective and cognitive White privilege attitudes among resident hall directors (e.g. graduate student leaders and live-in/on professionals), and to explore the relationships between multicultural variables, including White privilege attitudes, multicultural efficacy, and other multicultural constructs. Using structural equation modeling, this study sought to confirm a proposed model showing a multicultural efficacy-mediated relationship between White privilege and the multicultural factors of multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training. The intention in testing this model, and the multiple multicultural factors within it, was to deepen the fields understanding of White

privilege, as well as fill the gap of literature and research surrounding the influential role of residence life on university campuses.

The goal of this study was to provide significant contributions to the literature regarding multicultural competence among helping professionals, specifically within the field of residence life. No studies to date have explored multicultural efficacy and White privilege as factors of multicultural competence in residence life, nor have they combined these important factors into a structural equation model to understand how these factors influence one another.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study contributed to research on White privilege attitudes and multicultural competence, particularly as they relate to addressing campus racial climates on university campuses. Central to fostering climate change are student affairs and residence life leaders. The following section provides a review of the literature on the historical and current campus climate issues, including White dominance and the experiences of students of color. This literature review also elaborates on the connection between White privilege and multicultural efficacy, by addressing how both components are critical to researching multicultural competence. Finally, this final section of this literature review explores both the theoretical discussions and the empirical research on the multicultural competence of residence life leaders, specifically resident hall directors.

Campus Culture and White Dominance

In working to define campus cultures, Manning and Cole-Boatwright (1991) proposed the following question: “Whose past, traditions, actions, and experience are embraced within our institutional structures, described in the study of history, transmitted through the curricula of schools, and represented in the art and architecture of campus environments?” (p. 368). Manning and Boatwright pointed to the historical and systemic influences of societies and individual communities that foster a larger

cultural identity. With increases in racial diversity in most U.S. universities since Civil Rights legislation, campus racial climates continue to be a significant problem on college campuses due to the pervasiveness of whiteness (Hurtado, 1992; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Furthering Manning and Boatwright's dialogue, Cook (1997) asserted that "the demographics create an environment of 'whiteness' ...and value systems upon which academic departments routinely function to reflect the values of Western European, or White American cultural values. For this reason, it is contended that cultural racism within White academia is such that the White cultural values are strictly enforced and built into the power structure of academic departments" (p. 101).

Offering a framework to describe the characteristics of the predominantly "White" culture, Katz (1989) explained that White culture characterizes American organizations and institutions, and is expressed through symbols (male symbols), religious (Christian or Christian-like) ceremonies, language (English), rituals and the organizational structures of colleges and universities (academically sanctioned writing styles and bureaucracy). Manning and Cole-Boatwright (1991) explained that these cultural expressions and traditions are similarly reflected in institutional policies rooted in White culture values of power (i.e., held by elites, expert authority, and upper-management decision making). Further emphasizing the power structure emulated in White culture, Carter and Thompson (1997) stated that "racial climate is influenced not only by the racial identities of coalitions within a group and organization and by the racial norm, but also by members' perceptions of power" (p. 31).

Discussing conversations about race on college campuses, Harper and Hurtado (2007) explained that "race" has become a taboo, an unpopular topic that many higher

education personnel stay away from. In their study on perception of racial campus climate, Harper and Hurtado found that participants, including staff members, students, and university educators were able to identify the silencing of discussions on racial politics, topics that address racial disparities on campus, and contradictions in academic environments that expect students to interact across racial lines on campus and within university residence halls. Inherent in Harper and Hurtado's findings are facets of privilege and power that leading campus officials, most likely White men and women, possess.

Perceptions, Experiences, and Realities of Racism

Research examining issues of whiteness, power, and oppression on college campuses linked racial climate issues to both interpersonal and institutional racism (Johnson, 2003; Hurtado et al, 1998). Scholars have explained that students exhibit various behavioral responses such as racial segregation, cognitive responses such as stereotyping and overt prejudice, and affective responses such as anger or complacency in responses to campus climate tensions (Rankin & Reason, 2005; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998). Synthesizing literature on racial climates from the past three decades, Harper and Hurtado (2007) divided past research into three overarching categories: (1) differential perceptions of campus climate by race, (2) racial/ethnic minority student reports of prejudicial treatment and racist campus environments, and (3) benefits associated with campus climates that facilitate cross-racial engagement. Each of these three areas is reviewed in this section.

Perceptions of campus climate, captured in both quantitative and qualitative research, has repeatedly shown that racial/ethnic minority students and their White

peers at the same university view and experience the same racial climate differently (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). For example, racial/ethnic minorities in Rankin and Reason's study (2005) perceived campus climates as more racist and less accepting than did White survey respondents. Radloff and Evans (2003) contended that this difference in perceptions of climate issues may be due to participant home communities. Radloff and Evan explained that White students often come from predominantly White communities, and may have limited first-hand experience with racism and prejudice. Conversely, students of color are likely to have experienced or been exposed to various forms of racism and prejudice in their communities. This finding suggested that differences in perceptions may be linked to student experiences with racism or persons different from themselves, as well as to the direct influence campus climate may have on them as racial individuals (e.g. racism may be more salient for a student of color than for a White students).

Harper and Hurtado's (2007) second category, racial/ethnic minority student reports of prejudicial treatment and racist campus environments, attended to the various forms of racism and prejudice experienced by students and faculty of color. Research has indicated that despite misperceptions of modern social inclusion and acceptance of racial differences, racial segregation is alive and well on college campuses (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2001). Scholars have reported that social distance between racial and ethnic groups is present on both small and large college campuses (Hurtado et al, 1998). Hurtado (1992) found that social alienation was common among students of color, particularly on predominantly White campuses. Research analyzing the priorities placed on the recruitment of student of color, provisions for non-academic support and

commitment to affirmative action has found that campuses (on average) have paid little attention to the interpersonal aspects of race relations (Hurtado, 1992). Of these interpersonal elements, Hurtado and colleagues (1998) identified voluntary segregation, interracial conflicts, and feelings of mistrust as being the most frequently overlooked interpersonal racial issues. As such, literature has suggested that concerns of student marginalization, alienation, and social distancing may relate to both individual acts of racism and prejudice, as well as institutional policies and practices for resolving, preventing, and educating about racial issues (Nora & Cabrera, 1996).

Research has indicated that students of color and of minority ethnic cultures continue to feel marginalized, alienated, discriminated against, and without needed support in their daily experiences of college life because of racial campus climate concerns (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Radloff & Evans, 2003; Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Damacela, Portillo, Rowan, & Andrews-Guillen, 2003; Steward, Germain, & Jackson, 1992). Rankin & Reason (2005) reported that many feelings of marginalization and discrimination are attached to behaviors and expressions of racism by students and faculty that belong to the dominant group (defined as individuals possessing dominant group characteristics, such as White skin, heterosexuality, Christian faith, etc.). Harper and Hurtado (2007) suggested that students of color may internalize such feelings or marginalization and discrimination, which may negatively impact their progression toward graduation.

Hurtado and Hurtado explained that students of color internalize climate observations by experiencing feelings of “not fitting in” or racial tensions because these forms of racial exclusion (covert climate issues) are more difficult to identify or

sanction than overt forms of racism or discrimination. Their research findings suggested that racial discrimination and perceptions of racial/ethnic tensions and campus climate complicate the participant's transitions between first and second-year college experiences. Similarly, in a study involving Black students' perceptions of campus climates, Feagin, Vera, and Imani (1996) found that participants were able to identify numerous racially toxic climate issues that adversely affected their progress and functioning in school. Of these climate issues, Feagin and colleagues listed confrontations with White peers and faculty, absence of cultural space that students of color can call their own, and the constant burden of disproving racist stereotypes regarding their intellectual and academic abilities as being central to fostering a negatively racial environment.

Feelings of racial campus marginalization and segregation have also been linked to cognitive and behavioral responses among White students, staff and faculty (Solorzano; Ceja; Yosso, 2001; Nora & Cabrera, 1996). Researchers have identified both overt and covert acts of racism as being central to segregation behaviors. Solorzano and colleagues (2001) stated that racial microaggressions are a leading aversive factor relating to racial climate issues. Racial microaggressions are defined as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are 'put downs; of blacks by offenders'" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1978, 66). The concept of microaggressions has now been expanded to include all racial background of persons of color (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri., Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007; Solorzano et al, 2001). On college campuses, microaggressions may be seen as unfriendly looks and skeptical stares from White students and faculty, derogatory and

stereotypical verbal remarks directed toward students of color, or bad service given by dining hall staff and other facilities (Swim et al., 2003). Leading researchers in racial issues have suggested that White privilege, or lack of awareness surrounding one's whiteness, may be at the core of racial microaggressions (Helms, 1995).

In their 1998 article, Hurtado and colleagues connect campus climate issues to larger systemic issues, specifically institutional racism. Hurtado et al. (1998) recommended that institutional racism and discrimination be looked at two ways: *externally* by examining governmental, community, and sociohistorical influences on university racism, and *internally* by examining the extent to which universities included or exclude diverse groups, the number of racial groups represented on campus, and the attitudes, perceptions and behaviors between and among racial groups. Such practices consequently affect how different racial groups perceive and interact with one another (Carter & Sedaleck, 1984). Racial tensions are believed to stem from a cyclical relationship between external forces of governmental and institutional policy to internal forces of administrative, faculty and student attitudes and behaviors (Johnson, 2003).

Acknowledging the continuation of racial segregation, as well as behavioral and attitudinal responses to racial tensions, scholars have recommended that universities and educators move toward providing more beneficial ways to deliver racially competent services on college campuses (Carter & Sedaleck, 1984; Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Johnson, 2003). They have also suggested that university services strive toward implementing racial education in campus programming and events, as well as pursue innovative ways of becoming more culturally competent. Dickson and Shumway (2011) recommend that cultural competence training attends to both self-awareness of

racial interactions, and larger systemic issues within the United States culture. Sue, Arrendondo, and McDavis (1992) emphasize self-awareness, particularly for Whites, as being the foundation of multicultural competence.

White Privilege

Theoretical writings on racism and race relations site White privilege as being foundational in systemic issues of racial inequality and campus racial climate on university campuses. Researchers have found that White privilege is intimately related to multicultural competence (Pederson, 1999). As such, scholars have highlighted the importance of studying White privilege attitudes as it relates to various multicultural constructs, such as multicultural empathy and racial attitudes, as well as the development of multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skill. This section will review literature and research on White privilege, particularly as it relates to modern racism and multicultural competence.

Defining White Privilege

Initially rooted in sociology literature, White privilege was first acknowledged as a mechanism for social class stratification resulting in attitudes and actions of White Americans against African Americans (Myrdal, 1944). Referenced as the birth of White privilege recognition and research, Myrdal's writings fostered an influx of scholarship during the 1970's. Leading both writing and self-exploration of whiteness, Peggy McIntosh (1998) is credited with linking the concept of White privilege with other statuses of power, such as male privilege and Christian privilege. McIntosh's pioneering paper "White privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" provides a

conceptual framework of the overt and covert benefits provided to Whites based on skin color.

McIntosh (1998) described White privilege as a “package of unearned assets which [Whites] can count on cashing in each day... an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks” (p.10). McIntosh’s metaphor emphasized the presence of whiteness as a systemic issue that helps White individuals capitalize on social issues such as healthcare, schools and education, laws and law enforcement, and employment. In addition, the systemic influence of whiteness speaks to a White supremacy-based economic, political, and social network of advantages given to Whites (Parker & Chambers, 2007).

Similarly, whiteness hosts a wealth of privileges and powers inherent in the social system of the United State (Kivel, 2002). Scholars have associated issues such as racism, prejudice, oppression, and the marginalization of ethnic and cultural groups to White privilege (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). Sue (2004) stated that racism is the direct result of a lack in awareness of White privilege and/or denial of White privilege’s existence. Other authors have emphasized the link between discriminatory racism and White supremacy to the privileges held by White individuals to ignore their own race (Wildman & Davis, 1997).

Features of White Privilege

Neville, Worthington, and Spanierman (2001) identified seven core components and processes of White privilege, writing that White privilege:: (1) differentially benefits Whites, (2) embodies both macro and micro level expressions, (3) consists of

unearned advantages, (4) offers immunity to select social ills, (5) embodies expressions of power, (6) is largely invisible and unacknowledged, and (7) contains costs to Whites.

Neville et al.'s (2001) first component, differential benefits Whites receive due to skin color, spoke to the systemic nature of privileges such as race, gender, class, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. Literature describing the historic roots of systemic whiteness, has suggested that the powers and benefits inherent in whiteness are built into social stratification (Abrams & Gibson, 2007). Cullen (2008) gave an example of these intersecting privileges stating that White men may be granted more privilege than a White woman, given his gender; whereas, a White woman may receive more privileges than an Asian-American man because of her lighter skin color. White privilege, as a prominent aspect of these various privilege statuses, advantages persons with White skin over other racial and ethnic persons.

Neville and colleagues (2001) also identified aspects of White privilege at both the macro-level and micro-level of expression. Ponterotto, Utsey, and Pedersen (2006) described macro-level privilege is being a systemic issues, such as favorable housing, greater likelihood of continued employment, and easier access to health care for Whites. Conversely, micro-level expressions of White privilege are accounted for by individual racism that occurs in interpersonal and small group settings (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pederson, 2006). Literature has cited examples such as a White individual receiving more favorable treatment from a home mortgage lender because they are seen as more trustworthy and as less of risk for loan default, feelings of entitlement held by White individuals, and the social validation of whiteness as being core expressions of White privilege on the micro-levels (Neville et al., 2001; Ponterotto et al, 2006).

Related to the first two components, unearned advantages are identified by Neville et al. (2001) as the third dimension of White privilege. Scholars addressing unearned benefits of Whites have identified numerous individual, social, and political advantages of whiteness. Solomon and colleagues (2005) listed advantages such as: positive representation in school curriculum materials, media, contribution to civilization, positions of authority; representation and availability of 'White' related goods and services; freedom of association, residential choice, and the granting of insider status in organizations; unquestioned acceptance of financial reliability and employment credibility; and freedom from the burden of representing the 'White race'.

Neville, Worthington, and Spanierman's (2001) fourth concept discussed the immunity granted to White persons against certain social ills. Cullen (2008) stated that the clearest form of White immunity can be seen in the difference between the experiences of White persons with the criminal justice system, and the experiences of persons of color. Literature on this disparity has stated that people of color are more likely to be victimized by crime than White individuals (Catalano, 2005), and people of color statistically account for a greater percentage of incarcerations than Whites (Spohn, 2000). Similarly, literature has also reported more favorable treatment of White criminals, finding that, on average, Whites served minimal jail time when compare to their Black counterparts who committed the same crime (McIntosh, 2002).

Neville et al.'s (2001) fifth concept, White privilege as an expression of power, is directly related to their sixth concept of White privilege as being invisible and unacknowledged. Wildman (1996) contended that there is an unwritten rule that dominance is unattended to and not engaged in, and that privilege (whiteness in

particular) does not get interrogated. Such silence has been reported by critical theorists (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Carter, 1990) as being related to feelings of guilt, trepidation, discomfort, lack of knowledge, hopelessness, anger and denial.

The final concept described by Neville, Worthington and Spanierman (2001) is associated with the costs of White privilege to Whites. The oppressive realities of White privilege to persons of color or minority ethnic groups are apparent in the concepts listed above. However, Neville and colleagues also contended that the silence that guards against discussions of whiteness, and fosters a false sense of superiority among Whites can be just a damaging. Theoretical and empirical literature addressing the harmful effects of White privilege to Whites has addressed the distorted views White people learn of history, the limited and often absent interactions Whites have with persons of color, and the feelings of fear typically associated with people different from themselves (Carter, 1990; Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, Armstrong, 2006).

Helms (1995) and Sue (1992) connected these damages to the lack of racial identity developed by most White individuals. Sue and Helms emphasized that by ignoring one's privileged status as a White persons; Whites can become fragmented and distorted in their understanding of themselves as human beings. Therefore, the silencing of discussions related to privilege, racism, and power hierarchies serves to reinforce unhealthy paradigms for both Whites and persons of color. Fortunately, scholars have also contended that engaging in the process of developing a positive non-racist identity can help White individuals come to value and respect themselves without reservation or doubt. Specifically, Whites can rid themselves of feelings of guilt, fear, anger, and hopelessness (Sue, 1992).

Studies have also linked behavioral expressions of White privilege to the emotional and ideological dissonance and victimization White individuals may experience when confronted with race-based issues (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2000). Solomon and colleagues (2005) related such emotional experiences to the continued oppression of minority groups. They explained that because emotional and behavioral expressions of whiteness are interrelated, and it is, therefore, paramount that White individuals remain aware of any anger, frustration, and uneasiness they may harbor during White privilege training. If White individuals are not able to maintain awareness of their internal attitudes and emotions, educating about White privilege (as well as multicultural competence) may have a reverse effect (Solomon et al., 2005). Scholars have addressed the connection between these variables suggesting that White privilege attitudes are an integral component of multicultural training, research and education (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001).

White Privilege Attitudes

White privilege attitudes are a relatively new area of research in counseling psychology, and literature is beginning to reveal that privilege attitudes may harbor many of the cognitive, behavioral and affective concerns that previous diversity programs sought to change within their student body (Engberg, 2004). Pinterits, Poteat and Spanierman (2009) articulated a conceptual framework and scale to measure the various White privilege attitudes a White person may experience in reaction to the power and privilege gained from their skin color. This measure is the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS). White privilege attitudes are the behavioral, affective, and cognitive reactions to White privilege and White privilege awareness. White privilege

affective responses to race-based hierarchies, benefits, systemic issues, and privilege-related compensation have been categorized into five overarching factors, including: anger, guilt, denial, apprehension, and acceptance (Pinterits, 2004; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001).

Scholars on White privilege has purported that anger-based reactions to privilege and diversity issues may be rooted in fears of threat to the status quo, and are often displayed as behaviors of hostility and blaming (Pinterits, 2004; Goodman 2001). Kivel (2002) described the experience of privilege-based anger as being coupled with a steadfast denial of privileges granted due to White skin color. Anger has been found to also take root in the recognition that White privilege may need to be relinquished by Whites (Kivel, 2002). The thought of having to relinquish privilege often elicits feelings of apprehension and fear in some individuals. Pinterits (2004) explained that anxiety and fear may come when an individual considers the loss of power they may experience if White privilege were to be given up. Similarly, this fear has also been found to be linked with feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness (Howard, 1999; Goodman, 2001), anxiety related to the consequences of confronting White privilege (Pinterits, et al, 2009), and apprehension toward engaging in behaviors related to giving up White privilege.

Guilt has been found to be a frequent response to White privilege. Scholars have suggested that guilt may come from the knowledge of unearned benefits or societal advantages due to having White skin (Kivel, 2002). Guilt is seen, in this respect, as being a predictor for acceptance or belief in the existence of White privilege. Though guilt can be felt singularly, researchers have noted that it may also be experienced in

feelings such as shame, disgust, and sadness (Pinterits, 2004). Acceptance of White privilege has also been found to be experienced on a continuum; from a desire to eliminate White privilege, to a desire to maintain White privilege. Some individuals have been noted to experience apathy toward the existence of White privilege (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999), while others find accepting realities surrounding White privilege as liberating and empowering (Goodman, 2001).

Pinterits (2004) indicated that White privilege attitudes have been found to relate to behavioral responses that typically fall into four categories: confronting White privilege, feeling bad about White privilege, denial of White privilege, and apprehension toward White privilege. Individuals found to be interested in “confronting privilege” indicated feelings of acceptance toward dismantling White power. Individuals categorized as having “apprehension toward White privilege” are found to feel worry and fear of how losing White privilege may affect their lives. People who “feel bad about privilege” are found to exhibit feelings of shame and disgust toward their privileged skin color. And, individuals who “deny White privilege” are often found to express feelings of anger and denial toward White privilege’s existence, and often hold the belief that educating about White privilege is “White bashing” and false.

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites

Identifying the discrepant reactions and behaviors of White individuals toward racism and privilege, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) developed the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale which assesses the various facets of White privilege behavioral and affective responses, specifically looking at costs of whiteness rather than attitudes as a broad concept. Scholars have defined psychosocial costs of

racism to White as “the negative cognitive, behavioral, and affective consequences of dominant group membership in a White supremacist system” (Goodman, 2001; Kivel, 2002; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The PCRW comprises three distinct subscales, measuring three distinct affective costs. These include, (a) White empathy, which captures both anger and sadness about the existence of racism, (b) White guilt, which refers to remorse about advantages based on skin-color/race, and (c) White fear, which reflects irrational fear of persons of color. Research using the PCRW has suggested that being able to tap into affective responses of White privilege may help bridge the gap between self-awareness (cognitive responses) and the implementation of multicultural behavior, as well as will assist in training endeavors, assessment of training outcomes, and prediction of future behaviors and attitudes surrounding racial issues (Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006).

Research examining psychosocial costs of racism to White has been completed mainly by the PCRW’s originator Spanierman and her colleagues (2004; 2006; 2008; 2009; 2010). Their findings have illuminated the relationship between affective responses to diversity and multicultural competence (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, Oh, 2008), color-blind racial attitudes (Neville et al., 2001), White racial identity development (Spanierman & Soble, 2010), and issues of systemic racism on college campuses (Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011; Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009). In addition, Spanierman and colleagues have provided empirical research that has identified White privilege, specifically White privilege affective attitudes, as being a significant contributor to racial beliefs systems and behaviors.

In their 2008 study on the predictive values of psychosocial costs of racism to White to multicultural competence, Spanierman and colleagues used structural equation modeling (SEM) to assess the mediating role of affect in various antecedents of multicultural competence, including multicultural training and cognitive racial attitudes. Their findings indicated that that affect plays a unique role in the presence of various racial attitudes (e.g. resistance, openness, etc.). They also found that compassionate costs (White empathy and guilt) and White fear are leading predictors of multicultural knowledge; whereas White guilt was predictive of the behavioral demonstrations of multicultural competence, and White empathy was predictive of observed multicultural competence. These findings suggested that not only are affective responses to racism significantly related to multicultural competence, but that researchers may not be able to fully predict multicultural competence without attending to affect (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008).

These findings also support previous research that has examined the connection between White empathy and racial awareness and cultural sensitivity, as well as White guilt toward minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Spanierman and Heppner found that participants high in White guilt endorsed more pro-minority viewpoints than those lower in White guilt. Finding also indicated no relationship between White guilt and ethnocultural empathy. Spanierman and Heppner postulated that when White guilt is high, individuals may feel stuck in their own affective process and are, therefore, unable to empathize with persons of color. Conversely, when examined as an independent variable, empathy was found to negatively relate to White fear, and positively relate to racial awareness. These findings highlighted the relationship

between White fear and low levels of multicultural education, limited exposure to people of other races, and low multicultural empathy and racial awareness.

Furthermore, Spanierman and Heppner's findings support earlier research results have shown a strong relationship between acknowledgment of White privilege and support for affirmative action (Swim & Miller, 1999).

Scholars have also examined psychosocial costs of racism to Whites among the specific population of university college students. Researchers have found that White empathy, guilt and fear change across the college experience, particularly if diversity courses are taken (Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011). Todd and colleagues found that affective responses to racism are moderated by color-blind racial attitudes. This finding indicates that cognitive attitudes toward White privilege influence affective responses to racism. Furthermore, Todd and colleagues findings support the important role of diversity education and training in addressing affective reactions to racism for the White college population. This is consistent with empirical findings by Bowman (2010) who found that high levels of racial color-blindness may negatively relate to openness to diversity and multicultural education and experiences.

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes

Racial color-blindness has been found to reinforce the invisibility of race (Ponterotto et al., 2006). Solomon and colleagues (2005) theorized that racial color-blindness may relate to an institutional investment of educators in liberalism and the historical and ideological anchors of racial segregation and marginalization. Neville and colleagues developed a conceptual framework and scale to assess color-blind racial

attitudes called the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000).

The CoBRAS is a 20-item measure that reflects cognitive racial attitudes that deny, distort, and/or minimize the existence of racial inequality (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008). Neville and colleagues asserted that color-blind racial attitudes have three main dimensions, including (a) unawareness of racial privileges, (b) covert denial of institutional racism, and (c) overt denial of blatant racial discrimination. Research using the CoBRAS has found that color-blind racial attitudes are significantly correlated with White identify development (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Using a multiple regression to correlate the CoBRAS with Helm's and Carter's (1990) White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS), Gushue and Constantine found that greater awareness of racism is positively associated with a more integrated racial identity status. This suggests that White individuals who display less color-blind racial attitudes may be better able to form a working relationship with persons of color. Similarly, this study supported the need for training to include self-reflection and growth in White privilege awareness, particularly for White practitioners and leaders who are working with students, colleagues, and other professionals racially different from themselves.

Conversely, persons displaying color-blind attitudes may not be able to effectively develop self-awareness and connect with diverse others (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Racial color-blindness limits a person's ability to challenge personal notions of privilege and discrimination, and may, therefore, foster resistance to recognizing color out of fear of being racist or violating educational humanitarian

principles of equity (Cochran-Smith, 1995). Similarly, without being able to observe racial color difference educators and professionals may not be able to effectively engage in building multicultural knowledge and skills. Pedersen (1999) explained that awareness, as described earlier, is foundational in establishing knowledge and skills. Without multicultural awareness, including awareness of self, multicultural competence cannot be fully achieved. Connecting theoretical foundations of White privilege to multicultural competence, it can be contended that not addressing privilege issues, specifically the privilege to not “see” color, in teacher and staff education may hamper the development of basic multicultural awareness, knowledge and skills necessary for working with a diverse body of students.

When examining the relationship between multicultural competence and color-blind racial attitudes, research has shown that training may play a significant role in the strength of color-blind racial attitudes displayed (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). It has also been found that individuals who have more training surrounding multicultural issues, specifically issues of privilege and whiteness, have more resources to be aware of their color-blind racial attitudes (Castillo, Brossart, Reyes, Conoley, & Phourmmarath, 2007). The moderating role of training was examined by Chao, Wei, Good, and Flores (2011) in their study exploring the moderating effect of multicultural training on color-blindness and multicultural competence.

Chao and colleagues (2011) examined correlations between sex-role characteristics, multicultural competence, and color-blind racial attitudes with multicultural training serving as a moderating variable using a regression analysis. Their findings indicated that at lower levels of training, White individuals have less

multicultural awareness than their colleagues of color. Furthermore, they found that multicultural training significantly enhances White individuals' multicultural awareness but has no significant effect on multicultural awareness for racial/ethnic minority individuals. Evaluating training effects on color-blindness, their results indicate that higher levels of multicultural training support lower levels of racial color-blindness.

From this research it can be contended that multicultural training positively impacts the multicultural awareness of White individuals, while simultaneously reducing color-blind racial attitudes (Chao et al., 2011). Chao and colleague's work echoed training considerations put forth by Gushue and Constantine (2007) that White trainees need to be provided with a variety of forms of training that allow them to reflect on race and color-blindness. Chao et al. expressed a need to specifically include high levels of training for White individuals. This may look like diversity training activities, workshops, and research surrounding White privilege. The effectiveness of training programs will be further discussed in the section on multicultural competence.

White Privilege and Multicultural Competence

Multicultural education scholars have exhorted the importance of rectifying racial inequities in society that are maintained by White privilege (Bennett, 2001). Solomon and colleagues (2005) explained that there are several theoretical issues and concerns that relate to the importance of White privilege education. Emphasizing the centrality of whiteness to teacher education, Solomon et al. identified the need for teachers to explore their personal attitudes and understandings of the ways in which their racial identities and social positions inform their practices and interactions with students. Solomon and colleagues asserted that White privilege education focused on

self-awareness is becoming increasingly necessary due to the continued over-representation of White, female, middle class and heterosexual teachers and educators in schools and universities (Bascia, 1996).

Similarly, Solomon and colleagues critiqued the elimination of programs designed to provide minority students resources and supports within the school system. Literature on school pedagogy has attested that standardizations within student curriculum, as well as globalization of job markets opportunities, may contribute to the diminishment of diversity and equity principles and practices (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Solomon et al. (2005) explained that this standardization of teacher pedagogy and reduction in services at an institutional level removes the necessity of reflective thought and critical thinking among educators and staff (Sleeter, 1992; Henry & Tator, 1994).

Sue (2001) argued strongly for the integration of White privilege awareness in the development of (multi)cultural competence. Sue explained that four “obstacles” are in the way of attaining professional and personal (multi)cultural competence: (1) acknowledging personal biases – this can be difficult because people perceive themselves to be moral and decent; (2) people are generally polite and want to uphold the appearance of not being considered racist, prejudice, stereotyping and discriminatory; (3) cultural competence requires that people accept responsibilities for their own actions that may perpetuate racism; and (4) becoming culturally sensitive and aware not only involves eradicating personal biases, but it also requires that people deal with emotions associate with their learning (e.g. fear, guilt, anger, etc.). Sue (2001) reported that if a person remains open to training, self-exploration, and a commitment

to continuous learning, then the foundation of cultural competence can be built by first addressing one's whiteness.

Within the construct of whiteness, some theorists have conceptualized White privilege as being linked to racial color-blindness, and have emphasized the need to increase White privileged awareness through basic racial awareness among educators (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Other researchers have sought clarification surrounding White privilege by examining the psychosocial costs of race to White individuals (Spanierman, et al., 2009). From the wealth of literature examining this issue, White privilege has been emphasized as being integral to the development of multicultural competence. However, limited cross-discipline research has been conducted to determine how White privilege training may be beneficial to multicultural competence in student affairs and residence life. Research has typically examined White privilege by accounting for one or two core variables (e.g. color-blind racial attitudes, psychosocial costs, empathy) at a time, and few research studies have examined the role multiple core variables may play in the development of White privilege attitudes and/or multicultural competence.

Multicultural Competence

Literature has indicated that White privilege attitudes stem from systemic forces within the United States culture. As such, whiteness is a pervasive form of modern racism that negatively impacts the experiences of persons of color, particularly through daily interactions with White individuals. Therefore, attending to these issues is central to providing healthy interactions between persons of diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds. On college campuses, these issues are being attended to through diversity and

multicultural education courses intended to foster multicultural competence (Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2004). Considered to be a skill set necessary to working effectively with diverse others, multicultural competence is now receiving a considerable amount of attention in the fields of counseling psychology and higher education (Mueller, 1999). Recognizing the need for a change in practices on university campuses, multicultural competence offers a sense of hope for future changes in university climates (Powell, 1998). This section highlights the central components of multicultural competence by giving reference to its historical foundations and current applications.

Historical Foundations

Multicultural competence is not a new concept in the field of counseling psychology. Early conceptualization of multicultural competence identified the importance of cross-cultural skills in working with persons from “foreign lands” (Fulton, 1994, p. 15; Mueller, 1999). Emphasizing cultural effectiveness, scholars have purported that interpersonal skills, social interactions, and cultural empathy are central to working with clients from various cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Johnson, 1987; Cui, 1989; Lopez et al, 1989; Fulton, 1994).

Beginning discussions on how to achieve cross-cultural skills have surrounded both knowledge of “the other” and awareness of “the self” (Carenny & Kahn, 1984). Research that has assessed potential barriers to achieving cross-cultural skills asserted that White practitioners were ignoring or minimizing the racial/ethnic differences between them and their clients (Mueller, 1999). The process of ignoring cultural differences was later addressed by Sue (1991) who reasoned that White counselors may

be implementing Eurocentric treatments to clients of color due to a lack of awareness and cultural education. Over time this discussion of awareness and skill development merged into a larger model of multicultural competencies for the field of counseling psychology (Sue, Arrendondo, & McDavis, 1992). Sue and colleagues (1992; p.481) contended that a multiculturally competent and skilled counselor is actively:

(1) involved in the process of becoming aware of their own assumptions about human behavior, values, biases, preconceived notions, and personal limitations. This means that the multiculturally competent counselor understands their own worldview, and how it interacts and may be reflected in their work with racial and ethnic minorities.

(2) engaged in understand the worldview of his or her culturally different client without negative judgments. This reflects an openness and willingness to recognize the world from the client's perspective.

(3) developing and practicing appropriate, relevant, and sensitive intervention strategies and skills in working with his or her culturally different clients. This suggests that the multiculturally competent individual is in continued pursuit of appropriate modalities and goals that are consistent with the life experiences and cultural values of their client.

Current Applications

Modern proponents of multicultural competence asserted the importance of having multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1988; Pederson, 1998; Ponterotto, 1988; Sue et al., 1992). Worthington, Molbey, Franks, & Tan (2000) reported that specific multicultural counseling competencies, including

attitudes/beliefs, knowledge and skills, fall within three broad areas: awareness of own cultural values and biases, awareness of the client's worldview, and culturally appropriate intervention strategies. Sue and colleagues (1992) conceptualize these three areas in their tripartite model of multicultural competence, which includes multicultural awareness, multicultural knowledge, and multicultural skill. The tripartite model of multicultural competence is detailed in the following section.

Multicultural Awareness. This first component of the multicultural competence tripartite deals with a professional's attitudes and beliefs about racial and ethnic minorities, as well as the awareness of biases, stereotypes, and values that may hinder effective cross-cultural work (Sue, et al., 1992). Organizing the concept of multicultural awareness into two factors, Fulton (1994) suggested that awareness can be separated into awareness of self and awareness of others.

Sue and colleagues (1992) identified three leading models of cross-cultural and multicultural issues that professionals need to become aware of: (1) the Inferiority or Pathological Model – the belief and conceptualization of minorities as being lower on the evolutionary scale than White individuals; (2) the Genetic Deficiency Model – the conceptualization that racial and ethnic minorities are deficient in desirable genetic and that differences between Whites and minorities are a reflection of biological inferiority; and (3) the Cultural Deficiency Model – the belief or conceptualization that persons of color or minority ethnic groups foster and perpetuate the “minority problem” because they do not possess the “right (White) culture”. Harmful to both conceptual and relational models of multicultural competence, Sue and colleagues asserted that

professionals must challenge personal notions of multiculturalism and become aware of misconceptions in order to break free of these racist and demeaning models.

Aligning multicultural awareness with beliefs and attitudes necessary in the counseling profession, Sue, Arrodondo, and McDavis (1992) organized multicultural awareness into three broad competency areas:

(1) awareness of personal assumptions, values and biases – awareness at this level includes sensitivity to one’s own cultural heritage and the valuing and respecting of differences, awareness of how one’s own cultural background and experiences, attitudes, and values and biases influence psychological processes, recognition of one’s limitations to competence and expertise, and comfort with differences that may exist between one’s self and clients in terms of race, ethnicity, culture and beliefs.

(2) understanding the worldview of the culturally different client – awareness at this level includes cognizance of negative emotional reactions one may have toward other racial or ethnic groups, a willingness to contrast one’s belief system with the beliefs and attitudes of others in a nonjudgmental fashion, and acknowledgment that one possesses stereotypes and preconceived notions toward other racial or ethnic minority groups.

(3) developing appropriate interventions, strategies and techniques – awareness at this level includes respect for the religious and/or spiritual beliefs and values of racial or ethnic minority group as they pertain to physical and mental functioning, respect for indigenous helping practices, and the valuing of bilingualism.

Sue, Arrodondo, and McDavis’ (1992) three competency areas for multicultural awareness lay the foundation for understanding the role awareness plays in the

development of multicultural competence. Current research has illuminated the importance of recognizing racial differences between one's self and others, specifically foundational elements such as racial color-blindness, recognizing psychosocial costs of race and ethnicity, and privilege associated with racial status within the systemic levels of the United States.

Multicultural Knowledge. Multicultural knowledge refers to the knowledge that practitioners have of their own worldview, the worldview of individuals they work with, and the sociopolitical influences that contribute to those worldviews (Sue et al, 1992). Sue and Sue (2003) described this knowledge as seeing and accepting without judgment or "cultural role taking" (p.20).

Literature addressing the development of multicultural knowledge among counseling professionals has attested to a variety of integrated readings, historical lessons, and difficult dialogues necessary to building knowledge of other cultures and fostering cognitive awareness of multicultural knowledge gaps (Powell, 1998). As a primer to gaining knowledge and awareness, White and Henderson (2008) suggested that professionals and students first be exposed to truths and honest reflections of historical and cultural trauma in the United States. Discussion of the country's history of oppression and discrimination on an interpersonal, socioeconomic and political level offers learners the opportunity to reconstruct preconceived notions of racial groups, and begin to bridge the gaps between existing knowledge, misinformation gathered during youth and adulthood, and areas of knowledge that are missing in one's cultural competence. White and Henderson (2008) argued that without such learning, students and professionals will be unable to accept personal and systemic racial issues that may

be at play in interracial dialogues and interaction, as well as privilege issues on behalf of either party.

Connecting multicultural knowledge with the competency expectations among counseling psychologists, Sue and colleagues (1992) offered a conceptualization of multicultural knowledge according to the three broad competencies reported earlier:

(1) Awareness of personal assumptions, values and biases. Knowledge at this level includes: knowledge about one's own race and cultural heritage and how it interacts with professional relationships and work; knowledge about how oppression, racism, discrimination, and stereotypic affect minority groups and one's self; knowledge of one's own racist attitudes, beliefs and feelings which, for White individuals, includes privileges and benefits reaped due to White skin color; and knowledge about one's social impact on others.

(2) Understanding the worldview of the culturally different client. Knowledge at this level includes: knowledge and information about particular racial and ethnic groups one is working with, knowledge about those individual's life experiences, cultural heritages, and historical backgrounds of those individual's cultures; knowledge of how race, culture and ethnicity may affect personality formation, vocational choices, and help-seeking behaviors; and knowledge of how sociopolitical influences influence the life of racial and ethnic minorities, with specific intelligence about immigration issues, poverty, racism, stereotypes and powerlessness.

(3) Appropriate interventions, strategies and techniques. Knowledge at this level includes: knowledge of one's own field (counseling, education, student affairs) and how that field's values and beliefs may disagree or clash with the cultural values of

various minority groups; knowledge of barriers that prevent minorities from using mental health services or succeeding in educational or occupational pursuits, knowledge of the potential bias in procedures used to evaluate clients due to linguistic characteristics and values of that client, knowledge of minority family structures, hierarchies, value and beliefs, and community resources, and knowledge of relevant discriminatory practices at the social and institutional level that may be affecting the welfare of the client's population or cultural group.

Multicultural Skill. Multicultural skills are a professional's use of and proficiency in appropriate cultural intervention techniques and strategies in working with minority groups including both individual and institutional competencies (Sue et al, 1992). Literature on multicultural skill has attested that practitioners should be able to pull from a larger variety of techniques and communicate those skills effectively (Sue and Sue, 2003; Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2004). Integrating skills recommendations into the three competencies identified earlier, Sue and Sue (2003) explained that multiculturally skilled practitioners should have the following:

(1) Awareness of personal assumptions, values and biases. Skills at this level include: the ability to seek out educational, consultative and training experience necessary to enrich one's work with culturally different populations, the ability to recognize the limits to one's competence so that one can appropriately utilize professional resources such as (a) consultation, (b) further training or education, (c) referrals to more qualified individuals, or (d) the combination of these resources; and the ability to continue and foster self-engagement in understanding one's self as a racial and cultural being, as well as to actively seek a nonracist identity.

(2) Understanding of the worldview of the culturally different client. Skills at this level include: the ability to familiarize one's self with relevant research and findings regarding health and disorders of various ethnic and racial groups, the capability and initiative to actively seek out educational experiences that enrich one's knowledge base, understanding and cross-cultural skills, the ability to actively and appropriately engage with minority individuals outside professional responsibilities (community events, social and political functions, celebrations, friendships, neighborhood groups, and so forth) so that one's skills and perspective of minorities is more than a helping exercise.

(3) Appropriate interventions, strategies and techniques. Skill at this level include: the ability to engage in a variety of verbal and nonverbal helping responses, such as the ability to send and receive both verbal and nonverbal messages accurately and appropriately, the ability to utilize various methods or approaches to helping others, and when one recognize that one's helping style is limited and potentially inappropriate, they are able to anticipate and ameliorate the negative impact. Skills at this level also include the ability to exercise institutional intervention skills on the behalf of their client (e.g. advocate) so that the client does not inappropriately blame themselves; the ability and willingness to recognize when consultation with traditional healers or religious and spiritual leaders and practitioners in the treatment of culturally different clients is appropriate; the ability to take responsibility for interaction in the language requested by the client by seeking outside resources (when necessary); the ability to understanding, and work on the diverse client's behalf when implementing one's training and expertise in the use of traditional assessment and testing

instruments; the ability to attend to and work to eliminate biases, prejudice and discriminatory practices, retain appropriate awareness and cognizance of sociopolitical contexts and institutional issues of oppression, sexism and racism. Lastly, skills at his level include the ability to take responsibility for educating the client to the process of interventions, goal setting, expectations and legal rights in the therapeutic or educational practice.

Each of the tripartite competency areas have experienced increasing attention in research, particularly as each competency relates to counselor development in working with diverse clients. Integral to establishing credible and empirical research in the field, scholars have developed several assessments and measures to tap into the various dimension of multicultural counselor competence. The following section will briefly detail the assessments currently available for measuring multicultural competence.

Measures of Multicultural Competence

The three competency areas outlined by Sue and his colleagues (1992) provided the groundwork for the development of several measures used to assess multicultural competencies among counseling trainees and professional. These scales include the (a) Multicultural Awareness/Knowledge/Skills Survey (MAKSS; D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991), (b) Multicultural Counseling Inventory (MCI; Sadowsky, Taffe, Gutkin, & Wise, 1994), and (c) Multicultural Counseling Knowledge and Awareness Scale (MCKAS; Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Rieger, & Austin, 2002), previously known as the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale-Form B (MCAS-B; Ponterotto, Sanchez, & Magids, 1991). LaFromboise, Coleman, and Hernandez (1991) also developed a

fourth measure, the Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory- Revised (CCCI-R), which is devised for supervisors' to use in evaluating trainees' multicultural counseling competence.

For each measure of self-reported multicultural competency, initial validation studies have shown them to have moderate to strong reliability and validity (D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991; Dunn, Smith & Montoya, 2006; Ponterotto et al., 2002; Sadowsky et al., 1994). For instance, the MAKSS, MCI and MCKAS' coefficient alphas range from 0.68 - 0.96. The counseling psychology literature has extensively explored how trainees and professionals of different levels endorse the self-reported competency measures and how their scores interact with variables/constructs appearing to relate to multiculturalism (i.e., multicultural training and multicultural case conceptualization; Constantine, 2002; Constantine & Ladany, 2000; Constantine, Warren, & Miville, 2005; D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991; Ladany, Inman, Constantine, & Hofheinz, 1997; Neville, Heppner, Louie, Thompson, Brooks, & Baker, 1996). However, despite promising initial psychometric properties, each measure requires additional empirical research before being utilized in assessing multicultural competency (Constantine, Gloria, & Ladany, 2002; Ponterotto, Rieger, Barrett, & Sparks, 1994; Pope-Davis & Dings, 1994).

Further review of these measures has provided conflicting evidence to support their adherence to Sue et al's tripartite model (Singh, 2010). For example, in their 1994 study examining the CCCI-R, MCAS-B, MCI and MAKSS through factor analysis, Ponterotto, Rieger, Barrett, and Sparks found that some of the measures adhered more to a two-factor (MCAS-B) or four-factor solution (MCI), rather than the theoretically

emphasized three main multicultural competence areas. In addition Pope-David and Dings (1994) found that when evaluated correlations between the MCAS-B and the MCI, which appeared to measure similar constructs due to their factors names, there was no relationship between the measures. On further review, they found that the two measures were examining distinctly different multicultural variables, neither of which specifically addressed Sue et al.'s model.

These same problems in measurement and underlying constructs has been revealed through additional research as well, including Constantine et al.. (2002), Ponterotto et al. (1994), and Pope-Davis & Dings (1994). The mixed reviews from research on multicultural competency measures has indicated that assessing multicultural awareness, multicultural knowledge, and multicultural skill may be too broad of concepts to measure, or may be difficult latent concepts to capture in a single instrument (Singh, 2010). Constantine and Ladany (2001) contended that measuring specific multicultural variable, such as multicultural efficacy and multicultural empathy, may provide sound theoretical and empirical evidence where multicultural competence measures may not have been able to accurately assess. Recognizing these conflicts in psychometric findings, this study followed Constantine and Ladany's recommendation to examine specific facets of multicultural competence. The specific variables of multicultural efficacy and empathy will be discussed in later sections of this study.

Effectiveness of Multicultural Competence Training

The field of counseling psychology is a primary leader in research that examines the effectiveness of multicultural education interventions and multicultural

competence (Lichtenstein et al, 2008) due to the increasing importance place on multiculturalism in counselor training (Smith, Constantine, Dunn, Dinehart, Montoya, 2006). Despite the significant emphasis place on the important role of multicultural issues in education, research is not in complete agreement on the effectiveness of multicultural training and education (Vontress & Jackson, 2004). Some theorists have criticized the emphasis training programs place racial stereotyping versus client uniqueness (Weinrach & Thomas, 2002). Whereas, others exhorted the significant role talking about racial issues plays in dismantling the silence surrounding racial differences (Murray-García, Harrell, García, Gizzi, Elio; & Simms-Mackey, 2005).

Smith, Constantine, Dunn, Dinehart, and Montoya attended to this multicultural educational debate by conducting their 2006 meta-analysis on the effectiveness of multicultural education for a variety of participants and study characteristics. Their findings revealed that educating about multicultural issues is typically associated with positive outcomes, including elevations in multicultural awareness. Furthermore, Smith and colleagues found that training efforts based on multicultural theory and research is twice as beneficial to student growth and development as multicultural programs that are not based on theory. Other research findings suggested that simply having multicultural education as part of the training process can increase one's multicultural competence (Pope-Davis, Reynolds, Dings, & Nielson, 1995; Sadowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, Frey, & Corey, 1998).

Estrada, Durlak, and Juarez (2002) examined the impact of multicultural training on undergraduate university students. They employed a control/experimental group design to test training differences and found that multicultural training

significantly increased multicultural awareness and knowledge for the training-received group. Conversely, no significance was found in multicultural skills or empathy. These findings relate to research conducted by Castillo, Brossart, Reyes, Conoley, Phoummarath (2007) in which the impact of multicultural counseling training on perceived multicultural competence (awareness, knowledge, and skills) and implicit racial prejudice was explored. Similar to Estrada, Durlak and Juarez findings, Castillo and colleagues found that participants in the multicultural training group displayed increased multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill, as well as reported less implicit racial prejudice post multicultural training. However, when examining each multicultural competence facet individually, they found that only multicultural awareness (not multicultural knowledge or skill) was significant at post-test.

Both Estrada et al. (2002) and Casillor et al.'s (2007) research studies speak to the overall positive impact of multicultural training on multicultural competence. However, the findings also highlight variations seen in outcomes among multicultural competence facets. Specifically, training programs appear more successful at improving multicultural awareness than knowledge or skill. To understand this outcome, recent research efforts have been aimed at examining the effectiveness of various types of multicultural training efforts. Findings have indicated that though multicultural training as a whole positively influences multicultural competence, some training models may be better at producing change than others (D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1999; Dickson & Jepsen, 2007; Dickson, Jepsen, & Barbee, 2008).

D'Andrea, Daniels, and Heck (1991) investigated the impact of different multicultural training models of various groups of graduate students. Their exploration

of empirical research revealed that three main training emphasis are present in the literature, including: (1) the acquisition of cross-cultural communication skills; (2) the need to develop self-awareness surrounding one's attitudes toward ethnic/racial minorities, and (3) the importance of increasing counseling knowledge about various minority groups. Using the MAKSS, D'Andrea and colleagues analyzed pre and post-test results of a multicultural education course which incorporated these three emphases. To assess effectiveness variations, D'Andrea, Daniels and Heck varied the time duration in which each class held (45 hours, 36 hours, or 42 hours of direct contact time). Their findings indicated that all three multicultural course lengths increased participant multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill. In addition, they found that these positive changes in multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill occurred regardless of the time spent in training.

Research has provided empirical support for the benefits of multicultural education. Unfortunately, limited attention has been paid to the effectiveness of various instructional strategies. However, recent articles by Dickson and colleagues (2007; 2008; 2010) have begun to explore intervention-specific outcomes. Dickson and Jepsen (2007) found that diverse training strategies were the most effective in fostering multicultural competence when they were combined across activity/assignment strategy. They explained that this combination of strategies might include participation discussions surrounding race and culture, exposure to diverse others, experiential activities, and multicultural clinical experiences (practica and supervision). Their findings are supported by Ridley and colleagues' (1994) earlier research which indicated that no one component of multicultural education was sufficient to prepare

counselors to work with a racially/ethnically/culturally diverse case load. This finding is elaborated on by Dickson, Jepsen, and Barbee's (2008) work which examined multicultural competence among masters-level counseling trainees.

Dickson, Jepsen and Barbee (2008) issued a national survey of multicultural training experiences and attitudes toward racial diversity. Their findings revealed that students who experienced their program ambience as being culturally sensitive had positive cognitive attitudes toward issues of racial diversity, whereas those with less culturally sensitive program ambience did not. This result is supported by Dickson & Jepsen's (2007) work which reported that program positive cultural ambience predicts higher multicultural competence. In addition, Dickson, Jepsen and Barbee's results indicated that exposure to participatory training strategies predicted greater levels of comfort with interracial conflict. This finding provided further support for utilizing experiential and process-oriented strategies in multicultural training (Roysircar, 2004).

Within outcome research on multicultural competencies, findings have revealed that multicultural training can build empathy by enhancing a trainees valuing of other people's welfare (Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995). This specific finding has been explored throughout White privilege research as being foundational in the development of a non-racist White identity (Helms, 1997). Burkard and Knox (2004) found that multicultural training significantly relates to cultural empathy for White trainees. Their research highlights the influential role that training has on the specific facet of White individual's affective reactions to persons of color.

Ethnocultural Empathy

Empathy has been noted throughout counseling research and literature as being central to a counselor's ability to communicate a sense of caring and understanding to their clients. Fuertes, Stracuzzi, Bennett, Scheinholtz, and Mislouack (2006) contended that in order to be multiculturally competent, therapists should have an informed type of empathy, which is based on knowledge and understanding of the client's worldview, culture, and background. Constantine (2001) reported that the degree to which a counselor is able to empathize with a diverse client directly relates to their ability to respond in a culturally sensitive manner.

Duan & Hill (1996) described empathy as a being both a "situation-specific" cognitive-affective state and a trait-based personality characteristic which may come more naturally to some individuals than others. Scholars contended that empathy, despite personality make-up, is a response to a specific stimulus or person, or the process of sensing another person's worldview and experiences (Duan & Hill, 1996; Rogers, 1959). Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, and Bleier (2003) termed this form of empathy as ethnocultural empathy. Others have also referred to this multiculturally-focused form of empathy as cultural empathy or multicultural empathy (Dyche & Zayas, 2001; Jenkins, 2001). To date, no operationalized definition of culturally-specific empathy is available in the literature (Singh, 2010).

Attending to Sue, Arrendondo, and McDavis' (1992) tripartite model of multicultural competence, scholars have examined the relationship between empathy and multicultural awareness, knowledge and skills. Research on the correlation between multicultural knowledge and empathy has suggested that a greater level of knowledge

and understanding relates to a professional's ability to "read" and relate to diverse persons (Dyche & Zayas, 2001). Measuring cultural empathy with the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ), Van Der Zee and Oudenhoven (2000) found that professionals high in cultural empathy were able to identify with the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of people and groups that are different from themselves. Whereas, professionals low in cultural empathy were lacking a connection to another person's cultural values, historical oppression or background, and feelings and thoughts related to that person's heritage that may be at play in the conversation or activity.

In 2003 Wang and colleagues developed the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), which they based theoretically on many multicultural competence measures (i.e., MAKSS, MCI and CCCI-R). Their work examined ethnocultural empathy in three related factors: intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and the expression of empathy toward racial/ethnically diverse others. Despite the significant contribution this measure offers research, few empirical studies to date have utilized the SEE beyond the initial scale construction. However, Constantine has three studies that examined the relationship between the various types of empathy and multicultural competence (2000, 2001a, 2001b).

Constantine's 2000 study examined how cognitive and affective empathy, gender and social desirability predicted counselor's self-reported multicultural competency. Utilizing the Knowledge and Awareness subscales of the MCKAS, Constantine's findings revealed that, for both calculations, gender accounted for a significant portion of the variances, with women endorsing a higher MCKAS scores. After controlling for social desirability and gender, cognitive and affective empathy

taken together explained 17% of the variance in the Knowledge subscale and 14% of the variance in the Awareness scale with affective empathy, making a significant contribution to the prediction model. These findings indicated that empathy may play a significant role in self-perceived and reported multicultural competence.

Constantine (2001a) conducted a study examining the relationships between empathy, multicultural knowledge, multicultural awareness, and a new variable of emotional intelligence. She again used the MCKAS to measure multicultural knowledge and awareness, but found mixed results on level of empathy in predicting multicultural competence. However, the multiple regression analysis did reveal that amount of multicultural training was positively related to multicultural competence and emotional intelligence, while personal distress was significant conversely related to multicultural competence. In other words, counselors with more experience with multicultural courses, higher emotional intelligence, and less feelings of anxiety were found to have greater general knowledge of multicultural issues.

Finally, in her 2001b study examining the relationship between counselor empathy and their ability to conceptualize multicultural facets of client cases, Constantine found that affective empathy was a significant contributor to trainees' multicultural case conceptualization skills. This finding was supported by Constantine's 2000 findings which indicated that affective empathy was positively correlated with self-perceived multicultural competence. These results suggest that counseling trainees who are high in ethnocultural empathy may be more proficient at understanding and treating clients from diverse backgrounds than those who have lower levels of empathy.

In their theoretical writings on multicultural competence development, White and Henderson (2008) spoke to a more specific facet of empathy and explained that a professional with appropriate cultural empathy will be able sit with a client who is racially, ethnically, or culturally different from themselves, and recognize that they also sit across from that individual's history of trauma and oppression. They contend that White counselors and educators must develop their multicultural/cultural empathy in order to effectively relate to and understand students/clients of color. Scholars contended that the ability to work with a client from an oppressed community is not only about empathy, but connects to that person's knowledgeable and aware of their own privilege as it is juxtaposed with that individual's cultural trauma (MacIntosh, 1990; Rothenberg, 2008).

Though theoretical connections and paradigms are being developed to address the relationship between whiteness/privilege and multicultural empathy, the role White privilege awareness plays in building multicultural competence or fostering multicultural empathy is still relatively new. Limited research has directly examined how privilege and multicultural empathy interact with one another. In addition, research examining the relationship between ethnocultural empathy and multicultural competence is unclear, and provides inconsistent results. Therefore, further empirical evidence is needed in order to develop a clearer understanding of how empathy may relate to various multicultural variables. The current study attempted to add to the literature by recognizing empathy as a foundational factor in the development multicultural competence, particularly White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy.

Multicultural Efficacy

Multicultural efficacy has been identified as having an influential role on the way counselors and educators utilize their multicultural competence. Constantine & Ladany (2000) emphasized the central role of efficacy in implementing multicultural knowledge, awareness, and skills, particularly when working with diverse clientele. Research on multicultural efficacy is relatively new; however, some studies are showing that examining efficacy surrounding multicultural competence may help to facilitate White trainee development and competency work with people of color (Mobley and Neville, 2001; Larson & Daniel, 1998). The following section defines multicultural efficacy as it has emerged in the literature over the past decade, reviews measures of multicultural efficacy, and speaks to the importance of multicultural efficacy within the larger context of multicultural competence.

Defining Multicultural Efficacy

Originally based on Bandura's (1990) definition of self-efficacy (the belief in one's ability to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to exercise control over task demands), multicultural efficacy has been defined as the belief in one's capability to utilize, implement, and maintain awareness of multicultural competencies (Guyton & Wesche, 2005). According to Tschannen, Moran, Woolfolk Hoy, and Hoy (1998), teacher self-efficacy is "a teacher's belief in her/his ability to organize and execute the courses of action required to successfully accomplish a specific teaching task in a particular context" (p. 117). Constantine and Ladany (2000) defined this same self-efficacy among counselors as being a counselor's confidence in their own ability to successfully perform appropriate

multicultural counseling skills and behaviors. However, the current concept of multicultural efficacy has developed over time to reflect conceptual changes in its definition and purpose (Singh, 2010).

In 1998, Larson and Daniel reviewed literature on self-efficacy and introduced the idea that self-efficacy can be applied to counselor self-efficacy. Constantine and Ladany (2000) defined counselor self-efficacy as one's beliefs or judgments about their abilities to counsel a client in the near future. Mobley (1999) introduced the concept of multicultural counseling self-efficacy when he critiqued the definition of counselor competence and included trainee's perceived competencies in the context of multicultural counseling. Mobley contended that multicultural counseling self-efficacy is a developmental journey a trainee travels to collect beliefs about his/her ability to perform culturally sound interventions. The importance of developing a more accurate meaning of multicultural counseling self-efficacy was later highlighted by Mobley and Neville (2001) as being foundational in assessing trainee perceived abilities to work with diverse others.

Guyton and Wesche purported that multicultural efficacy not only encompasses the three traditional multicultural competencies of awareness, knowledge, and skills (Pope & Reynolds, 1997), but that it also includes experience with multicultural issues, as suggested by Bennett and Okinaka (1990). Relating multicultural efficacy to the current need to develop more effective training methods, Guyton and Wesche (2005) explained that measuring multicultural efficacy will allow training instructors to evaluate multicultural competence and readiness among preservice teachers.

Conceptual and Psychometric Foundations

Professionals in higher education and counseling psychology are becoming increasingly aware of the important role culture and self-awareness play in providing effective services (Hall, 1997; Dee & Henkin, 2009; Constantine & Ladany, 2001). Sheu and Lent (2007) described this increase in awareness as a shift in multicultural expectations of training and preparation. Reviewing data-based research on multicultural teacher education, Sleeter (2001) explained that though teacher awareness of multicultural importance has increased, there continues to be a gap between teacher multicultural preparation and the needs of diversified classrooms. Sleeter reported that preservice programs take two different lines of action in addressing this gap: (a) bring more teachers who are from culturally diverse communities into the teaching profession and (b) trying to develop the attitudes and multicultural knowledge base of predominantly White cohorts of preservice students. However, due to the dominance of White educators many training programs have moved toward developing multicultural attitudes and knowledge rather than bringing in a more diversified faculty.

Researching preservice teacher dispositions toward cultural diversity, Dee and Henkin (2009) found that preservice teachers intending to specialize in education may have limited awareness of the cultural/ethnic diversity among student populations, as well as may underestimate the importance of cultural competence in professional practice. These findings suggested that not only do preservice teachers minimize the importance of diversity and multicultural competence, but they may be limited in their awareness and understanding of diversity factors affecting their classrooms. Furthermore, Dee and Henkin's findings emphasized that current diversity training may

not have a significant impact on teacher effectiveness unless those teachers are willing to explore beyond the cultural status quo. Literature has also addressed preservice teacher willingness as it relates to multicultural approaches in the classroom (Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Nel, 1993).

Researching multicultural education practices, Sleeter and Grant (1987) surveyed 218 preservice teachers about their approach to addressing multicultural issues in their classrooms. The study results indicated that the majority of preservice teachers adhere to one of five different multicultural approaches. These included (a) adapting instruction to the background, skill level, and learning styles of the culturally different or exceptional students so that they can “better fit” into the existing social structure and culture; (b) building positive attitudes among diverse learners by including lessons about individual differences, stereotypical thinking, and cooperative learning; (c) raising students’ consciousness of the historical and present-day oppression of marginalized groups and teaching their positive contributions to society; (d) emphasizing the benefits of cultural pluralism to society and attempts to reduce prejudice by portraying individuals from diverse racial, gender, and disability groups in nontraditional roles; and (e) incorporating social constructivist and multicultural educational approaches that incorporate the previous ideas, but also offer students ways to help correct social injustices.

Upon further review of these findings, Sleeter and Grant translated the multicultural teacher approaches into a typology consisting of five categories: teaching the culturally different, human relations, single-group studies, multicultural education, and education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist. Using Sleeter and

Grant's typology as a framework, Nel (1993) surveyed 280 preservice teachers about their perceptions of multicultural education. Her results revealed that 66% of White preservice teachers identified the primary goal of multicultural education as being: cooperation (working effectively with persons from minority cultures), tolerance (working respectfully with people from minority cultures), and assimilation (helping minority persons adopt the customs and attitudes of the majority culture) within the existing social structure. Furthermore, Nel's results indicated that two-thirds of teachers fall in the first two categories (cooperation and tolerance), suggesting a lack of multicultural understanding, and a resistance to building multicultural teaching practices. Guyton and Wesche (2005) indicated that this resistance may come from low multicultural efficacy among educators.

Speaking to multicultural competence among counseling and psychology professionals, Sue (1998) highlighted the effectiveness of how cultural responsiveness, discussed in terms of efficacy and skill, benefits a client's experience and engagement in counseling (in Ponterotto, Fuertes and Chen, 2000). Constantine and Ladany (2001) highlighted the role Bandura's social cognitive theory has in the development of multicultural counseling self-efficacy. They explained that the acquisition of self-efficacy occurs when a person has an appropriate amount of awareness, knowledge, and skills in a particular area. The tripartite model of multicultural competence offered by Sue (1998) is based on these same three foundational elements, therefore connecting multicultural competence and self-efficacy provides a strong theoretical foundation (Lent, Hill & Hoffman, 2003). As such, it has been proposed that multicultural efficacy

may be a theoretically and empirically sound way to measure and build multicultural competence.

Psychometrically sound measures of self-efficacy exist (e.g. Lent, Hill, & Hoffman, 2003) which are assessments of trainees' perceived abilities to perform general counseling. However, these scales are limited in their inclusion of multicultural competency tasks. Mobley and Neville (2001) cited the importance of developing a more accurate meaning of multicultural counseling self-efficacy in order to measure trainees' perceived abilities when working with culturally different clients. In 2007, Sheu and Lent published the *Multicultural Counseling Self-Efficacy Scale-Racial Diversity Form (MCSE-RD)*, which assesses one's beliefs in his/her abilities to effectively engage in counseling services with individuals from racial/ethnic backgrounds different from their own.

Sheu and Lent (2007) based their measure on Bandura's social-cognitive theory and multicultural competency literature, and reported the benefit of evaluating efficacy as a leading component in counselor functioning. The MCSE-RD was developed by Sheu and Lent to distinguish their work from the other multicultural competence measures, since they have been shown to have mixed evidence for their adherence to the tripartite model. Sheu and Lent intended that MCSE-RD to only measure the skills utilized within the counseling session that are specific to working with diverse clients. They validated the MCSE-RD on various multicultural competence measures and specifically examined certain counseling behaviors in sessions with a culturally different clients, tapping only into the skills subset of Sue et al.'s (1992) tripartite model. In addition, Sheu and Lent explained that all the items adhere to Bandura's

guidelines for developing a self-efficacy measure, and included the social-cognitive emphasis on content-specific self-efficacy and coping self-efficacy. Specifically, content-specific self-efficacy refers to the confidence in performing “fairly common counseling tasks but in a multicultural context” and coping efficacy is defined as the confidence in “handling relatively difficult multicultural counseling scenarios” (Sheu and Lent, p. 32, 2007).

In 2005, Guyton and Wesche added to multicultural efficacy research and measures by developing the Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES), which attended to the multicultural efficacy of educators and trainers rather than counselors. Guyton and Wesche based their measure on the dimensions of multicultural teacher education emphasized in empirical research stemming from the field of higher education, including multicultural attitudes (presented similar to the definition of multicultural awareness found in literature from counseling psychology), multicultural knowledge, and multicultural skill. Unlike, Sheu and Lent’s (2007) MCSE-RD which examines multicultural counselor competence specific to the therapeutic relationship and counseling skills, Guyton and Wesche’s MES assesses the work educators do in training students about multicultural issues, and adapting instructional methods to reflect current multicultural issues and trends, as well as monitors self-awareness surrounding experiences with diverse others. Psychometrically, Guyton and Wesche’s MES proved equal in statistical prowess to the MCSE-RD, with an alpha of .93 for the efficacy subscale. For this study, the MES was chosen over the MCSE-RD due to the similarities drawn between teacher responsibilities and those of resident hall directors.

Multicultural Efficacy and Multicultural Competence

Guyton and Wesche (2005) conceptualized multicultural efficacy as being central to one's ability to maintain and implement each of the three tripartite competencies: multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill, as well a fourth dimension, multicultural understanding, offered by Bennet et al. (1990). Without adequate multicultural efficacy, it is suggested that multicultural competence will not be properly accessed and utilized during one's work with diverse others. The importance of multicultural efficacy as a facet of multicultural competence has been emphasized in theoretical writings and empirical research in the fields of counseling psychology and education (Goddard & Goddard, 2001; Constantine & Ladany, 2000). In *The Handbook of Multicultural Counseling* (2001), Constantine and Ladany specifically highlighted "multicultural counseling self-efficacy" as a core dimension in multicultural competence. *Multicultural counseling self-efficacy* is defined as "counselors' confidence in their ability to perform a set of multicultural skills and behaviors successfully" (p. 490).

Research examining the interplay between self-efficacy and teaching abilities among preservice and seasoned educators has shown direct correlations between high self-efficacy and positive teacher performance. In their 2001 study on teacher collective efficacy, Goddard and Goddard found a significant positive relationship between teacher's sense of collective efficacy and their own personal self-efficacy. Their findings suggest that teacher self-efficacy beliefs increase as their sense in the collective ability of the faculty to have a positive effect on students increase. In addition, Goddard and Goddard's study indicates that efficacy may relate to both

internal abilities and the abilities of a teaching cohort and community. Though Goddard and Goddard (2001) evaluated the degree to which self-efficacy correlated with teaching abilities, and not multicultural efficacy, it can be reasoned that, due to the relationship multicultural efficacy holds with standard self-efficacy measures (Guyton & Wesche, 2004), teachers high in multicultural efficacy may hold similar beliefs about their ability to have a positive effect on students. No research to date, however, has distinctly examined the relationship between self-efficacy and multicultural competence among educators.

In comparison, research has also indicated that feelings of low self-efficacy are related to the inability to teach in culturally and linguistically diverse learning environments and execute the practices of culturally responsive teaching (Siwatu, 2009; Taylor & Sobel, 2001). Evaluating preservice teacher perceptions of competence and cultural-efficacy, Siwatu (2009) found that teachers were more efficacious about their ability to successfully complete tasks that come more naturally, such as building trust and making students feel important, than they were about integrating cultural components into their educational work. This finding suggested that preservice educators may have more training and experience with traditional teaching practices (e.g. building a teacher-student relationship) than with multicultural practices. Similarly, Siwatu's study indicated that multicultural efficacy may not have been high for these educators, and therefore, they did not feel confident in their ability to work with diverse students.

Multicultural efficacy has been identified as an effective way to measure multicultural competence for counseling trainees. Singh (2010) noted that current

multicultural competence measures may be flawed due to the emphasis on self-report of various perspectives (i.e. attitudes, beliefs, behaviors). However, by measuring multicultural efficacy (also termed multicultural self-efficacy), participants are reporting on their confidence in their abilities within the tripartite model offered by Sue and colleagues (1992), and can be freer to present themselves honestly rather than as “competent” or not (Constantine & Ladany, 2000; Singh, 2010). Furthermore, self-efficacy corresponds with the psychology developmental training model such that higher self-efficacy would be expected after a psychology trainee experiences more didactic training and partakes in clinical activities (Constantine & Ladany, 2001; Lent, Hill & Hoffman, 2003). Conversely, empirical research examining the relationship between efficacy and multicultural competence is lacking and additional studies need to be conducted to better understanding the association.

Constantine (2001) expanded empirical research on this association by examining the relationship between general counseling self-efficacy skills and self-perceived multicultural counseling competency skills. Constantine conducted a study with 94 masters counseling trainees in a year-long practicum course, and examined the extent to which training and supervision accounted for variance in the trainees’ level of multicultural competency. Constantine employed a hierarchical multiple regression analysis to examine the variance. Findings revealed that multicultural training and counseling self-efficacy accounted for significant variance in the regression. This showed that general self-efficacy beliefs are, in part, related to counseling trainees’ beliefs in their ability to work with culturally diverse clients. However, this relationship has not been consistently supported in the literature as counseling self-efficacy

expectations have not been found to be significantly predictive of actual performance (Sharpley & Ridway, 1993). Many researchers have supported the inclusion of self-efficacy as a component of multicultural counseling competency in theory; however no other studies exist which examines this relationship.

Multicultural efficacy is a relatively new construct used in evaluating multicultural competence, and, as such, limited research has been conducted to provide empirical evidence for its influence on the development or use of multicultural competencies. However, despite limited research in this area, studies are finding that self-efficacy is an integral part of working with a diversity of student needs and cultural elements (Taylor & Sobel, 2001). No published studies to date have incorporated multicultural efficacy into research on specific multicultural competence facets, such as White privilege, multicultural efficacy, and experience or training on multicultural issues. Furthermore, White privilege awareness and multicultural competence among student affairs and residence life professionals remains a relatively un-researched area (Szerlong, 2009).

Student Affairs

Emphasizing the intimate role student affairs plays in university climates, Manning and Cole-Boatwright asserted that student affairs professionals can directly influence the formation of a multicultural environment, the construction of an inclusive campus, and the transformation of institutional structures. McEwan and Roper (1994) exhorted that “it is the collective responsibility of student affairs professionals to respond more effectively and knowledgeably to diverse student groups on college campuses” (p. 49). Bridging issues of multiculturalism and multicultural competence

with the unique responsibilities of student affairs, this section will briefly address the role of student affairs on university campuses.

The Role of Student Affairs

Scholars addressing the role of student affairs on university campuses have explained that the job responsibilities of student affairs professionals are varied, but focus primarily on shaping, managing and influencing significant aspects of university environments (Manning and Cole-Boatwright, 1991; Johnson, 2003). Pope, Reynolds and Mueller (2006) conceptualized a dynamic model of student affairs competence (See Figure 1). Developing the student affairs competence model from suggestions put forth from the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and the National Association of Student Personnel Association (NASPA), Pope and colleagues listed seven core student affairs competencies: (1) administrative and management, (2) theory and translation, (3) helping and interpersonal, (4) ethical and legal, (5) teaching and training, (6) assessment and evaluation, (7) multicultural awareness, knowledge and skills. Pope and colleagues explained that in this model each element is both distinct and fluid, and while multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skill are unique constructs, they also inform the other six components. Integrating multicultural competence into each of the core seven competencies, Pope and colleagues summarized The Dynamic Model of Student Affairs Competence (See Figure 1) as follows:

(1) Administration and management competence. Effective student affair practice includes skills which enable a professional manage people, programs, and organizations. Examples of such skills include budgeting, time management, delegation, and planning. For multicultural competence this means that a student affairs

practitioner will infuse organization and management practices with multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill in order to provide culturally meaningful interventions with a diverse staff and student body.

(2) Theory and translation competence. Student affairs practitioners must be knowledgeable of the myriad of theories including student development, organizational development and leadership, and have skills to utilize these skills to inform their practice. For multicultural competence this means that student affairs professionals must understand the applications and limitations of individual and organizational development theory within a multicultural climate.

(3) Helping and interpersonal competence. Effective student affairs practitioners must be able to utilize a variety of basic and counseling and advising skills with individuals and groups as they work with a diversity of student issues. Fundamental skills include active listening, communication, and facilitation. For multicultural competence this means that student affairs practitioners need to be self-aware and cognizant of their own personal biases that may impact the helping relationship. Similarly, in order to provide multicultural competence services, student affairs practitioners must also be sensitive to communication and conflict dynamics inherent in working with students from a culture or ethnicity different from themselves.

(4) Ethics and professional standards. Student affairs professionals are responsible for maintaining ethical boundaries in their relationships with students, and remain cognizant of relevant legal and risk management implications of their decisions and behaviors. For multicultural competence this means that student affairs

professionals are able to reflect on their own values and experiences as they relate to ethical practice on a multicultural campus.

(5) Teaching and training competence. Effective student affairs practice includes presentation and facilitation skills in a variety of settings, such as teaching college courses, offering developmental interventions to staff and students, and communicating knowledge through various modalities and to a wide variety of learners. For multicultural competence this means that student affairs practitioners effectively integrate appropriate multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill components into their work with students from racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds different from themselves.

(6) Assessment and research competence. Student affairs practitioners are encouraged to knowledgeable about research so that they can discuss and apply valid research practices and conclusions to their work. For multicultural competence this means that a student affairs practitioner is sensitive to the way in which studies are structured and conducted, as well as is knowledgeable about the limits to the studies meaningfulness and applicability to different individuals and cultural populations.

(7) Multicultural awareness, knowledge and skills competence. Student affairs professionals are able to effectively integrate and utilize their multicultural competence to illuminate their practice and deliver appropriate student services. Furthermore, a multiculturally competent practitioner approaches teaching and training with multiple culturally sensitive strategies, and constantly strives to ensure that educational practices prepare themselves and others for effective practice with a diverse study body. Pope and colleagues (2004) have contended that these seven competencies provide both a

practical and overarching conceptualization of student affairs professional responsibilities, as well as levels at which student affairs leaders interact with university concerns.

Pope, Reynolds and Mueller's (2004) work is foundational in student affairs competency expectations. However, in 2010 the College Student Educators International (ACPA) and Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education (NASPA) updated the competencies to reflect more current literature and trends in student affairs. The competencies maintained the core facts of student affairs work, but redefined and re-labeled the competency areas to include (a) advising and helping; (b) assessment, evaluation, and research; (c) equity, diversity and inclusion; (d) ethical professional practice; (e) history, philosophy and values; (f) human and organizational resources; (g) law, policy, and governance; (h) leadership; (i) professional foundations; and (j) student learning and development. Important to these updated competency definitions, NASPA and ACTA specified the expectations of student affairs professionals and leaders in each competency area.

For the Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion competency area, NASPA and ACTA detailed the 2010 competency expectations for multicultural competence as having at least basic, "knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to create learning environments that are enriched with diverse views and people [...] to create an institutional ethos that accepts and celebrates differences among people, helping to free them of any misconceptions and prejudices" (p. 12). Subsumed under this competency area, NASPA and ACTA explained that basic competency in multiculturalism maintains that all student affairs professionals and leaders must be able to:

- (1) Identify the contributions of similar and diverse people within and to the institutional environment.
- (2) Integrate cultural knowledge with specific and relevant diverse issues on campus.
- (3) Assess and address one's own awareness of EDI, and articulate one's own differences and similarities with others.
- (4) Demonstrate personal skills associated with EDI by participating in activities that challenge one's beliefs.
- (5) Facilitate dialogue effectively among disparate audiences.
- (6) Interact with diverse individuals and implement programs, services, and activities that reflect an understanding and appreciation of cultural and human differences.
- (7) Recognize the intersectionality of diverse identities possessed by an individual.
- (8) Recognize social systems and their influence on people of diverse backgrounds.
- (9) Articulate a foundational understanding of social justice and the role of higher education, the institution, the department, the unit, and the individual in furthering its goals.
- (10) Use appropriate technology to aid in identifying individuals with diverse backgrounds as well as assessing progress towards successful integration of these individuals into the campus environment.

- (11) Design culturally relevant and inclusive programs, services, policies, and practices.
- (12) Demonstrate fair treatment to all individuals and change aspects of the environment that do not promote fair treatment.
- (13) Analyze the interconnectedness of societies worldwide and how these global perspectives impact institutional learning.

Literature examining student leader competencies and graduate student assistant skills and knowledge has reflected the competencies outlined by Pope, Reynolds and Mueller (2004), and more recent studies are beginning to reflect current competency expectations outlined by NASPA and ACTA.

Having used a Delphi model to examine complex phenomenon and responsibilities associated with entry-level student affairs practitioner (including Residence life personnel), Burkard, Cole, Otto, and Stofflet (2005) identified 32 competencies essential to successfully completion of job requirements. Of these competencies, governing factors emerged including: advising individuals or groups of students; providing crisis interventions on campus, counseling (or consultation), and providing support for student development (e.g., developing and providing training for student employees, facilitating leadership development training/workshops, mentoring student leaders, supervising student staff and/or paraprofessionals).

Counseling-based skills, including advising, crisis intervention, and student mediation have been found in literature to be expected of incoming student affairs professionals (Burkard, Cole, Otto, & Stofflet, 2005; Blimling, 1995). Burkard and colleagues stated that administrators expect new professionals to have skills such as

collaboration, consultation, multicultural competency, group facilitation, conflict resolution/mediation, supervision, and crisis interventions (Lovell & Kosten, 2000). Examining theories expected of entry-level student affairs professionals, Burkard and colleagues also identified developmental and multicultural theory knowledge as being foundational in providing services to students. Pope, Reynolds, and Mueller (2007), exhorted the importance of attending to the multicultural competence of student affairs professionals, and offer a unique perspective on how racial development, diversity awareness, and multicultural competence can be integrated into student affairs practice.

Multicultural Competence in Student Affairs

Pope, Reynolds and Mueller (2007) pioneered current research and writing on student affairs multicultural issues. Building off of Sue and colleagues tripartite model of multicultural competence for mental health professionals, Pope and colleagues contended that multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill are a way for student affairs leaders to provide a multiculturally sensitive and supportive campus environment (Mueller & Pope, 2001; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). Their student affairs specific tripartite model addressed the ways in which student affairs leader and professionals can attend to multicultural issues within their work (see Table 1; Tripartite Model of Student Affairs).

Multicultural Awareness. Pope and Reynolds (1997) asserted that a multiculturally aware student affairs professional is cognizant of the limits to their knowledge and experience with groups that are culturally different from themselves. Defined as the values, attitudes, assumptions and beliefs a professional holds surrounding their own culture and the culture of others, multicultural awareness has

been found to be related to successful work with diverse others (Pope & Reynolds, 1997; Peterson, 1988).

Figure 1. Dynamic Model of Student Affairs Competencies



Note. From *Multicultural Competence in Student Affairs*, by R.L. Pope, A.L. Reynolds, and J.A. Mueller, 2004, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, p. 10. Copyright 2004 by John - Wiley & Sons. Permission requested for reprinting April 1, 2010.

Discussing components of self-awareness, Pope and colleagues (2004) explained that student affairs professionals must be willing to acknowledge and examine their own strengths and weaknesses with multicultural issues, as well as with different populations. This process of self-examination is highlighted as being crucial to developing meaningful relationships with individuals who are culturally different from

one's self. Pope and Reynolds (2004; 1997) asserted that persons who are most willing to take risks and admit they do not have all the answers or knowledge necessary to work with students of color are most likely to increase their multicultural sensitivity. Similarly, student affairs professional high in multicultural awareness are able to reflect on their environments (Tatum, 1997). For many scholars, this issue of self-awareness includes awareness of one's own cultural and ethnic background, particularly for those individuals who come from White/Euro-American heritage.

Multicultural Knowledge. Pope, Reynolds and Mueller (2004) described multicultural knowledge as an awareness of limitations to one's cultural knowledge and a willingness to seek out information about diverse cultures through books, professional development, and personal relationships with individuals from different cultures. Pope and colleagues stressed the importance of such multicultural knowledge and openness to continued learning, and related this importance to the reality that people, particularly White individuals, have been underexposed to accurate and meaningful information about others.

Multicultural Skill. In their Dynamic Model of Student Affairs Competence, Pope and Reynolds (1997) explained that the levels of competence in each area will vary across student affairs disciplines and specializations. However, Pope and Reynolds also stressed that all practitioners are required to have at least a moderate level of competence in each domain, which differs from the "basic" expectations for competence outlined by ACTA and NASPA in 2010. Unfortunately, research assessing multicultural competence has suggested that many student affairs professionals, including residence life leaders, have received little or no training in multicultural

issues, and, therefore, may not possess even moderate competence in multicultural issues and practice (Fried & Forrest, 1993; Hoover, 1994; Talbot, 1992; Pope & Reynolds, 1997).

Pedersen (1988) suggested that there are three progressive stages in multicultural development, the first of which is awareness. Like the tripartite model conceptualized by Pope and Reynolds (1997), Pedersen asserted that multicultural knowledge cannot be learned without having an awareness of cultural difference, as well as the institutional and societal context through which that knowledge is learned. Similarly, multicultural skills are believed to be the last competency learned and are dependent on the mastery of the other two components, awareness and knowledge. Applying these multicultural components and the cross-cultural competencies expressed by Sue, Arrendondo and McDavis (1992) to counselors, Connerley & Pedersen (2005) urged student and professional leaders to:

- (1) Recognize direct and indirect communication styles
- (2) Maintain sensitivity to nonverbal cues
- (3) Build awareness of cultural and linguistic differences
- (4) Have interest in the culture
- (5) Appreciate the importance of multicultural teaching
- (6) Have concern for the welfare of persons from other cultures
- (7) Articulate elements of his or her culture
- (8) Become aware of relationships between cultural groups
- (9) Accurately judge “goodness” and “badness” in the other cultures

Investigating the relationship between multicultural competence and elements of practitioner identity, education, and experience in their national study, Miklitsch (2005) found that multicultural competence was positively correlated with demographic variables, including race, sexual orientation, current socioeconomic status, identification with a socially marginalized group, and highest degrees earned. In addition Miklitsch also correlated multicultural competence with racial identity development, and found a significant positive relationship between that multicultural competence and advanced levels of racial identity development. Ponterotto, Utsey and Peterson (2006) defined racial identity develop as being the degree to which an individual cognitively and affectively develops their personal identity as a member of one's racial group. This suggested that, for Miklitsch's findings, the self-understanding, reflection and awareness involved in racial identity development may be a central component in the establishment of multicultural competence. Other studies examining the relationship between multicultural competence and demographic information have also supported Miklitsch's findings (Weigand, 2005).

In his 2005 study on student affairs multicultural competence, Martin conducted qualitative interview with community college student affairs practitioners who self identified as having high levels of multicultural competence. Findings from these interviews suggested that seven core themes may distinguish a multiculturally competent practitioner. These themes included: (1) expertise as a minority (awareness of own racial identity), (2) positive family messages about diversity and multiculturalism, (3) lived experience in different locations and communities, (4) professional experience with diverse populations, (5) work in a campus environment

committed to multiculturalism, (6) experience with diverse colleges, and (7) multicultural counseling education. Martin's findings suggested that not only is personal racial identity awareness important to multicultural competence, but competence may also be fostered by experience with diverse cultures and communities, family values and backgrounds, education and training about multicultural issues, and university climate issues surrounding the importance of multiculturalism.

Other research assessing multicultural competence among diversity educators, student affairs professionals, and college student personnel has evaluated competence levels at each of the three tripartite model components; multicultural awareness, knowledge and skill. King and Howard-Hamilton (2003) found that all three groups scored highest in multicultural awareness and lowest in multicultural knowledge. These results suggest that race may be a salient aspect of identity for people of color and less so for White participants, a finding consistent with research on awareness of race and ethnicity found in research stemming from the field of counseling psychology (Helms, 1990). For example, one-third of the White participants in King and Howard-Hamilton's study reported thinking about their racial/ethnic background relatively infrequently, whereas 69% of the participants of color did so daily. Although spending time thinking about one's race/ethnicity does not necessarily equate to multicultural competence, it is a necessary aspect to effectively interact with others (Mueller & Pope, 2003), and thus directly impacts the manner in which student affairs professionals interact with students who are of similar or different race or ethnicity.

Directly studying residence life professionals, Howlett (2006) examined multicultural attitudes of California's head campus housing administrators. Studying 77

professionals, Howlett measured multicultural awareness and sensitivity, finding that chief housing officers were generally high in appreciation and awareness of multicultural issues. Furthermore, Howlett's results showed consistent multicultural attitudes across demographic variables, including gender, ethnicity, and experience.

Surveying 453 students in 28 different student affairs programs, McEwan and Roper (1994) gathered information related to student affairs practitioners preparation programs in racial and diversity issues, their interracial background and experiences, interracial knowledge, and self-perceived skill level related to issues of race. McEwan and Roper's findings indicated that 10% of the respondents had no or very little experience working with students racial or ethnically different from themselves, 39% of respondents did not consider themselves capable of designing a program sensitive to the perspectives of a diverse racial, ethnic and cultural student body, and 50% exhibited low self-efficacy surrounding their ability to teach others about issues of race. In addition, results indicated that Black student affairs practitioners are more knowledgeable about working with people of color than their White counterparts. These findings suggest that student affairs graduate preparation programs may not be sufficient in helping practitioners, particularly White practitioners, to develop necessary confidence, skills, knowledge and awareness of multicultural campus issues.

In a regression study examining White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy among student affairs professionals in the Midwest, Szerlong (2009) found that multicultural efficacy accounted for a significant proportion of the variance seen across White privilege attitude scores. Specifically, Szerlong found that, for student affairs professionals, high multicultural efficacy may be a predictor of positive White privilege

attitudes, such as willingness to confront White privilege, and low multicultural efficacy may be a predictor of negative White privilege attitudes, such as denial of White privilege. These findings indicated that White professionals low in multicultural efficacy may not feel competent in addressing multicultural and privilege issues on college campuses, and therefore endorse feelings of anger, guilt, and shame surrounding their privileged status. Szerlong recommended that student affairs programs address both White privilege and multicultural efficacy in annual and bi-annual trainings.

Residence Life

University residence life, student affairs personnel and student leaders, specifically resident assistants (RA) and resident hall directors (RHD) are regarded as the first resource for college students when it comes to academic, social and safety concerns; particularly with regard to student living within residential communities and resident halls. Students often see their resident leader as “their” peer resource, and as a way of communicating their needs within the college residence halls (Grubbs, 1985; St. Clair, 2008). Because of this position of leadership and peer authority resident hall directors are often on the first line of defense when it comes to handling racially charged situations within the student body (Johnson & Kang, 2006). Universities across the country have reported that their resident hall directors are dealing with racial hate crimes, stalking, verbal assaults against minority groups, and violent activities spun from racial tensions and stigmas (Twale & Burrell, 1994).

University Residence Halls

Residence halls (also called dormitories), have long been have been a part of university campuses in the United States in order to offer a convenient housing option for students traveling from various parts of the country and world (Blimling, 1999). Since this time, the use and purpose of residence halls has expanded and changed to offer students both living arrangement and educational opportunities (Blimling, 1999; Schroeder & Mable, 1994). The responsibility of caring for student welfare, overseeing housing maintenance and management, and student development was delegated to staff and educators in the college (Upcraft, Gardner, & Associates, 1989). Initially viewed as “housing parents,” the role of student residential education, care, management, and development was eventually replaced with student affairs practitioners who were trained to implement educational programming and interventions based on student development theories (Schroeder & Mable, 1994).

Today, higher education literature has explained that university residence halls are used to house a large number of students each year, many of whom spend approximately sixty to seventy percent of their time in their hall (Pike, Schroeder, & Berry, 1997). Most literature has attested to the beneficial nature of residence hall living, noting that students who live in the university housing system feel more connected to their peers, find college life more rewarding, and assist the university in being more responsive to student needs (Johnson, 2003; Pike, 2002; Hurtado et al, 1999). Similarly, the integration of student development theory and practice has not been lost with the transition into the 20th and 21st centuries (Miller, 2003).

The residence halls are currently intended to offer students' positive experiences by providing opportunity to interact with peers, socialize in a healthy manner, and develop both as an individual and community member (Pike et al, 1997; Luzzo, Twale, Pattillo, & Harris, 1999; Miller, 2003). However, some writers have contended that living in the residence halls does not guarantee a positive experience (Blimling, 1995). Due to the very nature of living in closer proximity to one another, as well as the intimate responsibilities that come along with a residential community, scholars have explained that students often are confronted with adverse experiences related to racial and multicultural differences (Johnson, 2003). St. Clair (2008) added that student affairs professionals are responsible for caring for these residence hall issues; therefore, developing multicultural competence is integral to residence life and student affairs staff's ability to manage diversity conflicts among the student body.

The Role of Residence Life

Historically residence life professionals have served as a living educational experience for students housed on-campus (Blimling, 1999; Schroeder & Mable, 1994). Literature addressing this unique learning environment has discovered evidence which suggests that students living on campus were more likely to succeed in college than their off-campus peers, were more involved in academic and co-curricular activities, and earned higher grade point averages (Astin, 1973; Chickering, 1974). Recognizing these advantages to student on-campus living, current research has sought to identify the core factors relating to student success and development (Blanshan, 2007).

Table 1

Multicultural Tripartite Model for Student Affairs

Multicultural Awareness	Multicultural Knowledge	Multicultural Skills
Belief that differences are valuable that learning about others who are culturally different is necessary and rewarding.	Knowledge of diverse cultures and oppressed groups (i.e. history, traditions, values, customs, resources, issues).	Ability to identify and openly discuss cultural differences and issues.
A willingness to take risks and see them as necessary and important to personal and professional growth.	Information about how change occurs for individual values and behaviors.	Ability to assess the impact of cultural differences communication and effective communicate across those differences.
A personal commitment to justice, social change and combating depression.	Knowledge about the ways that cultural differences affect verbal and nonverbal communication.	Capability to empathize and genuinely connect with individuals that are culturally different from themselves.
A belief in the value in the significant of their own cultural heritage and worldview a starting place for understanding others who are culturally different from them.	Knowledge about how gender, class, race, ethnicity, language, nationality, sexual orientation, age, religion or spirituality, disability, and ability affect individuals and their experiences.	Ability to incorporate new learning and prior learning into new situations.
A willingness to self-examine, and when necessary, challenge and change, their own values, worldview, assumptions, and biases.	Information about culturally appropriate resources and how to make referrals.	Ability to gain the trust and respect of individuals who are culturally different from themselves.
An openness to change and belief that change is necessary and positive.	Information about the nature of institutional oppression and power.	Capability to accurately assess their own multicultural skills, comfort level, growth and development.

Table 1 (continued)

An acceptance of other worldviews and perspectives and a willingness to acknowledge that they, as individuals, do not have all the answers.	Knowledge about identity development models and the acculturation process for members of oppressed groups and its impact on individuals, groups, intergroup relations, and society.	Ability to differentiate between individual differences, cultural differences, and universal similarities.
A belief that cultural differences do not have to interfere with effective communication or meaningful relationships.	Information and understanding of internalized oppression and its impact on identity and self-esteem.	Ability to challenge and support individuals and systems around oppression issues in a manner that optimizes multicultural interventions.
Awareness of their own cultural heritage and how it affects their worldview, values and assumptions.	Knowledge about institutional barriers which limit access to and success in higher education for members of oppressed groups.	Ability to use cultural knowledge and sensitivity to make more culturally sensitive and appropriate interventions.
Awareness of the interpersonal process which occurs within a multicultural dyad.	Knowledge about systems theories and how systems change.	

Note. Adapted from *Multicultural Competence in Student Affairs*, by R.L. Pope, A.L. Reynolds, and J.A. Mueller, 2004, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, p. 18 - 20. Copyright 2004 by John - Wiley & Sons. Permission requested for reprinting April 1, 2010.

Identifying residence halls as providing a unique environment to foster student success, Boyer (1990) listed six tenets of an ideal campus community, including: (1) Purposeful community – campuses should join around a central mission for learning and education; (2) Open community – campuses should provide an environment that affirms the dignity of all people by nurturing freedom of expression and ideas; (3) Just community – campuses should pursue and welcome diversity while combating prejudice and elitism; (4) Discipline community – campuses should support ethical conduct, embody community safety, and encourage individuals to accept responsibility for themselves and others; (5) Caring community – campuses should cultivate connections between students and the surrounding community by exposing students, faculty, and staff to diversity opportunities and forging connections across cultures and generations; and (6) Celebrative community – campuses should celebrate traditions and historical events that have marked significant moments in the lives of students.

Encompassing Boyer's six tenets, residence life programs are encouraged to purposefully develop and implement interventions to maximize the learning experiences and environmental factors necessary for student development (Bogue, 2002). Blanshan (2007) explained that the challenge to student housing and residence life has been to ensure that the entire diversified student body receives the same level of opportunity for success and development. Literature addressing this difficulty in ensuring equal opportunity for all students has proposed that multicultural competence may be essential for effective development and implementation of healthy living communities (Blanshan, 2007).

Residence Hall Director Responsibilities

As described earlier, the roles and responsibilities of resident hall professionals has grown and changed in response to needs and learning expectations within higher education communities (Thelin, 2003). Therefore, role responsibilities often differ across university settings, type of residence hall or student body, geographic location, and leadership training of the resident hall professional in charge (Komives & Woodard, 2003). However, over the last half of the twentieth century it has become commonplace for residence halls to be managed and overseen by live-in/on student affairs personnel and/or graduate students aspiring to enter into the student affair (or related) profession. These individuals are typically denoted as “resident hall directors”, and may hold graduate degrees in student development, counseling, or a related field, or may be enrolled in a similar graduate program and hold a bachelor’s degree. Miller (2003) stated that the majority of resident hall directors have had previous professional or paraprofessional residence life experience.

Higher education literature addressing the various roles of resident hall directors can be organized into three governing responsibilities: counselor, educator, and administrator (Winston, Ullom, & Werring, 1984). Miller (2003) identified the role of resident hall staff as being central to the experiences of students living on campuses. Role responsibilities include implementing educational curriculum of the hall, developing community among diverse residents, managing student conflicts and interpersonal differences, counseling individuals, advising student groups, monitoring crisis response, and administering behavioral interventions with residents (Blimling, 1999).

The CAS Standard for Housing programs requests that professional and paraprofessional staff be skilled in leadership and communication, be sensitive to difference, work from a high level of personal and professional maturity, have a well-developed sense of responsibility, embody a healthy positive self-concept, have achieved academic success, express an enthusiasm for working with students, and understand issues facing students (Miller, 2003). Within the residence halls, resident hall directors implement the educational curriculum of the university housing mission, develop a sense of community within a diverse body of residents, manage conflict among students, counsel individuals, advise student groups, oversee crisis response, and administer educational behavioral interventions or conduct among residents (Blimling, 1999; Winston, 2003).

Research on multicultural competence in student affairs and residence life is relatively new considering the longevity of diversity research, and as contended earlier, residence life has not receiving a great deal of attention as a leading program involved in race relations and student welfare on university campuses. In addition, few studies have integrated White privilege attitudes, into multicultural competence research with the residence life population. This study addressed these gaps in the literature by examining multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes among resident hall directors.

Social Desirability

Literature has historically defined social desirability as a unidimensional construct reflecting the degree to which research participants attempt to make a good impression when completing research instruments (SDS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

However, recent authors have identified two somewhat different components of social desirability: self-deception – the person believes his or her positive self reports, and impression management – the person consciously distorts the truth (Paulhus, 1991). Because previous research has traditionally examined social desirability as a unidimension concept, Worthington et al. (2000) recommended that future literature examine the dual-dimensional constructs suggested by Paulhus.

Social desirability is an important concept to control for in multicultural studies (Sodowsky, Roysircar; Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, Frey; Corey, 1998; Worthington, Mobley, Franks, & Tan, 2000). Research examining the impact of social desirability on participant self-monitoring cautions the use of self-report and evaluative measures to analyze multicultural issues without controlling for social desirability (Worthington et al., 2000). Such cautions have been rooted in concerns for (a) reliability and validity of subjective performance due to rater bias; (b) supervisor rating susceptibility to halo effects; (c) agreement between peer and supervisor ratings more frequently than self-ratings; and (d) leniency bias and halo effects present in self-ratings (Atwater & Yammarino, 1997).

In their meta-analysis of subjective performance measures Sadri and Robertson (1993) suggested that the most valid type of performance self-ratings are those that reflect an individual's self-efficacy beliefs, particularly when applied to self-report measures of multicultural competence. However, because self-report measures rely on the individual's sense of personal agency, social desirability may distort outcome data (Sodowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, Frey, & Corey, 1998). Research examining the relationship between social desirability and multicultural competence has found

significant correlations between both variables (Worthington et al., 2000; Constantine & Ladany, 2000). Therefore, it is essential that multicultural research implement a social desirability measure to help moderate the impact of self-monitoring on data findings.

Summary

Campus climate issues are a continuing problem on university campuses. However, residence life personnel are uniquely positioned to deal with racial conflicts in a healthy manner and promote positive interactions among students of all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Specifically, literature has indicated that racial campus climate issues can be positively influenced by student affairs and residence life leaders. Though multicultural competence has begun to be evaluated in counseling psychology and education literature, a great deal of research is needed to better understand how resident hall directors can be prepared to manage racial campus issues. Despite growing research on multicultural competence and White privilege, gaps remain surrounding potential connections between multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes. There is a need for research to continue examining the unique contribution multicultural efficacy may bring to helping residence life, educators, and helping professionals build better knowledge, awareness and skills in multicultural issues. This study was conducted to start bridging the gap in literature surrounding multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes. More specifically, this study added to research by examining the unique population of resident hall directors in hopes to foster healthier race relationships on college campuses. Through the use of structural equation modeling and multiple regressions, this study provided information about the

specific relationship and predictiveness of multicultural efficacy, White privilege attitudes, and the multicultural variables of empathy, experience, training, and gender.

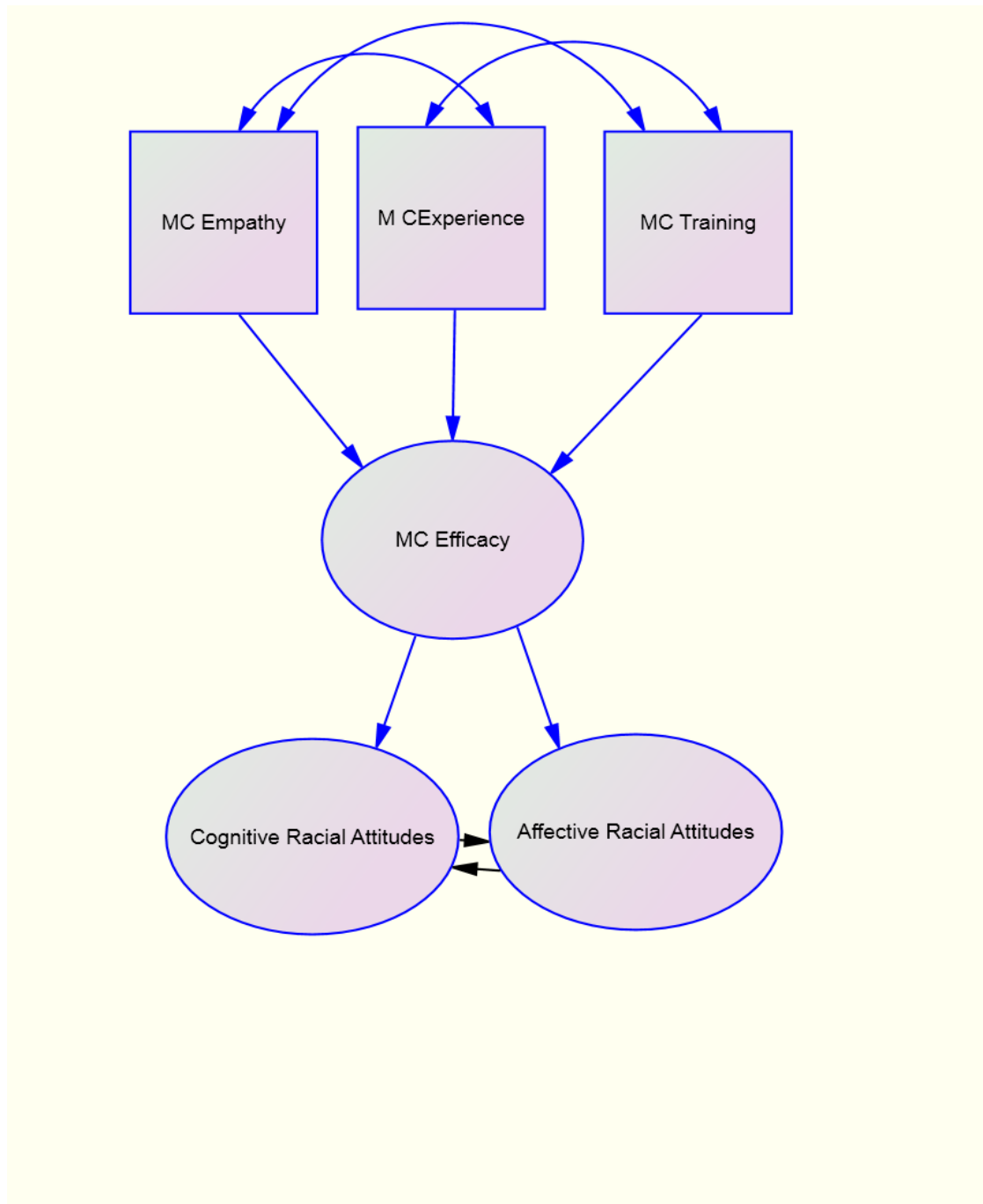
Study Rationale and Purpose

There is a crucial need for White resident hall directors to examine their own racial attitudes if they are to effectively provide safety, programming, and leadership to racially and culturally diverse student housing communities. Research has provided evidence for complex relations among factors associated with racial attitudes (Spanierman et al., 2008; Ponterotto, 1995; Constantine, 2001). Therefore, in addition to the previously identified predictors of multicultural training and experience, as well as the relational constructs of psychosocial costs of racism and modern racist beliefs, research must also include the important role of multicultural efficacy in the examination of resident hall director racial attitudes. The relatively under-examined construct of multicultural efficacy may provide positive directions for enhancing multicultural training efforts among residence life leaders and professionals

The primary purpose of this study was to use structural equation modeling (SEM) to test a conceptual model that highlights the mediating role of multicultural efficacy, in addition to multicultural training and social/life experiences with persons culturally different from one's self; in the prediction of White resident hall director's self-reported cognitive and affective White privilege racial attitudes (See Figure 2). This study specifically examined the variables of multicultural efficacy, cognitive racial attitudes, affective racial attitudes, multicultural experiences, multicultural training, and multicultural empathy. In doing so this study addressed the initial research question of: "does multicultural efficacy mediate the relation between the latent variable of

cognitive and affective White privilege attitudes and the manifest variables of multicultural experience, multicultural training, and multicultural empathy?”

Figure 2. Hypothesized Mediation Model of Latent Variables



Summary of Study Hypotheses

Initial Hypothesis Based on SEM Model

(1) Multicultural efficacy will mediate the relationship between White privilege attitudes (cognitive and affective) and other variables, including multicultural experience, multicultural training, and multicultural empathy.

(2) Should the proposed structural equation model fail, it is hypothesized that the multicultural variables of multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training will predict White privilege attitudes (measured by the White Privilege Attitudes Scale, Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, and Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale). In addition, if the SEM model fails, additional hypotheses will be generated to examine the individual contributions of the abovementioned multicultural variables in predicting White privilege attitudes.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This chapter reviews the methods used for the current study. Specifically, the following will provide an overview of participant demographics, instrumentation used to develop the structural equation model, and procedures for testing the structural equation model proposed. Finally, this section will address the use of multiple regression analysis to examine the predictiveness of each measured multicultural variable (multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training) on White privilege attitudes as measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000).

Participants

Participants for this study were recruited from three student affairs/residence life listserves, including the: Association of College and University Housing Officers International (ACUHO-I); Upper Midwest Region Association of College and University Housing Officers (UMR-ACUHO); and Committee for Multicultural Affairs (CMA) through the American College Personnel Association (ACPA). Across the three listserves accessed for this study the websites indicate that “thousands of housing professionals from more than 900 colleges and universities” are active with in the

organizations (ACUHO-I website). It is important to note that the above mentioned listserves connect with student affairs and residence life professionals at large, and only a percentage (at any given time) of those members are resident hall directors.

Participant recruitment was based on the following criteria: (1) involvement in student affairs as a resident hall director, (2) experience in student affairs/residence life for at least one semester; and (3) identity as a White individual. The total number of participants who started the online survey across all listserves was 515. Of these, 239 completed enough of the survey for their data to be considered usable (80% of the responses recorded within each measure). Thirty-three participants of color were removed from the data to be used in analysis separate from the structural equation model. The large majority of attrition appeared to occur after the demographics section of the survey.

Respondents reported that they were predominantly female (N= 128, 62.1%), male (N=77, 37.4%), and transgender (N= 1, 0.5%). The majority of respondents had between 1 and 5 years of experience in residence life (N = 100, 52.6%), followed by 6 to 10 years of experience (N = 81, 44.2%), more than 10 years of experience (N = 6, 1.8%), and less than one year of residence life experience (N = 3, 1.4%). The age of respondents was predominantly 23 to 27 years old (N=117, 56.8%), followed by 28 to 32 years old (N= 63, 30.6%), 18 to 22 years old (N= 13, 6.3%), 33 to 37 years old (N= 10, 4.9%), 38 to 42 years old (N= 2, 1%) and older than 42 years (N= 1, 0.5%).

Respondents reported that the majority of them identify as heterosexual/straight (N= 165, 80.1%), homosexual/gay (N= 3, 1.5%), bisexual (N= 4, 6.2%), lesbian (N= 22, 10.7%), questioning (N= 3.4, 3.4%), and other (N= 1, 0.5%). In terms of

socioeconomic status, participants indicated that the majority of them grew up in a lower-middle class household (N= 73, 35.4%) or a middle class household (N= 70, 34.0%); with others growing up in an upper-middle class household (N= 35, 17.0%), lower class household (N= 23, 11.2%), and an upper class household (N= 5, 2.4%; see Table 2 for an overview of demographic statistics).

Table 2

Demographic Profile of Respondents (N = 206)

Variable		N	%
Gender	Male	77	37.4
	Female	128	62.1
	Transgender	1	0.5
Age	18-22	13	6.3
	23-27	117	56.8
	28-32	63	30.6
	33-37	10	4.9
	38-42	2	1
	43 and older	1	0.5
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual/Straight	165	80.1
	Homosexual/Gay	3	1.5
	Bisexual	4	1.9
	Lesbian	22	10.7
	Questioning	7	3.4
	Other	1	0.5
SES as a Child	Lower	23	11.2
	Lower Middle	73	35.4
	Middle	70	34
	Middle Upper	35	17
	Upper	5	2.4
SES as an Adult	Lower	8	3.9
	Lower Middle	74	35.9
	Middle	111	53.9
	Middle Upper	12	5.8
	Upper	1	0.5
Area Grew-up In	Urban	11	5.3
	Suburban	93	45.1
	Rural	100	48.5
	Other	1	0.5

Note: Numbers and percentages reflect actual response counts and do not include missing values.

Respondents also reported that 87.4% of them have attended one or more presentations, workshops or courses in which White privilege was covered, and 0.5% of them have not attending a presentation, workshop or course where White privilege was covered. In addition, 36.9% of respondents indicated that White privilege is discussed as part of diversity training for their residence life staff each year, whereas 63.1% indicated that White privilege was not discussed (see Table 3).

Table 3

White Privilege Training and Education

Variable	N	%	
“I have attended one or more presentations, workshops, or courses in which the topic of White privilege was covered.”	Yes	180	87.4
	No	1	0.5
White privilege is discussed as part of diversity training for our Residence Life staff each year.”	Yes	76	36.9
	No	130	63.1

Instrumentation

Participants were asked to complete a demographics questionnaire and six measures, including the Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES; Guyton & Wesche, 2005), White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits, et al., 2009); Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang et al., 2003), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), and the Marlow Crowne Short Form (Reynolds, 1982). The instruments used for each variable are described in further detail below.

Demographic Information Questionnaire. Background characteristics of the participants were gathered by self-report. Items on the demographics questionnaire were blended with a modified version of the demographic section found on the Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES; Guyton & Wesche, 2005), and included: age, gender, socioeconomic background, sexual orientation, position in residence life, and length of employment within the residence life system. Following Pope-Davis and colleagues (1994) recommendation to combine educational variables when examining multicultural competence and other related constructs, this study developed a single exogenous variable called multicultural training, which will included number of multicultural workshops attended, and whether or not White privilege was included in annual residence life training at their university. This variable, along with multicultural experience, multicultural training, and multicultural empathy comprised the exogenous variables (multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training) in this study.

The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang et al., 2003). The SEE is a 31-item measure of cultural empathy toward individuals from racial and ethnic backgrounds different from one's own background. The SEE uses a Likert-type response format from 1 "*Strongly disagree that it describes me*" to 6 "*Strongly agree that it describes me*". The SEE has a total alpha of .91 and is based on four factors including: (1) Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE; $\alpha = .89$); (2) Empathic Perspective Taking (EP; $\alpha = .75$); (3) Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC; $\alpha = .73$); and (4) Empathic Awareness (EA; $\alpha = .76$). The four factors of the SEE can also be combined for a total empathy score. This total score was used in the current study to

assess participant ethnocultural empathy. Based on a sample of primarily White undergraduate students in the Midwest, Wang and colleagues (2003) reported the means and standard deviations for the SEE total and four factors are as follows: SEE total: $M = 4.2, SD = 0.75$; EFE: $M = 4.3, SD = 0.86$; EP: $M = 3.4, SD = 1.0$; AC: $M = 4.6, SD = 0.98$; EA: $M = 4.6, SD = 0.99$. The SEE has been validated with other like measures, indicating that the SEE performs as well as other measures of cultural and multicultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003). Test-retest studies have likewise shown that the SEE performs consistently over time within a college population (Wang et al., 2003). For this study, the SEE total score was used to examine its relationship with other variables. The overall alpha for this study was $\alpha = .91$.

Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES; Guyton & Wesche, 2005). The MES is a 35-item measure of multicultural efficacy (belief in one's capability to utilize, implement, and maintain awareness of multicultural competencies), and is intended to be used to assess efficacy among educators. The MES incorporates Likert-type response formats, such as *agree* and *disagree* (i.e. "discussing ethnic traditions and beliefs in school leads to disunity and arguments between students from different cultures."), with short answer demographics, such as "describe your ethnic/racial background". The MES also includes an assessment of participant views on the purpose and importance of multicultural education, requesting that participants respond to questions with by selecting A - "I do not believe I could do this very well," B - "I could probably do this if I had to, but it would be difficult for me," C - "I believe I could do this reasonably well, if I had time to prepare," or D - "I am quite confident that this would be easy for me to do". A sample item is "I can provide programming activities to help students to

develop strategies for dealing with racial confrontations.” MES items are summed for each subscale to determine participant attitudes, experiences and efficacy, with higher scores indicating greater multicultural efficacy. Cronbach alpha statistics reported scale internal reliability, indicating $\alpha = .89$ for the MES with subscale alphas of .78 for experience, .72 for attitude, and .93 for efficacy. These reliability estimates were developed based on a sample of undergraduate students.

For the present study, the multicultural efficacy subscale of the MES was used to examine the role multicultural efficacy plays in mediating the effects between multicultural training, multicultural experience, gender, and multicultural empathy. The alpha for multicultural efficacy in this study was in the low-adequate, $\alpha = .61$. Alphas for the other two subscales were as follows: experience $\alpha = .83$, and attitude $\alpha = .53$. With a poor overall scale alpha of $\alpha = .58$ for this study.

White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS; Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). The WPAS is a 28-item measure of cognitive, behavioral and affective reactions to White privilege awareness. The WPAS consists Likert-type questions ranked on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Pinterits et al. (2009) specified that higher scores indicated higher cognitive dimensions (e.g., “Our social structure system promotes White privilege”), affective dimensions (e.g., “I feel awful about White privilege”), or behavioral dimensions (e.g., “I intend to work towards dismantling White privilege”) of White privilege attitudes. The WPAS assesses participants based on four White privilege factors including: Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($\alpha = .93$; $M = 3.54$; $SD = 1.02$), Anticipated Cost of White Privilege ($\alpha = .78$; $M = 2.77$; $SD = .89$), White Privilege Awareness ($\alpha = .84$; $M = 2.99$;

$SD = 1.18$), White Privilege Remorse ($\alpha = .89$; $M = 2.93$; $SD = 1.12$). Intercorrelations between the WPAS factors were found to be .29 (Factors 1 and 2); .63 (Factors 1 and 3); .72 (Factors 1 and 4); .23 (Factors 2 and 3); .43 (Factors 2 and 4); and .51 (Factors 3 and 4) at initial construction. Subscale items are summed within factor to determine participant endorsement of each White privilege dimension, with higher scores indicating greater identification with that attitude. Factors cannot be combined due to the unique nature of each White privilege attitude. The WPAS has been validated against other similar measures of privilege attitudes (e.g. CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2006), and has been found to successfully tap into related constructs such as racial attitudes and privilege emotions for White individuals (Pinterits et al., 2009). Findings for the two-week test-retest reliability reported temporal stability on the following subscales: Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($r = .83$), Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege ($r = .70$), White Privilege Awareness ($r = .87$), and White Privilege Remorse ($r = .78$).

For this study, Cronbach alpha statistics were found to have internal reliability for each factor, including: Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($\alpha = .93$), Anticipated Costs of White Privilege ($\alpha = .83$), White Privilege Awareness ($\alpha = .68$), and White Privilege Remorse ($\alpha = .88$). Each factor of the WPAS was examined independently. Participant scores can fall on each of the four factors, and therefore no total score is intended to be used in the WPAS. This is consistent with recommendations by Pinterits and colleagues (2009).

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The PCRW is a 16-item measure of psychological and social costs of racism

experienced by White individuals. The measure consists of three subscales, including: White Empathic Reactions toward Racism (6 items; e.g., “I am angry that racism exists”), White Guilt (5 items; e.g., “Sometimes I feel guilty about being White”), and White Fear of Others (5 items; e.g., “I often find myself fearful of people of other races”). The PCRW uses a Likert-type response format that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Spanierman et al. (2008) reported that high scores represent greater experiences with each specified cost. Due to the nature of the various subscales (e.g. White empathy is quite different from White fear) Spanierman and colleagues do not recommend using a total score. Cronbach alpha statistics reported scale internal reliability, with subscale alphas ranging from .75 to .85 for White empathy ($M = 4.40$; $SD = .91$); .59 to .81 for White guilt ($M = 1.92$; $SD = .87$); and .65 to .78 for White fear ($M = 2.84$; $SD = .88$). These validity estimates were based on undergraduate students from a Midwestern university. Intercorrelations among the PCRW subscale were found to be .12 (Subscale 1 and 2); -.22 (Subscale 1 and 3); and .04 (Subscale 2 and 3) at initial validation.

Current alpha for this study were .75 for White empathy, .42 for White guilt, and .64 for White fear. For this study, the three subscales of the PCRW were examined individually to explore the uniqueness of each White privilege attitude. This decision is consistent with the intended use of the PCRW stated by Spanierman & Heppner (2004).

Color-blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). The CoBRAS is a 20-item measure of racial attitudes. The CoBRAS has three subscales, including Unawareness of White Racial Privilege (7 items; “Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich”); Unawareness of Institutional

Racism (7 items, “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people”); and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (6 items, “Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations”). Items can be summed to obtain a total subscale score, with higher scores indicating greater levels of unawareness or denial of racism. Neville and colleagues (2000) reported the CoBRAS to have concurrent validity for college students between the subscales and the total scores of related similar measures of racial and social attitudes, including the Global Belief in a Just World Scale (Lipkus, 1991), the Quick Discrimination Index (Ponterotto et al., 1995), and the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986). The CoBRAS was not found to strongly associate with the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982). Neville et al. (2000) reported Cronbach’s alphas ranging from .70 (Blatant Racial Issues) to .86 (CoBRAS total). Coefficient alphas for the initial study were .80 (Racial Privilege), .76 (Institutional Racism), .61 (Blatant Racial Issues), and .86 (total CoBRAS). These validity estimates are based on a population consisting of college students and community members from the Midwest and West Coast. Intercorrelations for the CoBRAS were found to be range from .42 to .59 (Neville et al., 2000).

Alphas for this study were found to be .83 for the total scale score, .60 for Unawareness of Racial Privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1), .68 for Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2), and .79 for Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS Subscale 3). It was decided that the subscales of the CoBRAS would be assessed individually to explore the unique nuances of each type of color-blind racial attitude. This decision is consistent with Neville et al.’s (2000) discussion regarding the potential uses of CoBRAS to examine aspects of multicultural

competence. Neville and colleagues proposed the use of the three distinct subscales to assess subtleties in color-blind racial attitudes, whereas the total scale score was recommended as an outcome measure for interventions or training surrounding multicultural issues.

Marlow Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Form A (MCSD – A; Reynolds, 1982). The MCSD-A is an 11-item measure used to assess social desirability attitudes. Reynolds (1982) reported that response items are provided in a true-false format. Total scores are summed, with higher scores indicating an increased likelihood of responding in a socially desirable manner; and lower scores reflecting a diminished likelihood of responding in a socially desirable manner. Research has demonstrated that the MCSD Form A has adequate reliability with $\alpha = .74$, and construct validity (Reynolds, 1982; Loo & Thorpe, 2000). In addition, Reynolds (1982) reported an adequate Kuder–Richardson, KR(20), formula reliability of .76 for the MCSD- A, and provided validity evidence showing association with the Edwards Social Desirability Scale. For this study, the MCSD-A was administered to assess for the potential confounding variable of social desirability. The MCSD-A was not included in the hypothesized model as an influential factor in the latent variables being examined.

Data Analysis

Participant information was collected online through the use of a professional survey site. Appropriate Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from the University IRB Board was given prior to the commencement of the study. Completed surveys were downloaded and analyzed using SPSS 18.0 and Amos Structured Equation Program 18.0. Appropriate variables were reverse scored, and Cronbach's alpha

calculated for all measures intended to be used as scales (see above). Total scores and/or subscales scores were calculated for each measure. The data showed no missing values; therefore no replacement statistics were needed.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes using structural equation modeling (SEM). Hypotheses were generated based on the proposed function of each measured variable in the model (See Chapter 2). Based on previous literature, it was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would function as a mediating variable in the association between the multicultural variables of multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, multicultural training, and White privilege attitudes (cognitive racial attitudes and affective racial attitudes). In addition, these variables were examined using correlation and multiple regression analyses to help illuminate the relationship between multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes as measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and the Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). The following section provides preliminary analysis of the data, and results from the SEM, correlations, and multiple regressions analysis.

Preliminary Analysis

Participants of color were removed in order to directly assess the impact of multicultural variables on White privilege attitudes among individuals who identified as White. Inspection of the data indicated that there were no missing values. Due to the

data showing all questions to be answered, no procedures were needed to attend to missing values. All 206 usable survey responses were used in the final analysis. The kurtosis and skew of all variables were analyzed throughout the data process to ensure that normality and linearity assumptions would not be violated (Garson, 2009). The kurtosis and skew statistics of all variables were within normal limits and no data transformations were needed. Data was assessed for outliers using Mahalanobis distance to ensure homogeneity among the survey responses (Maesschalck, Jouan-Rimbaud, Massart, 2000). Six surveys were identified as having extreme responses on the majority of the survey questions, and were removed from the data.

Group Comparisons: Univariate analysis of variance (ANOVAs) and bivariate correlations were run to examine difference on each independent and dependent variable with participant demographics. Results indicated gender differences on the variables of multicultural empathy, $F(1, 203) = 4.654, p < .05$, multicultural experience, $F(1, 203) = 6.610, p < .05$, multicultural training $F(1, 203) = 7.937, p < .01$. In addition, gender differences were found on two subscales of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, PCRW: Subscales 1 White Empathy; $F(1, 203) = 6.682, p < .01$, and PCRW Subscale 2 White Guilt; $F(1, 203) = 4.341, p < .05$, and one subscale of the Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale, CoBRAS Subscale 2 Unawareness of Institutional Racism; $F(1, 203) = 5.407, p < .05$.

Univariate analysis of variance also indicated differences between majority and minority sexual orientations. Results indicated sexual orientation differences on the variables of multicultural empathy, $F(1,196) = 18.452, p < .00$ and multicultural efficacy, $F(1,196) = 5.895, p < .05$. Differences were also found for sexual orientation

on the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS) for Factor 1: Willingness to Confront White Privilege, $F(1, 196) = 16.020, p < .00$, and Factor 3: White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 196) = 13.074, p < .05$. Finally, differences were found on one of the PCRW subscales, Subscale 1: White Empathy, $F(1, 196) = 4.299, p < .05$, and one subscale of the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS), CoBRAS Subscale 2: Unawareness of Institutional Racism, $F(1, 196) = 11.449, p < .01$.

Group differences were also revealed for multicultural training, indicating differences between resident hall directors who have been trained about White privilege and those who have not. Results indicated differences between multicultural training and Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), $F(1, 204) = 9.673, p < .01$, Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2), $F(1, 204) = 4.130, p < .05$, White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3), $F(1, 204) = 12.2645, p < .01$, and Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2), $F(1, 204) = 4.564, p < .05$.

Bivariate correlations were run to examine differences between the demographic variables of age, number of years' experience in residence life, socioeconomic status growing up and all measured variables. No correlations above .30 were found between any of the independent and dependent variables and the demographic variables of age, number of years' experience in residence life, and socioeconomic status growing up. The Marlow Crowne was correlated with all variables to assess for possible confounds of social desirability. No significant correlations were found, indicating the results are relatively free of social desirability. All correlations based on the Marlow Crowne ranged from $-.05$ to $.13$.

Structural Equation Modeling

Bivariate correlations between all observed variables are shown in Table 5, as well as means and standard deviations for each indicator variable. Structural equation modeling was used to examine the hypothesized model using the two-step model suggested by Anderson and Gerbing (1988). Fits of the measurement and structural models were tested using maximum likelihood estimations in AMOS 18.0. Due to the small sample size ($N = 206$), data was unable to be examined for group differences or to allow aggregation of the data to test and validate the original structural equation model. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was conducted using AMOS 18.0 statistical package (Arbuckle, 2006) to evaluate whether or not data adequately fit the proposed hypotheses.

Model theory. The SEM analysis followed a two-step procedure outlined by Anderson and Gerbing (1988). First, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to determine if the latent variables of cognitive racial attitudes and affective racial attitudes were moderated by multicultural efficacy and were adequately measured. This step allowed the investigator to determine whether or not the indicator variables accurately predicted the latent variance. Second, a path analysis was conducted to determine if the data fit the hypothesized model of racial attitudes among White resident hall directors

Estimates of Fit

A maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) was used for both the confirmatory factor analysis and structural modeling process. Following recommendations by several authors on SEM (Hu & Bentler, 1999; McDonald & Ho, 2002), model fit was assessed

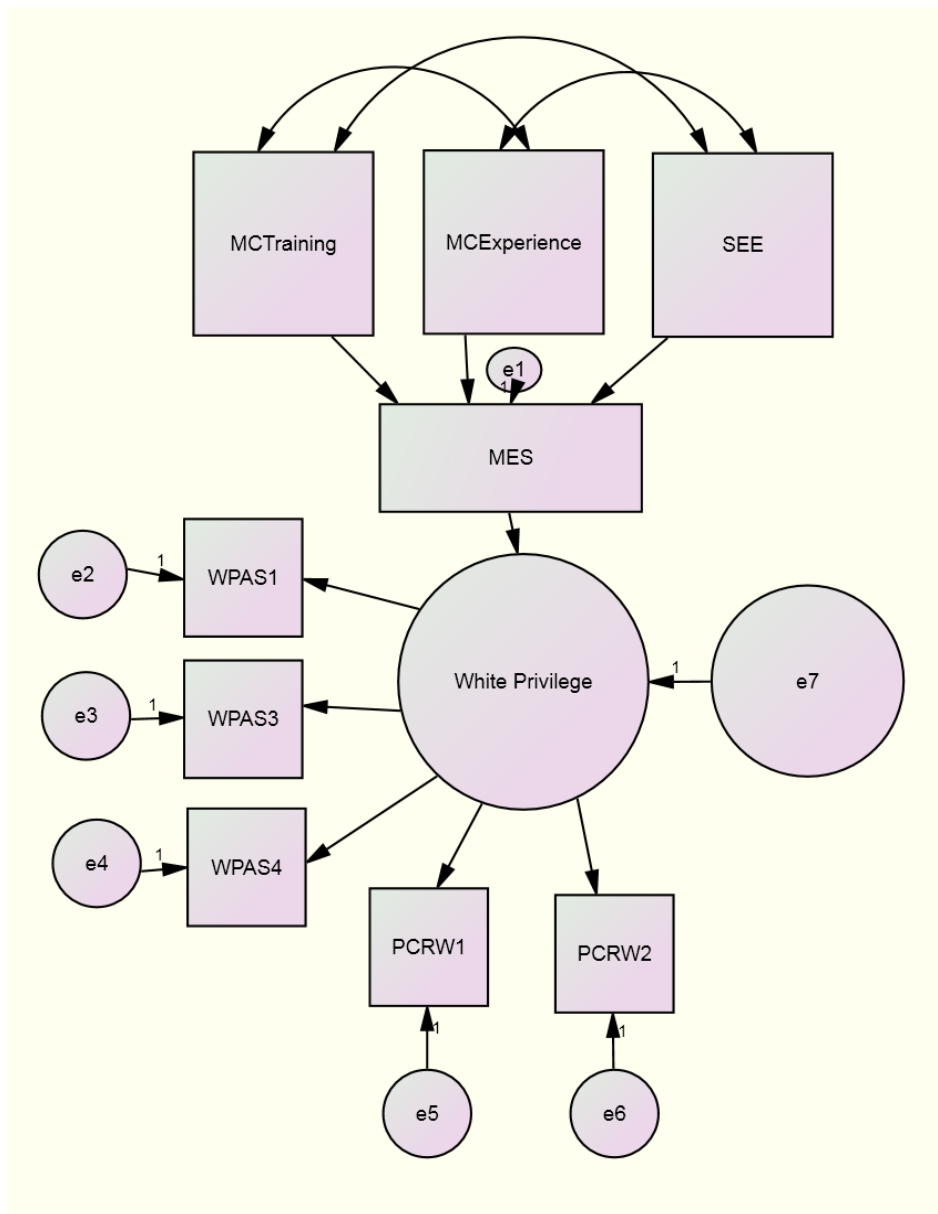
using multiple indicators. Chi-square (χ^2) and the root mean residual (RMR) were used to measure goodness of fit (Stieger, 1990). The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) was used to compare the two models with one another, with smaller scores indicating better fit (Burnham & Anderson, 1998). The comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) were chosen for use due to being two of the indexes least affected by small sample size (Fan, Thompson, & Wang, 1999). In addition, the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) was selected because it is relatively independent of sample size, making it a good estimate of the hypothesized model. Hu and Bentler (1999) suggest that CFI and TLI scores closer to one indicate a better fitting model; therefore, a cut off score of .95 was used during analysis. Scores less than or equal to .5 indicate a good fit for RMSEA, with scores of less than .8 indicating adequate fit if the upper bound of the confidence intervals is not higher than .10 (Hu and Bentler, 1999).

Structural Equation Modeling Procedure

Following procedures outlined by Anderson and Gerbing (1988), a CFA was performed in the first step to assess the originally hypothesized measurement model. Due to poor model fit for the original measurement model (See Results section), adjustments were made based on data and theory. Modifications were based on Anderson and Gerbing's (1988) recommended methods of either removing faulty indicators to a different factor or deleting them from the model. For this study, indicators were removed from the model to account for model complexity and to attempt to clarify the relationship between indicator variables and latent variables. The modified measurement model (See Measurement Model 1) was analyzed and, again,

found to be a poor fit. Due to poor fit for the second model, it was determined that an alternate approach to analyzing the data may help to better understand what is occurring with the data. Therefore, a new set of hypotheses was issued to follow bivariate correlations and multiple regression analyses to examine the relationships between variables, as well as determined model predictive qualities.

Figure 3. Original Measurement Model 1 (WPAS & PCRW)



Original Measurement Model

The original measurement model was assessed using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA results were examined for overall fit of the data and to determine the degree to which the underlying structure of latent variables is accurate. Latent variables were allowed to covary during the CFA. While constructing the original measurement model in AMOS 18.0 to assess goodness of fit, it was determined that the complexity of the model conflicted with analysis procedure. Specifically, the ability to analyze both cognitive and affective racial attitudes, while accounting for the polarity within each variable (i.e. some items reflect an ideally healthy approach to racial issues and others indicate a negative reaction to racial issues/privilege), was difficult to capture in a single model. To allow for parsimony among the indicator and latent variables, the model was reduced to examine a single variable of White privilege attitudes in order to best capture the underlying assumptions and expectations for the model.

In addition, correlation analyses were run between all of the factors/subscales of the WPAS, PCRW and CoBRAS prior to SEM analysis. Correlation results revealed that the second factor of the WPAS (Anticipated Costs of White Privilege) and the third subscale of the PCRW (White Fear) performed poorly with the other factors/subscales. These two factors/subscales (WPAS Factor 2 and PCRW Subscale 3) were, therefore, removed from the model. Furthermore, it was determined that the three subscales of the CoBRAS should be run in a separate SEM model to account for the negative balance of the subscales. As such, two initial models were developed; Original Measurement Model 1 (Figure 3) , which used the WPAS Factors 1 (Willingness to

Confront White Privilege), WPAS Factor 3 (White Privilege Awareness), WPAS Factor 4 (White Privilege Remorse), PCRW Subscale 1 (White Empathy) and PCRW Subscale 2 (White Guilt) as the dependent variables. The Original Measurement Model 2 (Figure 4) used the three subscales of the CoBRAS (Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Unawareness of Institutional Racism, and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues) as the dependent variables. Despite attempts to foster cohesive models, both initial measurement models showed a poor fit to the data on multiple measures.

Original measurement models were a poor fit for the data on several measures. Original measurement model 1 indicated, $\chi^2(31, n = 206) = , p < .001$; CFI = .65; RMR = .156, RMSEA = (90% CI = .19). Original measurement model 2 indicated, $\chi^2(31, n = 206) = , p < .001$; CFI = .58; RMR = .113, RMSEA = (90% CI = .15) (See Table 4).

In order to further explicate the nature of shared variance between the variables, bivariate analyses and multiple regression analyses were conducted to test the hypotheses noted in Chapter Two. More specifically, hypotheses regarding shared variance between variables, modified from the original SEM model proposed for this study, included:

Bivariate Correlation Hypothesis

Multicultural Efficacy and the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Hypothesis 1A: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with Willingness to confront White privilege (WPAS Factor 1).

Hypothesis IB: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with Anticipated costs of White privilege (WPAS Factor 2).

Hypothesis IC: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with White privilege awareness (WPAS Factor 3).

Hypothesis ID: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with the White privilege remorse (WPAS Factor 4).

Multicultural Efficacy and the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW)

Hypothesis IE: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with White empathic reactions toward racism (PCRW Subscale 1).

Hypothesis IF: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a moderate (.30 to .49) positive correlation with White guilt (PCRW Subscale 2).

Hypothesis IG: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with White fear (PCRW Subscale 3).

Table 4

Table of Fit Indices for Original Measurement Models I and II

Model	χ^2	<i>Df</i>	RMR	CFI	TLI	RMSEA (90% CI)	AIC
Original Measurement Model 1	255.467***	31	.156	.65	0.5	0.19 (.17 to .21)	323.467
Recommended Cut-Offs (Hu & Bentler, 1999)			$\leq .08$	$\geq .95$	$\geq .95$	$\leq .06$	

Note. $N = 206$. *Df* = degrees of freedom; RMR = root-mean-square residual; CFI = comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; CI = confidence interval; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. *** $p < .001$

Figure 4. Original Measurement Model 2 (CoBRAS)

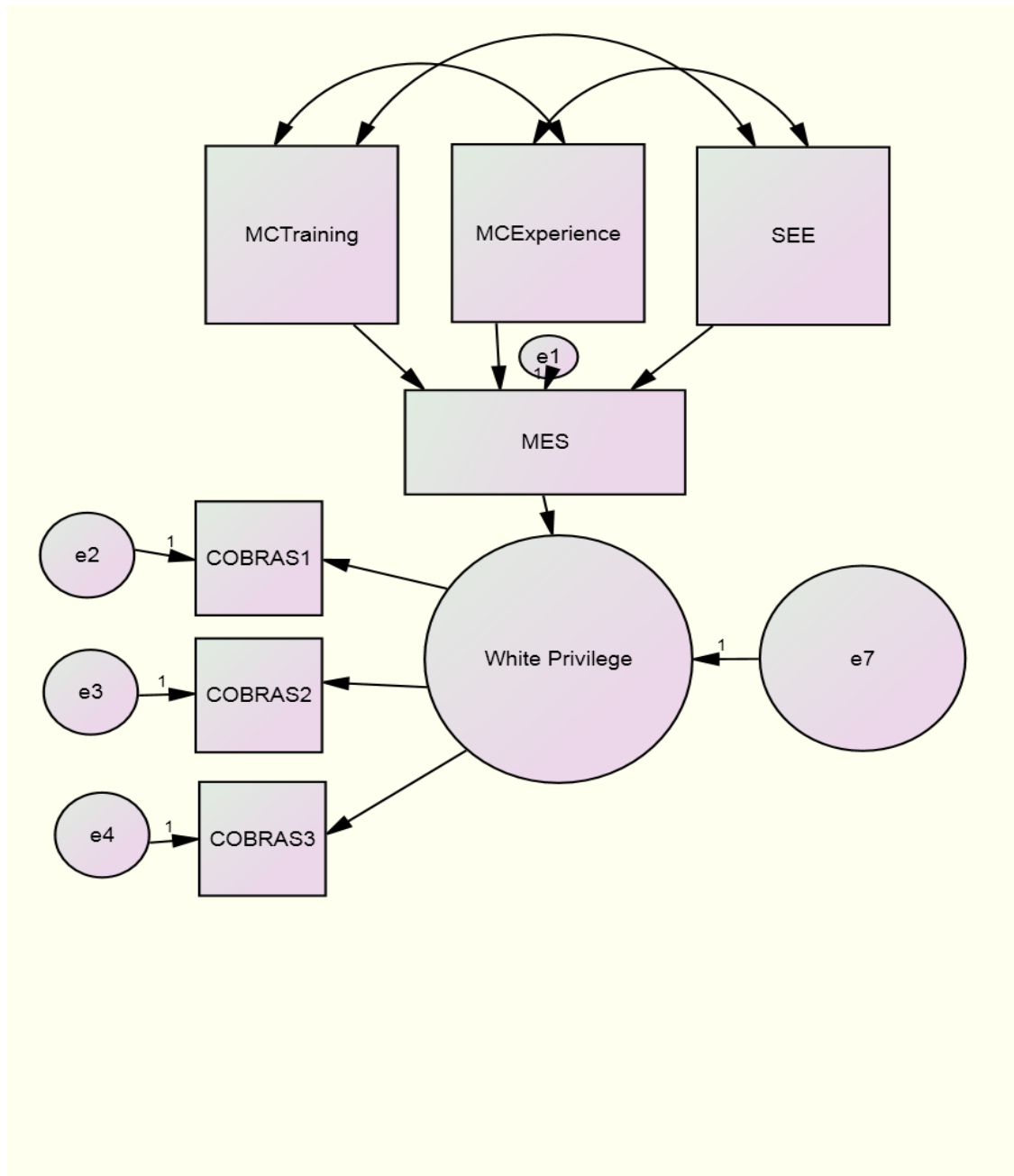


Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of all Indicator Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.WPAS1	4.23	.924															
2.WPAS2	2.37	.925	.08														
3.WPAS3	4.82	.781	.75**	.06													
4.WPAS4	2.86	.997	.46**	.37**	.37**												
5.PCRW1	4.48	.817	.47**	.08	.47**	.42**											
6.PCRW2	3.43	.633	.41**	.40**	.43**	.55**	.36**										
7.PCRW3	2.55	.583	-.25**	.28**	-.11	.04	-.19**	.15**									
9.CoBRAS2	2.75	.735	-.51**	.01	-.56**	-.17*	-.22**	-.26**	.35**	.10							
10.CoBRAS3	3.43	.337	.05	.05	.01	.16*	.12	.17*	.10	.55**	.27**						
11.McEff	3.02	.087	.33**	-.16*	.21**	.07	.19**	.03**	-.27**	.19	-.07	.07					
12.SEE	4.61	.545	.63**	-.12	.54**	.28**	.65**	.23**	-.43**	.30**	-.35**	.13	.44**				
13.McExp	2.56	.681	.24**	-.22**	.14	.07	.15*	.02	-.28**	.08	-.18**	.05	.32**	.32**			
14.McTrn	.626	.325	.26**	-.11	.29**	.06	.08	.09	-.09	-.07	-.20**	-.08	.11	.14**	.10		
15.Gender	2.62	.497	.14	.09	.11	.08	.19**	.15*	.05	-.09	.19**	.04	.01	.16**	.18**	.19**	1

Note: $N = 206$. WPASF1= Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscale of the WPAS, WPASF2 = Anticipated Costs of White Privilege subscale of the WPAS, WPASF3 = White Privilege Awareness subscale of the WPAS, WPASF4 = White Privilege Remorse subscale of the WPAS, PCRW1 = White Empathic Reactions toward Racism subscale of the PCRW, PCRW2 = White Guilt subscale of the PCRW, PCRW3 = White Fear of People of Other Races subscale of the PCRW, CoBRAS1 = Unawareness of White Racial Privilege subscale of the CoBRAS, CoBRAS2 = Unawareness of Institutional Racism subscale of the CoBRAS, CoBRAS3 = Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues subscale of the CoBRAS, MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, SEE = Multicultural Empathy, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender,. * $p < .05$, + $p < .01$.

Multicultural Efficacy and the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

Hypothesis IH: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with unawareness of racial privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1).

Hypothesis II: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with unawareness of institutional racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2).

Hypothesis IJ: It is predicted that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, will form a moderate negative correlation (.30 to .49) with unawareness of blatant racial issues.

Multiple Regression Hypotheses

A second hypothesis was generated for a prediction model of the White privilege attitudes measured by the WPAS, PCRW and CoBRAS. As factors and subscales from these three measures' cannot be combined, it was decided that an individual regression equation would be conducted at each factor/subscale. In addition, subscales and factors were examined separately to examine potential nuances between the White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy. For each White privilege attitude, it was predicted that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy, and multicultural efficacy would be the best prediction model, with multicultural efficacy being a significant contributor to that model. The following results section details the multiple regression used at each of the factors/subscales of the WPAS, PCRW and COBRAS. Below is a breakdown of the hypothesized model for each factor/subscale.

Model for Predicting White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Hypothesis IIA: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting Willingness to confront White privilege (WPAS Factor 1). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IIB: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting Anticipated costs of White privilege (WPAS Factor 2). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IIC: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting White privilege awareness (WPAS Factor 3). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IID: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting White privilege remorse (WPAS Factor 4). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Model for Predicting Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW)

Hypothesis IIE: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting White empathic reactions toward racism (PCRW Subscale 1). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IIF: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting White guilt (PCRW Subscale 2). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IIG: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting White fear (PCRW Subscale 3). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Model for predicting Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

Hypothesis IIIH: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting unawareness of racial privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IIII: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting unawareness of institutional racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Hypothesis IJJ: It is hypothesized that multicultural experience, multicultural training, multicultural empathy (measured by the SEE), and multicultural efficacy will be the best model for predicting unawareness of blatant racial issues (CoBRAS Subscale 3). Specifically, multicultural efficacy will significantly contribute to the model.

Prior to conducting the analyses associated with these hypotheses, bivariate correlations were reviewed.

Bivariate Correlations and Multiple Regression Analysis

A series of bivariate correlations were conducted to determine the relationship between the multicultural variables measured and each of the factors/subscales of the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS. Correlational data is provided in Table 5. A series of multiple regression analysis was then conducted to assess the predictive values of the multicultural variables (multicultural empathy, multicultural efficacy, multicultural experience, multicultural training) on White privilege attitudes. Linear regression analyses were run with each of the three White privilege attitude measured serving as dependent variables. This included the four factors of the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009), the three subscales of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to White scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and the three subscales of the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). The total score calculated from the CoBRAS was also analyzed as a dependent variable with the multicultural variables serving as prediction variables.

Bivariate Correlations of the WPAS and MES

It was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy, as measured by the MES, would form a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2), and a strong positive correlation (.50 to .70) with White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3). It was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with White

Privilege Remorse (WPAS Factor 4). Bivariate correlation results indicated that multicultural efficacy is moderately (.30 to .40) correlated with Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($r = .33^{**}$; WPAS Factor 1). Multicultural efficacy was also found to be weakly (.20 to .30) correlated with White Privilege Awareness ($r = .21^{**}$; WPAS Factor 3). These findings partially supported hypothesis I and III. However, results did not corroborate the hypothesis of a strong positive correlation between multicultural efficacy and Anticipated Costs of White privilege ($r = -.16$; WPAS Factor 2), or a strong negative correlation predicted between multicultural efficacy and White privilege Remorse ($r = .07$; WPAS Factor 4). Therefore, hypothesis II and IV were rejected.

Bivariate Correlations of the PCRW and MES

For the PCRW it was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a strong (.50 to .70) positive correlation with White Empathic Reactions toward Racism (PCRW Subscale 1). It was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a moderate (.30 to .40) positive correlation with White Guilt (PCRW Subscale 2). In addition, it was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a strong (.50 to .70) negative relationship with White Fear (PCRW Subscale 3). Results did not support a relationship between multicultural efficacy and White Empathic Reactions $r = .19$ or White Guilt $r = .03$. Therefore, hypothesis V and VI were rejected. A weak negative relationship was found between multicultural efficacy and White fear ($r = -.26$), partially supporting hypothesis VII.

Bivariate Correlations of the CoBRAS and MES

It was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with Unawareness of Racial Privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1) and Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2). It was also hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would form a moderate (.30 to .40) negative correlation with Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS Subscale 3). Results indicated that only one of the CoBRAS Subscales (Unawareness of Racial Privilege) was correlated with multicultural efficacy ($r = .19$). However, the correlation was extremely weak and did not support a significant relationship. Neither Unawareness of Institutional Racism ($r = -.07$) nor Unawareness of Institutional Racism ($r = .07$) was found to be correlated with multicultural efficacy, so hypothesis II and IJ were rejected.

Multiple Regression Analysis Hypotheses

As stated earlier, analysis suggested that data was normally distributed and met assumptions of homoscedasticity (Jarque & Bera, 1980). Because these core assumptions were met for this data set, multiple regression analyses were used to examine the effects of multicultural variables (multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, multicultural training) on White privilege attitudes (WPAS, PCRW, CoBRAS). Extraneous variables were controlled for while entering data into the regression models. Therefore, regression coefficients reflect a predictor variables unique contribution to the variance of the criterion variable.

The stepwise multiple regression, which included two steps, was used to predict the dependent variables of White privilege attitudes. The dependent variables were individually entered into the regression equation and were based on the factors/

subscales of the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS. The predictor variables were entered into two steps of the equation. In the first step, multicultural empathy (SEE), multicultural experience, and multicultural training were entered together in order to control for the variance they explained, while assessing the variable of interest, Multicultural efficacy (MES). In the second step, Multicultural efficacy was entered to assess its individual influence on the overall model. The following model analyses are presented below.

White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS)

Hypothesis IIA, IIB, IIC, and IID stated that multicultural efficacy (MES), multicultural empathy (SEE), multicultural experience and multicultural training would, combined together in a prediction model, contribute a significant amount of variance in predicting the White privilege attitudes captured by the four factors of the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS). These factors included: Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2), White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3), and White Privilege Remorse (WPAS Factor 4). It was specifically hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would contribute a significant portion of variance in the prediction model.

A standard multiple regression was conducted to first determine the impact of the independent variables (multicultural efficacy, MES; multicultural empathy, SEE; multicultural experience; and multicultural training) predicting the four White privilege attitudes of the WPAS. Multicultural efficacy was not found to significantly contribute to the model for any of the White privilege attitudes captured by the WPAS.

Hypothesis IIA: Willingness to Confront White Privilege

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts Willingness to Confront White Privilege (willingness to confront), $R^2 = .43$, $R^2_{adj} = .42$, $F(4, 201) = 37.450$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 42.7% of the variance in willingness to confront. A summary of the regression model for willingness to confront is provided in Table 6, and indicates that only two of the variables (multicultural empathy and multicultural training) significantly contributed to the model for this White privilege attitude.

Table 6

Willingness to Confront White Privilege Coefficients for Model

	B	B	t	P	Bivariate r	Partial r
SEE	.970	.573	9.382	.000**	.63	.55
McExp	.034	.025	.435	.437	.24	.03
McTrn	.491	.154	3.196	.000**	.26	.22
MEff	.524	.050	.815	.416	.33	.06

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$; MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, MCExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was then run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of Willingness to Confront White privilege. Consistent with the standard regression model results, the stepwise regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), $R^2 = .43$, $R^2_{adj} = .42$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy added 0.2% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 42.5% to 42.7%. Though the model was significant at each step of the regression, the

variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, therefore hypothesis IIA was rejected. A summary of this stepwise regression model is presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Willingness to Confront White Privilege: Hierarchical Multiple Regression

Step	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² <i>adj.</i>	ΔR^2	<i>Fchg</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.65	.42	.42	.42	49.794	.000	3	202
2	.65	.43	.42	.00	.665	.416	1	201

Hypothesis IIB: Anticipated Costs of White Privilege

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (anticipated costs), $R^2 = .064$, $R^2_{adj} = .05$, $F(4, 201) = 3.409$, $p > .05$. This model accounts for 6.4% of the variance in anticipated costs. A summary of the regression model for anticipated costs of is provided in Table 8, and indicates that only one of the variables (multicultural experience) significantly contributed to the model for this White privilege attitude.

Table 8

Anticipated Costs of White Privilege Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	-.013	-.008	-.009	.921	-.12	-.01
McExp	-.239	-.176	-2.381	.018*	-.22	-.17
McTrn	-.231	-.081	-1.173	.242	-.11	-.08
MEff	-1.008	-.095	-1.224	.222	-.16	-.09

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$; MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, MCExp. = Multicultural Experience, MCTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of Anticipated Costs of White privilege.

As expected, regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts anticipated costs (WPAS Factor 2), $R^2 = .06$, $R^2_{adj} = .04$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds 0.7% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 5.7% to 6.4%. The variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, therefore hypothesis IIB was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Anticipated Costs of White Privilege: Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis

Step	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² <i>adj.</i>	ΔR^2	<i>Fchg</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.238	.057	.043	.057	4.036	.008	3	202
2	.252	.064	.045	.007	1.499	.222	1	201

a. Predictors (Constant), MCTrn, MCExp, SEE; b. Predictors (Constant, MCTrn, MCExp, SEE, MES

Hypothesis IIC: White Privilege Awareness

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White Privilege Awareness (White privilege awareness), $R^2 = .34$, $R^2_{adj} = .33$, $F(4, 201) = 25.969$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 34.1% of the variance in White privilege awareness. A summary of the regression model for White privilege awareness is provided in Table 10, with results indicating that only two of the variables (multicultural empathy and multicultural training) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude White privilege awareness.

Table 10

White Privilege Awareness Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	.774	.540	8.248	.000***	.54	.50
McExp	-.049	-.043	-.695	.488	.14	-.05
McTrn	.529	.220	3.798	.000***	.29	.23
MEff	-.374	-.042	-.641	.522	.21	-.05

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$; MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was then run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of White Privilege Awareness.

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White privilege awareness (WPAS Factor 3), $R^2 = .341$, $R^2_{adj} = .328$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy added 2% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 33.9% to 34.1%. However, the variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, therefore hypothesis IIC was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 11.

Table 11

White Privilege Awareness; Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	R	R²	R²_{adj.}	ΔR^2	Fchg	<i>p</i>	df1	df2
1	.583	.339	.330	.339	34.59	.000	3	202
2	.584	.341	.328	.001	.411	.522	1	201

a. Predictors (Constant), McTrn, McExp, SEE; b. Predictors (Constant, McTrn, McExp, SEE, MES

Hypothesis IID: White Privilege Remorse

Regression results indicate that the overall model significantly predicts White Privilege Remorse (White privilege remorse), $R^2 = .08$, $R^2_{adj} = .06$, $F(4, 201) = 4.527$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 8.3% of the variance in White privilege remorse. A summary of the regression model for White privilege remorse is provided in Table 12, and indicates that only one of the variables (multicultural empathy) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude of remorse.

Table 12

White Privilege Remorse Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	.565	.309	4.002	.000***	.28	.27
McExp	-.015	-.010	-.141	.888	.07	-.01
McTrn	.055	.018	.263	.793	.06	.20
MEff	-.707	-.062	-.805	.422	.07	-.06

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$; MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was then run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of White Privilege Remorse.

Regression results indicate that the overall model significantly predicts White privilege remorse (WPAS Factor 4), $R^2 = .08$, $R^2_{adj} = .06$, $p > .01$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds 3% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 8% to 8.3%. The model was significant at both steps of regression. However, the variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to

the model, therefore hypothesis IID was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 13.

Table 13

White Privilege Remorse; Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	R	R²	R²adj.	ΔR²	Fchg	p	df1	df2
1	.282	.080	.066	.080	5.83	.001	3	202
2	.287	.083	.064	.003	.648	.422	1	201

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW)

Hypothesis IIE, IIF, and IIG stated that multicultural efficacy (MES), multicultural empathy (SEE), multicultural experience and multicultural training would be the best model for predicting each of the White Privilege Attitudes captured by the three subscales of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW). These subscales included: White Empathic Reactions toward Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others. As was hypothesized for the WPAS, it was again predicted that multicultural efficacy would significantly contribute to the model for each dependent variable.

The same procedures were run to assess the accuracy of the overall model and predictive qualities of the independent variables in predicting the three subscales of the PCRW. Both the standard multiple regression and stepwise multiple regression were again used to identify specific predictor variables for each dependent variable (PCRW subscales).

Hypothesis IIE: White Empathic Reactions toward Racism

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White Empathic Reactions toward Racism (White empathy), $R^2 = .44$, $R^2_{adj} = .43$, $F(4, 201) = 39.359$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 43.9% of the variance in White empathy. A summary of the regression model for White empathy is provided in Table 14, and indicates that only one of the variables (multicultural empathy) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude White empathy.

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of White Empathic Reactions toward Racism. As expected, regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White empathy (PCRW Subscale 1), $R^2 = .44$, $R^2_{adj} = .43$, $p > .000$.

Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds 3% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 8% to 8.3%.

Table 14

White Empathic Reactions toward Racism Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	1.07	.714	11.833	.000***	.65	.64
McExp	-.048	-.04	-.699	.485	.15	-.05
McTrn	-.028	.134	-.206	.837	.08	-.02
MEff	-.993	-.106	-1.766	.079	.19	-.12

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, MCExp. = Multicultural Experience, MCTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

The model was significant at both steps of regression; however, the variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model and hypothesis IIE was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 15.

Table 15

White Empathic Reactions; Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² <i>adj.</i>	ΔR^2	<i>Fchg</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.66	.43	.42	.43	50.905	.000	3	202
2	.66	.44	.43	.01	3.119	.079	1	201

Hypothesis IIF: White Guilt

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White Guilt (White guilt), $R^2 = .06$, $R^2_{adj} = .05$, $F(4, 201) = 3.461$, $p > .01$. This model accounts for 6.4% of the variance in White guilt. A summary of the regression model for White guilt is provided in Table 16, and indicates that only one of the variables (multicultural empathy) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude White guilt.

Table 16

White Guilt Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	.312	.269	3.447	.001**	.23	.24
McExp	-.045	-.048	-.655	.513	.02	-.05
McTrn	.136	.070	1.009	.314	.09	.07
MES	-.612	-.085	-1.087	.287	.03	-.08

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, MCExp. = Multicultural Experience, MCTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of White guilt. Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White guilt (PCRW Subscale 2), $R^2 = .44$, $R^2_{adj} = .43$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds 3% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 8% to 8.3%. The model was significant at both steps of regression. However, the variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, and hypothesis IIF was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 17.

Table 17

White Guilt; Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	R	R²	R²_{adj.}	ΔR²	Fchg	p	df1	df2
1	.24	.06	.04	.06	4.217	.006	3	202
2	.25	.06	.05	.01	1.181	.278	1	201

Hypothesis IIG: White Fear of Others

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White Fear of Others (White fear), $R^2 = .21$, $R^2_{adj} = .19$, $F(4, 201) = 13.228$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 20.8% of the variance in White fear. A summary of the regression model for White fear is provided in Table 18, and indicates that only two of the variables (multicultural empathy and multicultural experience) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude White fear.

Table 18

White Fear of Others Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	-.373	-.353	-4.922	.000***	-.43	-.33
McExp	-.123	-.144	-2.123	.035*	-.28	-.15
McTrn	-.027	-.015	-.241	.810	-.09	-.02
MES	-.408	-.061	-.857	.393	-.26	-.06

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, MCEff. = Multicultural Experience, MCTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of White Fear of Others. Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts White fear (PCRW Subscale 3), $R^2 = .21$, $R^2_{adj} = .15$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds .3% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 20.6% to 20.8%. The variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, and hypothesis IIG was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 19.

Table 19

White Fear; Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	<i>R</i>	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	<i>F</i>chg	<i>p</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.45	.21	.19	.21	17.417	.000	3	202
2	.46	.21	.19	.01	.733	.393	1	201

Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

Hypothesis IIH, III, and IIJ stated that multicultural efficacy (MES), multicultural empathy (SEE), multicultural experience and multicultural training would be the best model for predicting each of the White privilege attitudes captured by the three subscales of the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). These subscales included: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination, and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues. It was again predicted that multicultural efficacy would significantly contribute to the model for each dependent variable.

The same procedures were used to assess the accuracy of the overall model and predictive qualities of the independent variables in predicting the three subscales of the CoBRAS. The standard multiple regression and stepwise multiple regression were again run to identify specific predictor variables for each dependent variable (CoBRAS subscales).

Hypothesis IIIH: Unawareness of Racial Privilege

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts Unawareness of Racial Privilege, $R^2 = .11$, $R^2_{adj} = .09$, $F(4, 201) = 6.081$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 10.8% of the variance in unawareness of racial privilege. A summary of the regression model for unawareness of racial privilege is provided in Table 20, and indicates that only one of the variables (multicultural empathy) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude unawareness of racial privilege.

Table 20

Unawareness of Racial Privilege Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	.234	.287	3.769	.000***	.30	.26
McExp	-.018	-.028	-.385	.701	.08	-.03
McTrn	-.159	-.116	-1.72	.087	-.07	-.12
MEff	.438	.086	1.134	.258	.19	.08

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of Unawareness of Racial Privilege. Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts unawareness of racial privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1), $R^2 = .21$, $R^2_{adj} = .15$, $p > .000$. Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds .6% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 10.2% to 10.8%. The variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, and hypothesis IIIH was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 21.

Table 21

Unawareness of Racial Privilege; Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	<i>R</i>	R^2	R^2_{adj}	ΔR^2	<i>Fchg</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.32	.10	.09	.10	7.668	.000	3	202
2	.33	.11	.10	.01	1.287	.258	1	201

Hypothesis III: Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination

Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination, $R^2 = .16$, $R^2_{adj} = .15$, $F(4, 201) = 9.866$, $p > .000$. This model accounts for 16.4% of the variance in unawareness of institutional discrimination. A summary of the regression model for unawareness of institutional discrimination is provided in Table 22, and indicates that only two of the variables (multicultural empathy and multicultural training) significantly contributed to the model for the attitude unawareness of institutional discrimination.

Table 22

Unawareness of Institutional Racism Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	-.479	-.357	-4.824	.000***	-.35	-.32
McExp	-.108	-.100	-1.440	.151	-.18	-.10
McTrn	-.345	-.153	-2.339	.020*	-.20	-.16
MEff	1.110	.132	1.797	.074	-.07	.13

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

A stepwise multiple regression was run to examine the unique contribution of multicultural efficacy to the prediction model of Unawareness of Institutional Racism. Regression results indicated that the overall model significantly predicts unawareness of institutional racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2), $R^2 = .21$, $R^2_{adj} = .15$, $p > .000$.

Controlling for all of the variance in the other variables, analysis of ΔR^2 indicated that multicultural efficacy adds .3% predictive power to the model, moving the variance accounted for from 20.6% to 20.8%. However, the variance accounted for by multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant contribution to the model, and

hypothesis III was rejected. A summary of the regression model is presented in Table 23.

Table 23

Unawareness of Institutional Racism; Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Model Summary

Step	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	<i>R</i> ² <i>adj.</i>	ΔR^2	<i>Fchg</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>df1</i>	<i>df2</i>
1	.39	.15	.14	.15	11.946	.000	3	202
2	.40	.16	.15	.01	.323	.074	1	201

Hypothesis IIIJ: Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues

Regression results indicated that the overall model did not significantly predict Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues, $R^2 = .03$, $R^2_{adj} = .01$, $F(4, 201) = 1.405$, $p > .000$. No predictor variables significantly contributed to the model for Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues, therefore; a stepwise multiple regression was not run for this subscale of the CoBRAS, and hypothesis IIIJ was rejected. A summary of the regression model for unawareness of institutional discrimination is provided in Table 24.

Table 24

Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues Coefficients for Model

	B	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Bivariate <i>r</i>	Partial <i>r</i>
SEE	.082	.132	1.662	.098	.13	.12
McExp	.007	.014	.191	.849	.05	.01
McTrn	-.106	-.102	-1.453	.148	-.08	-.10
MES	.065	.017	.214	.831	.07	.02

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ MEff. = the Multicultural Efficacy subscale of the MES, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training, Gender = Gender, SEE = Multicultural Empathy

Post Hoc Analysis

Additional analyses were run in order to try and better explain the relationship between multicultural efficacy, White privilege attitudes, and the multicultural variables of empathy, experience, and training. As the hypotheses were rejected at each dependent variable of White privilege attitudes, it was considered that the direction of regression analysis may have not been supported by this data. Therefore, four separate multiple regressions were run regressing onto multicultural efficacy (measured by the MES) as the new dependent variable. These four analyses examined the accuracy of the multicultural variables (multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, multicultural training), WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS in predicting multicultural efficacy. The four multiple regression analyses are included below.

Table 25

Multicultural Variables Predicting Multicultural Efficacy Coefficients for Model

	<i>B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Bivariate r</i>	<i>Partial r</i>
SEE	0.059	0.370	5.657	.000***	.44	.37
McExp	0.026	0.200	3.075	0.002**	.32	.21
McTrn	0.011	0.041	0.651	0.516	.11	.05

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ SEE = Multicultural Empathy, McExp. = Multicultural Experience, McTrn. = Multicultural Training

Using the three multicultural variables (multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training) as predictors, multicultural efficacy was examined through a standard multiple regression analysis. Results indicated that the multicultural variables of multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training significantly predict multicultural efficacy, $R^2 = .23$, $R^2_{adj} = .22$, $F(3, 202) = 20.323$, $p < .000$. This model accounts of 23.2% of the variance in

multicultural efficacy. A summary of this regression model of multicultural efficacy is provided in Table 25, and indicates that two of the three variables (multicultural empathy and multicultural experience) significantly contributed to the model for multicultural efficacy.

White privilege attitudes as measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS) were examined next. All four factors (Willingness to Confront White Privilege, Anticipated Costs of White Privilege, White Privilege Awareness, and White Privilege Remorse) of the WPAS were entered into the model as predictor variables. Results indicated that the White privilege attitudes of Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2), White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3), and White Privilege Remorse (WPAS Factor 4) significantly predict multicultural efficacy, $R^2 = .15$, $R^2_{adj} = .132$, $F(4, 201) = 8.794$, $p < .000$. The model accounts for 14.9% of the variance in multicultural efficacy. A summary of the regression model is provided in Table 26, and indicates that two of the four factors (Willingness to Confront White Privilege and Anticipated Costs of White Privilege) significant contribute to the model.

Table 26

WPAS Predicting Multicultural Efficacy Coefficients for Model

	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Bivariate r</i>	<i>Partial r</i>
WPAS1	.040	.420	4.083	.000***	.33	.28
WPAS2	-.018	-.186	-2.641	.009**	-.16	-.18
WPAS3	-.01	-.089	-.905	.366	.21	-.06
WPAS4	-.002	-.020	-.256	.798	.07	-.02

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ WPAS 1 = Willingness to Confront White Privilege, WPAS 2 = Anticipated Costs of White Privilege, WPAS 3 = White Privilege Awareness, WPAS 4 = White Privilege Remorse

Multicultural efficacy was then examined using the three subscales of the PCRW (White Empathic Reactions to Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others). All three subscales were entered into the model as predictor variables. Results indicated that the PCRW model significantly predicts multicultural efficacy, $R^2 = .09$, $R^2_{adj} = .08$, $F(3, 202) = 6.746$, $p < .000$. The model accounts for 9.1% of the variance in multicultural efficacy. A summary of this regression model is provided in Table 27, and indicates that one of the three variables (White fear) significantly contributes to the model.

Table 27

PCRW Predicting Multicultural Efficacy Coefficients for Model

	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Bivariate r</i>	<i>Partial r</i>
PCRW1	.015	.144	1.925	.056	.19	.13
PCRW2	.001	.010	.127	.899	.03	.01
PCRW3	-.036	-.238	-3.377	.001**	-.26	-.23

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ PCRW1 = Empathic Reactions to Racism, PCRW2 = White Guilt, PCRW3 = White Fear of Others

Finally, the three subscales of the CoBRAS were entered into the regression model as predictor variables. These three subscales included: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Unawareness of Institutional Racism, and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues. Results indicated that the CoBRAS model significantly predicts multicultural efficacy, $R^2 = .04$, $R^2_{adj} = .03$, $F(3, 202) = 3.252$, $p < .000$. The model accounts for 4.6% of the variance in multicultural efficacy. A summary of this regression model is provided in Table 28, and indicates that only one of the three variables (unawareness of racial privilege) significantly contributes to the model.

Table 28

CoBRAS Predicting Multicultural Efficacy Coefficients for Model

	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Bivariate r</i>	<i>Partial r</i>
CoBRAS1	.037	.190	2.66	.008**	.19	.18
CoBRAS2	-.012	-.100	-1.423	.156	-.07	-.10
CoBRAS3	.010	.037	.503	.616	.07	.03

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ CoBRAS1 = Unawareness of Racial Privilege, CoBRAS2 = Unawareness of Institutional Racism, CoBRAS3 = Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues

After running the multiple regressions to analyze the portion of multicultural efficacy variance accounted for by each of the White privilege attitude measured, the apparent influence of multicultural empathy on White privilege attitudes was considered. Such consideration was intended to reflect multiple regression results from the first analyzed hypotheses of White privilege attitudes which suggested multicultural empathy to be a leading predictor variable for Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1), White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3), White Privilege Remorse (WPAS Factor 4), White Empathy (PCRW Subscale 1), White Guilt (PCRW Subscale 2), White Fear (PCRW Subscale 3), Unawareness of Racial Privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1), and Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2). A single multiple regression analysis was run to determine which, if any, multicultural variables (multicultural experience, multicultural training, and gender) significantly contributed to the prediction model for multicultural empathy. Results indicated that the model accounted for 34.9% of the variance in multicultural empathy. Only one variable (multicultural experience) was found to significantly contribute to the model for multicultural empathy (See Table 29).

Table 29

Multicultural Empathy Coefficients for Model

	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Bivariate r</i>	<i>Partial r</i>
McExp	.232	.290	4.327	.000	.32	.29
McTrn	.164	.098	1.455	.147	.14	.10
Gender	.103	.094	1.376	.170	.16	.20

Note. ***Indicates significance at $p < .001$.; **Indicated significance at $p < .01$; *Indicated significance at $p < .05$ McExp = Multicultural Experience, McTrn = Multicultural Training

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The need for multiculturally competent professionals is an increasing concern on university and college campuses due to the continued diversification among student communities (Sue, et al.,2007), and the real presence of both interpersonal and institutional racism (Johnson, 2003; Hurtado et al., 1998). Johnson (2003) reports that residence life and student affairs are central to the future of university life because they can directly combat racial segregation and educate students about issues of privilege and prejudice. Some recent articles have highlighted the unique contributions of student affairs and residence life professionals in attending to racial segregations and discrimination issues among student communities (Johnson, 2003; Sedlacek, 1999); however, none to date have incorporated an evaluation of multicultural attitudes and competency among resident hall directors in furthering understanding of racial issues on university campuses.

The current study attended to the important role of understanding multicultural attitudes, specifically White privilege attitudes, by examining both cognitive and affective racial attitudes toward persons of color by White resident hall directors. The current study also explored multicultural efficacy within the under-researched population of residence life. This study used structural equation modeling (SEM) to test a conceptual model of the mediating role multicultural efficacy might play with White

resident hall director's self-reported cognitive and affective racial attitudes and other latent variables (e.g. multicultural training and social/life experiences, gender, multicultural training, and multicultural efficacy). Multiple regression analyses were also conducted to assess the predictive strength of the multicultural variables (multicultural empathy, multicultural efficacy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training) on White privilege attitudes. These hypotheses predicted the bivariate relationships between multicultural efficacy and the White privilege attitudes measured by the White privilege attitude Scale (WPAS), scale of Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW), and the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). Hypotheses were also established for multiple regression models that would best predict White privilege attitudes on each of the above measures. The following section discusses the results of the proposed SEM model, as well as each bivariate correlation and multiple regression hypotheses. The chapter is concluded with implication of this study's findings and future directions for research and practice.

Hypothesis I: Multicultural Efficacy Mediated Model

This study proposed a structural equation model (SEM) to examine the predictive relationships between the exogenous variables of multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, multicultural training and gender, with the latent variables of White privilege attitudes. Based on previous White privilege literature, White privilege attitudes were broken down into cognitive racial attitudes and affective racial attitudes. It was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would mediate the relationship between the exogenous variables and latent variables. During the SEM analysis process, it was determined that two latent (dependent) variables were unable to be adequately captured

simultaneously through AMOS 18.0. This decision was based on correlation results from the dependent variable scales chosen to measure White privilege attitudes. An additional model was constructed after Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2) and White Fear of Others (PCRW Subscale 3) were removed from the model. Furthermore, it was decided that the three subscales of the CoBRAS would be run independently with the exogenous variables due to the negative balance of the subscales.

Study results indicated that that proposed model did not fit the data. An additional measurement model was developed to re-examine the variables using SEM. However, the second model was also not a good fit to the data. Lack of fit indicates that the theory did not adequately conceptualize the relationship between the measured variables. For this study, it was theorized that multicultural efficacy would mediate the relationships between multicultural empathy, experience, training and gender with White privilege attitudes. This mediating role of multicultural efficacy was hypothesized based Guyton and Wesche's (2005) conceptualization of multicultural efficacy, as well as its theoretical partnership with multicultural competence.

Guyton and Wesche (2005) built the concept of multicultural efficacy on the tripartite model of multicultural competence (knowledge, awareness, and skills), and emphasized the unique role of one's belief in their ability to utilize these three competency areas to work with diverse students/clients. Guyton and Wesche exhorted that multicultural efficacy is needed in order to access and implement multicultural competence. This theoretical underpinning stems from social cognitive theory which discusses self-efficacy as being the primary regulatory system for cognitive and

affective processes (Bandura, 2002; Gainor & Lent, 1998; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). As such, this study proposed multicultural efficacy to function the same way. Specifically, it was hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would “regulate”, or in this model mediate, the cognitive and affective variables of White privilege attitudes.

Research has identified several predictors of multicultural competence (e.g. race/ethnicity, color-blind racial attitudes, multicultural education/training) and has emphasized the foundational role of attitudes and beliefs in the development of multicultural competence (Sue, 2008). Some scholars have explored the relationships between White privilege attitudes and multicultural competence (Spanierman et al, 2008; Neville et al, 1996; Neville et al, 2000; Constantine, 2000). However, few researchers have considered multicultural efficacy’s relationship with multicultural competence or other variables such as multicultural training (Constantine, 2001; Sheu & Lent, 2007; Lent, Hill, & Hoffman, 2003), and no published studies to date have examined multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes. Therefore, this study significantly added the literature on White privilege and multicultural efficacy.

Unfortunately, the proposed theory did not work with the data from this study. Recognizing that this study was the first to include multicultural efficacy in a structural equation model with White privilege attitudes, it is probable that alternative models may better explain the relationship between the measured variables. For instance, it is possible that, though social cognitive theory highlights a directional relationship between self-efficacy and cognitive/affective processes, this relationship functions different when examining racial privilege. For example, one possible model could explore curvilinear patterns of relationship between multicultural efficacy and White

privilege attitudes rather than unidirectional patterns. Another possible model could explore the directionality of the variables measured. This study focused on the mediating and predictive relationship of multicultural efficacy on White privilege attitudes. However, it is also plausible that White privilege attitudes (cognitive and affective) are predictive of multicultural efficacy. Additional research and analyses are needed to clarify the relationships between these variables. For this study, however, it was decided that generating several hypotheses to examine the measured variables in simple and complex correlational analyses would be the best way to further assess the data. The implications of the findings for these hypotheses are explored in the next section.

Hypothesis II: Multicultural Efficacy and White Privilege Attitudes

A series of bivariate correlations were conducted to assess the hypothesized relationship between the multicultural efficacy and the White privilege attitudes measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW), and the Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS). Given that the failed (SEM) model hypothesized that multicultural efficacy would mediate the relationship between the multicultural variables (training, empathy and experience) and White privilege, follow-up hypotheses addressed the more straight forward relationship between multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes. The overarching hypothesis (Hypothesis I) predicted a moderate to strong relationship between multicultural efficacy and each of the White privilege attitudes. The following section discusses the findings for each correlation, organized by factor/subscale of the WPAS, PCRW and CoBRAS.

Hypothesis I.A: Multicultural Efficacy and Willingness to Confront White Privilege

A strong positive relationship was predicted between multicultural efficacy and the White privilege attitude of Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1). Results of this study suggested that multicultural efficacy is moderately ($r = .33$) related to Willingness to Confront White Privilege, partially supporting the hypothesis. This positive correlation suggests that as multicultural efficacy increases, so does a person's willingness to confront the status quo of White racial privilege. For resident hall directors this has encouraging implications for multicultural training initiatives. This may mean that as resident hall directors build confidence in their ability to conduct program surrounding multicultural issues or to intervene on race-based tensions in the residence hall, that they will move their learning toward actualization of pro-minority attitudes. It is important to note that this study also found a positive correlation between WPAS Factor 1 and multicultural training ($r = .26$), which further supports the use of training to foster healthy racial attitudes among resident hall directors.

Hypothesis I.B: Multicultural Efficacy and Anticipated Costs of White Privilege

A strong positive correlation was predicted between multicultural efficacy and Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2). Findings indicated a correlation score of $r = -.16$, suggesting no correlation between the two variables. Though a strong correlation was expected based on previous theoretical discussions surrounding multicultural efficacy (Guyton & Wesche, 2005; Constantine, 2001), this result suggests that a White person's belief in their ability to implement multicultural programming is not related to their affective response to White privilege. In some respects this finding

may have constructive implications for resident hall directors and their job responsibilities. For instance, resident hall directors who may be concerned about the repercussions of addressing White privilege may still feel confident in their ability to manage diversity issues and are, in turn, able to carry out their job responsibilities.

On the other hand, the lack of correlation between multicultural efficacy and Anticipated Costs of White Privilege also seems to indicate a disconnect between attitudes surrounding racism/privilege and multicultural programming/intervention initiatives. Self-awareness and self-examination of multicultural issues have been highlighted by scholars as being core components of teacher (Gay, 2002; Grant & Gillette, 2006) and counselor (Sue, Arrendondo, & McDavis, 1992) multicultural competence. Therefore, this finding for White resident hall directors may also underscore a possible lack of consideration for the racial privileges they possess. Future research is needed to expand our understanding of White privilege attitudes, particularly costs of White privilege, among resident hall directors. One way to do this might be to evaluate where this population falls in terms of White racial identity development (Helms, 1996). In addition, researchers might also consider examining how the types of multicultural job responsibilities expected of resident hall directors relate to White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy.

Hypothesis I.C: Multicultural Efficacy and White Privilege Awareness

A moderate positive relationship was predicted between White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factors 3) and multicultural efficacy. Results of this study partially supported the hypothesis, and suggested that multicultural efficacy is weakly ($r = .21$) related to White Privilege Awareness. As with hypothesis II, this finding suggests a

potential disconnect between resident hall director awareness of White privilege and their self-perceived abilities to implement multicultural programming and confront racism in the residence hall. Conversely, this finding could be explained by the moderate positive correlation between White Privilege Awareness and White Guilt ($r = .43$; PCRW Subscale 2). Spanierman and colleagues (2008) reported that guilt often stems from awareness of White privilege.

This correlation between White privilege awareness and White guilt is also consistent with previous studies that identified White privilege awareness as being central to pro-minority attitudes (Delgado & Steganiec, 1997; Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). It is possible resident hall directors who report high levels of White privilege awareness may experience more guilt and are, therefore, motivated to attend to multicultural issues in their residence hall. These pro-minority feelings may translate into self-perceived multicultural efficacy.

Hypothesis I.D: Multicultural Efficacy and White Privilege Remorse

It was predicted that multicultural efficacy would form a strong negative correlation (.50 to .70) with White Privilege Remorse (WPAS Factor IV). However, findings indicated no correlation between the two variables ($r = .07$). This finding suggests that resident hall director's multicultural efficacy may not be dependent upon their affective reactions to White privilege. Conceptually, this indicates that resident hall directors might feel efficacious in their work with multicultural issues, yet simultaneously experiencing remorse for having White privilege. It is also possible that this correlation may not fully reflect participant attitudes or actual ability due to the self-report nature of the research design. Singh (2010) proposed the idea that self-

efficacy may be state dependent, such that resident hall directors may have high confidence in their multicultural abilities overall, but when confronted with a situation in which their racial heritage or multicultural competence comes into question (i.e. student conflicts over issues or racism, working with a student of color, etc.), they may have lower levels in their ability to produce competent work (Lent, Hill, & Hoffman, 2003).

Reviewing the interpretation from section B (guilt as an affective reaction to White privilege awareness, which may motivate pro-minority attitudes), this lack of correlation found for hypothesis IV may also help further explain the correlation found between Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1) and multicultural efficacy ($r = .33$). If a White resident hall director, for instance, is feeling remorseful of their whiteness, they may feel motivated to challenge the status quo (WPAS Factor 1), but may not be confident in their ability to implement multicultural programming in their residence hall (MES). Ponterotto, Utsey, and Pedersen (2006) talked about this in terms of the macro and micro-levels of addressing White privilege. They reported that the macro-level can often support ideals of racial accord, whereas the micro-level may bring up issues of family, friendship, and immediate consequences to challenging whiteness. With that said, it could also be reasoned that this difference may be intensified for residence life personnel who may recognize or feel motivated to challenging systemic issues at the macro-level (university or community), but are not confident in their ability to engage in and manage racial conflicts or prejudice on the micro-level (residence hall).

Hypothesis I.E: Multicultural Efficacy and White Empathy

A strong (.50 to .70) positive relationship was predicted between Empathic Reactions toward Racism (White Empathy; PCRW Subscale 1) and multicultural efficacy. Findings of this study indicated no relationship between White empathy and multicultural efficacy. Similar to findings for White privilege remorse (WPAS 4), this again indicates that multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes may function independent of one another. This means that, for resident hall directors, White empathy does not necessarily have to be present to establish feelings of confidence in one's multicultural abilities. On other hand, this could also indicate that resident hall directors may feel empathic toward persons of color, but do not have efficacy in their ability to engage in behaviors associated with educating about or challenging race-based issues. This finding is consistent with results from Ancis and Szymanski (2001) who found that some students portrayed an awareness of White privilege, disgust, and sadness about their privilege, but did not indicate action to address such privilege.

Research has indicated a complexity in understanding the experience of Whites to cost of White privilege (Arminio, 2001). Therefore, it is important note that though White empathy and multicultural efficacy appear independent of one another, there may be other factors at play. For instance, Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, and Armstrong (2006) discuss White empathy as being related to awareness of racial privilege. As such the lack of correlation found between White empathy and multicultural efficacy (hypothesis V) may also be related to the level of awareness resident hall directors have surrounding issues of racial privilege. In fact, this study showed a strong positive correlation between ethnocultural empathy and White Privilege Awareness ($r = .54$).

For multicultural training efforts, this indicates that attending to affective reactions to racism and privilege may help draw together White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy, which could improve overall multicultural competence for resident hall directors.

Hypothesis I.F: Multicultural Efficacy and White Guilt

It was predicted that multicultural efficacy would form a moderately strong correlation with White Guilt (PCRW Subscale 2). Results indicated no correlation between the two variables ($r = .03$). As discussed earlier, this finding suggests that White guilt and multicultural efficacy do not relate to or influence one another. It is possible that resident hall directors feel guilty about White privilege, but that their affective response (guilt) does not alter their belief in their multicultural abilities.

This finding stands in opposition to the presumption that multicultural awareness, specifically awareness of White privilege, is foundational to the development of multicultural knowledge and skills (Sue, Arrendondo, & McDavis, 1992). One question this might propose, then, is “how can multicultural efficacy be fostered in resident hall directors?” Current multicultural training research has indicated that a variety of different training strategies are effective in fostering various aspects of multicultural competence (Dickson, Jepsen, & Barbee, 2008). For instance, traditional educational strategies (reading assignments and lectures) have been found to help increase knowledge of cultural norms and values (Reynolds, 1995), participatory training activities (group discussions) have proven to enhance self-reflection of personal values, assumptions, and biases (Kim & Lyons, 2003), and experiential exercises positively foster interactive sharing and processing of reactions to racism

(Pedersen, 2000). However, future research is needed to determine which, if any, of these training methods influences multicultural efficacy.

Hypothesis I.G: Multicultural Efficacy and White Fear

It was predicted that multicultural efficacy would form a strong negative correlation with White Fear of Others (White Fear; PCRW Subscale 3). A weak negative correlation between multicultural efficacy and White fear ($r = -.26$) emerged in this study, and partially supported the hypothesis. White fear has been found in previous studies to relate with lower levels of White empathic reactions, racial awareness, and ethnocultural empathy (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). This study adds to the understanding of White fear, by indicating a negative relationship between White fear and multicultural efficacy ($r = -.265$). This means that, for resident hall directors, higher levels of White fear are associated with lower levels of multicultural efficacy. Again this has implications for training efforts in residence life. However, it also indicates that White fear, unlike White empathy (hypothesis I.E) and guilt (hypothesis I.F), may impact resident hall director confidence in their ability to deliver multicultural programming or manage racial conflict among their students. Additional research is needed to clarify this relationship; however, one way residence life program can attend to this White privilege attitude would be to tailor training efforts to the patterns of psychosocial costs experienced by their Whites resident hall directors (Spanierman and colleagues, 2006). It is possible that attending to White fear may positively influence multicultural efficacy in resident hall directors.

Hypothesis I.H: Multicultural Efficacy and Unawareness of Racial Privilege

It was predicted that a strong negative correlation would form between multicultural efficacy and Unawareness of Racial Privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1). Results from this study indicated a weak positive correlation between multicultural efficacy and Unawareness of Racial Privilege ($r = .19$). Though the correlation is below acceptable standards to consider this a true relationship (Green & Salkind, 2003), this finding is still unexpected as literature on multicultural counseling efficacy has suggested that individuals having greater awareness of racial issues are more likely to report feeling efficacious in their work with racially/ethnically diverse others (Constantine & Ladany, 2001). On the other hand, previous literature has discussed color blind racial attitudes as being a naive desire to emphasize sameness as a way to reject White supremacy (Frankenberg, 1993; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). Therefore, resident hall directors who endorse the color blind racial attitude of Unawareness of Racial Privilege may feel confident in their ability to engage in multicultural issues because they are upholding the status quo of minimizing systemic racial problems.

Hypothesis I.I: Multicultural Efficacy and Unawareness of Institutional Racism

It was predicted that Unawareness of Institutional Racism would be strongly negatively correlated (.50 to .70) with multicultural efficacy. Results showed that Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2) was unrelated ($r = -.07$) to multicultural efficacy. Though there was no relationship found between these two variables, this lack of finding may be indicative of the different dimensions of color blind racial attitudes (institutional racism), and may provide additional information

about the White privilege attitudes endorsed by resident hall directors in this sample. Institutional racism is a systemic issue that influences the norms and procedures in our communities or organizations (Lopez, 2000). For resident hall directors, this may come in the form of policies at their university, conversations (or lack of conversations) regarding race and racism in their residence life program, and/or belief systems surrounding race in the home communities they grew up in.

In her scale construction of the Multicultural Teaching Concerns Survey, Marshall (1992) identified educator concerns surrounding school bureaucracies, stating that educators worry about how school politics will hinder their work with students of color. Though Marshall's work points to an awareness of systemic racism, her finding implies that larger issues may underpin the relationship between multicultural efficacy and awareness of institutional racism. For resident hall directors, it is possible that they are aware of university or community norms surrounding discrimination and/or privilege, but may feel silenced by their campus or program climate. This silencing of racial issues is considered to be the sixth concept of White privilege (Neville et al, 2001; Delgado & Stefanic, 1997) and has been found to hamper multicultural competence.

Hypothesis I.J: Multicultural Efficacy and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues

It was predicted that a moderate (.30 to .40) negative correlation would form between multicultural efficacy and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (CoBRAS Subscale 3). Findings rejected this hypothesis and indicated no relationship between the two variables ($r = .07$). This finding is surprising as previous research has shown that as awareness of racial issues increases, White individuals move closer to a more

integrated racial identity status and build multicultural competence (Gushue and Constantine, 2007). However, the lack of correlation found may indicate that White resident hall directors awareness of racism does not influence their multicultural efficacy.

Examining color blind racial attitudes across the three CoBRAS subscales, the lack of correlation findings may help illuminate future directions for multicultural training in residence life programs. Across hypothesis I.G, I.H and I.J, it seems that White resident hall directors may be unaware of larger systemic (CoBRAS Subscale 1) and institutional (CoBRAS Subscale 2) forms of racism, as well as may be color blind to overt forms of racism (CoBRAS Subscale 3). For multicultural training initiatives, this significant level of color blindness may indicate that training paradigms reflect outdated multicultural education models, specific those that highlight in-group out-group language (e.g. “those people..” or “people from those cultures...”) or endorse color-blind racial attitudes such as “Treat all students the same regardless of who they are” (Gay, 2003). It is important that residence life programs attend to current literature on multicultural education and incorporate White privilege issues into their annual and biannual trainings. Research could also add to literature by examining multicultural training programs in residence life and comparing them with White privilege awareness, particularly on the overt, institutional and systemic levels, of residence life leaders and professionals.

Hypothesis II: Multiple Regression

Give the failure of the multicultural efficacy mediation model to predict attitudes related to White Privilege, subsequent hypotheses were formed related to the

prediction of White privilege attitudes based on the combined contributions of multicultural efficacy, multicultural empathy, multicultural experience, and multicultural training. White privilege has been noted by scholars as being a complicated construct to fully understand, particularly when exploring the affective and cognitive experiences of White privilege by White individuals (Gushue & Constantine, 2007)). That complexity was manifested itself in the lack of consistent relationships between White privilege attitude scales (i.e., low between scale correlations). However, research has cited multicultural empathy, experience, efficacy and training as being leading predictors of White privilege attitudes as measured by the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW), and the Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS). This study contributed to the literature by examining the underexplored but promising variable of multicultural efficacy, and hypothesized that each of the independent variables (empathy, experience, self-efficacy and training) would add significant variance to the prediction of each scale of the three White Privilege measures.

Each multiple regression use to test this hypothesis was run twice. The first was a simultaneous entry regression equation run in order to look at the relative contributions of the four variables in the study. The second was a stepwise equation, controlling for multicultural empathy, multicultural experience and multicultural training, in order to allow the unique variance of multicultural efficacy to be assessed. Across all ten regression equations, a common trend was seen. First, the overall regression (with all four predictor variables) generally predicted White privilege attitudes. Second, when examining the unique contributions of the individual

independent variables, only multicultural empathy contributed a statistically significant portion of variance in the prediction of White privilege attitudes overall. Consequently, while the overall hypothesis was supported, it was only multicultural empathy and not multicultural efficacy (or training or experience), that had had a significant impact on White privilege attitudes. The implications of this finding, contextualized by the related literature, are described next.

Multicultural Efficacy

Findings indicated that all regression models significantly predicted the White privilege attitudes measured by the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS. However, multicultural efficacy was not found to be a significant predictor for any of the proposed models. Though these specific variables (MES, SEE, multicultural experience, multicultural training) have not yet been used together in a study with the WPAS, PCRW or CoBRAS, this results is somewhat surprising. Literature has speculated that multicultural competence is influenced by multicultural efficacy (Constantine & Ladany, 2000; Singh, 2011). Given that multicultural competence has been empirically supported as being related to White privilege attitudes (Spanierman et al., 2009), connecting multicultural efficacy to White privilege attitudes seemed a logical relationship. Yet, multicultural efficacy scores did not add any significant variance when explaining White privilege attitudes as measured by the WPAS, PCRW or CoBRAS.

Multicultural Experience and Training

Multicultural experience with diverse others and multicultural training have been highlighted in previous research as being influential variables in multicultural

competence and racial attitudes. This study examined multicultural experience and training in the multiple regression equations. Findings suggested that these two variables may influence some of the White privilege attitudes measured by the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS, but may not significantly contribute to various prediction models when compared to other variables such as multicultural empathy. However, findings did indicate significant contributions of multicultural experience and training on five of the White privilege attitudes measured. This section briefly details the findings and possible implication of multicultural experience and training for residence life programs.

This study's findings indicated that multicultural experience is an influential predictor variable for the White privilege attitudes of Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2; $p < .05$), and White Fear (PCRW Subscale 3; $p < .05$). Extant literature has referenced multicultural experiences as being fundamental to White individual's advancement through the stages of White racial identity development. Helms (1990) discussed such experiences with persons of color as being an influential vehicle for movement from the first stage of limited multicultural experience, through the fourth, fifth, and sixth stages of development which mark the beginning for developing a positive White racial identity.

It is interesting, in this study, that multicultural experience is a significant contributor to Anticipated Costs of White Privilege (WPAS Factor 2), which indicates an acknowledgement and anxiousness regarding White privilege. Helm's work suggests that anxiety typically transpires during the second stage, *disintegration*, in which Whites begin to recognize their race and its associate privileges. Research has also

shown that White people often begin to feel fear and guilt at this stage of development (Helms, 1990), which supports the finding of White fear (PCRW Subscale 3). Though this study did not directly examine White racial identity development, this finding may suggest that this sample of White resident hall directors is in an earlier stage of development. In addition, research has also connected White racial identity development to multicultural competence, finding that higher levels of multicultural competence are associated with more advanced stages of White identity development (Ottavi et al., 1994). Therefore, this finding may also help to explain why multicultural efficacy was not a significant predictor variable.

Examining multicultural training, this study found that training was a significant predictor for Willingness to Confront White Privilege (WPAS Factor 1; $p < .05$), White Privilege Awareness (WPAS Factor 3; $p < .000$), and Unawareness of Institutional Racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2; $p < .05$). These specific White privilege attitudes (Willingness to Confront White Privilege, White Privilege Awareness, and Unawareness of Institutional Racism) indicate a level of awareness regarding racism, as well as possible behavioral responses to such awareness (e.g. taking action to dismantle White privilege). Previous research has shown that multicultural training is related to lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001), which is consistent with this study's findings on the CoBRAS Subscale 2. The findings for the two factors of the WPAS (Willingness to Confront White Privilege: Factor 1 and White Privilege Awareness: Factor 3) are theoretically consistent with research by Spanierman and colleagues (2008) who identified multicultural training as being a leading predictor of compassionate costs (empathy and guilt) of White

privilege. Spanierman et al.'s compassionate costs reflect a positive affinity for managing racial privilege as a White individual. In this case, resident hall directors who had more multicultural training endorsed attitudes related to acknowledging their White privilege (Awareness of White Privilege; WPAS Factor 3) and engaging in pro-minority behaviors to challenge whiteness (Willingness to Confront White Privilege; WPAS Factor 1). For residence life programs, this finding has substantial implications for multicultural training regarding White privilege issues.

In this study, the findings for multicultural experience suggest that White resident hall directors who rely heavily on their lived experiences with racially diverse others to tap into their White privilege attitudes may feel anxious and fearful rather than motivated to address racial disparities or acknowledge White privilege. Whereas, White resident hall directors who received multicultural training may be more aware of their racial privilege, and desire to take part in actions that foster social change. For residence life, however, it is important to recognize how affective reaction to racism may interact with multicultural training. Scholars examining affective reactions, such as anxiety and fear, have found that as affective reaction emerge; White individuals may begin to disengage from multicultural training (Pack-Brown, 1999; Utsey & Gernat, 2002).

Though this study did not examine interactions effects between these variables, future research might consider exploring how multicultural experience, training, and White privilege attitudes interact with one another. Another way to do this might be to examine the potential mediating effects of multicultural training on the relationship between multicultural experience and White privilege attitudes. Additional research on

these three variables may help residence life programs to facilitate the White racial development of their resident hall directors from *disintegration* and feelings of anxiety and fear, to healthier stages of development that encompass feelings of social action and empowerment to manage racial issues and privilege within the residence halls.

Multicultural Empathy

Though the hypotheses related to multicultural efficacy were not supported in the present study, several other critical findings are worthy noting. First, the variable of multicultural empathy, measured by the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE; Wang et al., 2003), was found to play a significant role in all but two (Anticipated Costs of White Privilege: WPAS Factor 2 and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues: CoBRAS Subscale 3) of the White privilege attitudes measured by the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW), and Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS).

Multicultural empathy has been highlighted in counseling psychology literature as being central to the development of multicultural competence (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008) and advancement through the states of White racial identity status (Helms, 1990). Constantine (2001) examined specific attitudinal variables that predicted counselor abilities, and found that counselors who have higher levels of self-reported empathy are better able to effectively conceptualize diverse client's needs and concerns. However, no published studies to date have examined multicultural empathy among student affairs or residence life professionals. For residence life programs, this study's findings suggest that multicultural empathy may be instrumental to White privilege attitudes for resident hall directors. For White resident hall directors in

particular, this may mean that multicultural empathy (as measured by the SEE) is more impactful to their development of pro-minority attitudes and self-awareness regarding race-based advantages than self-efficacy surrounding their ability to deal with racial issues in their residence hall. This finding has implications for training efforts in residence life and the role empathy may play in helping resident hall directors build awareness of systemic racial issues and pro-social attitudes toward racial climate change. However, it also indicates that though resident hall directors may feel empathic and empowered to action, their self-efficacy to implement multicultural education or intervene on issues of prejudice in their residence hall may not impact their attitudes regarding racism.

Looking at the impact of multicultural empathy on the CoBRAS subscales in particular, it is interesting that empathy significantly impacts awareness of racial privilege (CoBRAS Subscale 1) and awareness of institution racism (CoBRAS Subscale 2), but not awareness of blatant racial issues (CoBRAS Subscale 3). Though no mediating effects related to empathy were assessed in this study, it is possible that when predicting awareness of blatant racial issues, multicultural empathy is interacting with other multicultural variables (such as experience or training) in a way that influenced or mediated the level or type of empathy reported in this study. In addition, this finding may also speak to the level of multicultural competence possessed by resident hall directors. For example, the subscales of CoBRAS 1 and CoBRAS 2 both speak to color blind racial attitudes surrounding more covert forms of racism, specifically on the social and political levels.

Population Considerations

Perhaps just as important as looking at the relationship between variables within this study is simply addressing the levels of awareness of White privilege, multicultural competency and multicultural empathy with this population of White resident hall directors. More specifically, it appears that this sample of White resident hall directors may be less aware of White privilege and systemic racism than White participants from studies in the field of counseling psychology. Comparing means and standard deviation of this population against those of the normative samples from the WPAS, PCRW, and CoBRAS, it appears that resident hall directors feel generally efficacious in their abilities to attend to multicultural issues, but may be unaware of their own or other's White racial privilege (at least in comparison to counseling and counseling psychology graduate students). Sue and colleagues (2007) distinguished aversive racism from that of overt or "old-fashioned" racial hatred and bigotry by stating that aversive racism is more ambiguous and harder for Whites to identify, particularly within the larger social structures of society. For this sample of resident hall directors this seems to also be the case. Results indicate that resident hall directors are able to recognize overt racism (Blatant Racial Issues, CoBRAS Subscale 3), but may be unable to identify larger more epidemic forms of racism, such as racial inequity on the systemic (Unawareness of Racial Privilege, CoBRAS Subscale 1) or institutional racism (Unawareness of Institutional Racism, CoBRAS Subscale 2) levels.

Furthermore, this finding may also speak to the personality characteristics of people commonly in residence life and/or higher education. In her study examining the development of social justice allies, Broido (2000) found that egalitarian values,

confidence, and altruism were characteristics that often led student affairs leaders to engage in ally-related behaviors. Though individually attributed as being positive characteristics, research indicates that egalitarianism is often related to endorsement of anti-minority feelings and aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). DeVos and Banaji (2005) reported that egalitarian values often operate on a conscious level, while their anti-minority feelings may be unconscious and covert. As such, it is possible that resident hall directors view themselves as pro-social and invested in social justice actions, but are unaware of covert racist beliefs, receipt of racial privileges, or anti-minority feelings that may be interfering with their work.

This line of thought may also help explain the lack of relationships found between multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes in the bivariate correlations and multiple regression analyses. Scholars suggest that one way to address aversive racism is to enhance awareness of racial privilege. By increasing awareness of racial privilege, research has indicated that underlying affective reactions may come to the surface (Daly, 2005; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; Pinterits, et al., 2009).

Implications for Research and Practice

Though multicultural research examining racial attitudes has increased over the past decade, it is important that researchers continue to analyze and report on multicultural attitudes, particularly White privilege attitudes, within various populations. Because this study focused specifically on the White privilege attitudes of resident hall directors, the findings only provide a narrow window of understanding of how racial attitudes may be influenced by training and experiences on a college

campuses, and may not generalize to non-university communities. It is recommended that future researchers continue to attend to the role of multicultural efficacy in the experience of racial attitudes and behaviors among White individuals. Research has provided evidence of a range of racial attitudes and behaviors, particularly through correlation studies using self-report measures, however this is one of the first studies to date which incorporated measures of White privilege attitudes with multicultural efficacy.

Results indicated that though multicultural efficacy does not predict various White privilege attitudes, it is related to many of the multicultural feelings and thoughts we hope resident hall directors will possess. These include high multicultural empathy, multiple experiences and training efforts with persons of color, and anti-racists/pro-minority attitudes such as willingness to confront White privilege (WPAS Factor 1). Future researchers might consider exploring these same variables with other populations to compare outcomes with this residence life sample. It is possible that populations that receive greater or lesser amounts of multicultural training may demonstrate different levels of multicultural efficacy in relation to their White privilege attitudes. In addition, it would be beneficial to both research and practice to further explore the variables of multicultural empathy and multicultural efficacy as they relate to multicultural competence.

Multicultural empathy was a leading predictor variable of White privilege attitudes found in this study. Extant literature has suggested that multicultural empathy is also related to multicultural awareness (Rothenberg, 2008) and multicultural knowledge (Spanierman et al, 2009). As such, empathy plays an important role in

multicultural competence (Constantine, 2000). For residence life programs, this finding has implications for various aspects of resident hall director recruitment, selection, training, and continuing education efforts. Ideally, multiculturally competent resident hall directors are needed to foster healthy racial dynamics and climate within university residence halls. Future researchers might consider examining resident hall director multicultural efficacy and/or competence in relation to multicultural empathy, specifically looking at how empathy is influenced and/or increased.

Another way research could continue to examine multicultural efficacy and White privilege attitudes is to assess the types of training workshops and programs provided in residence life. This study did not explore multicultural training in depth, yet results suggested that training may influence resident hall director awareness of racial privilege and possible readiness for behaviors associated with challenging racial inequity. Previous research has reported that experiential and exposure-based training programs are often the most successful at fostering pro-minority attitudes and multicultural knowledge and awareness (Dickson & Schumway, 2011). It would be helpful to examine whether or not this is also the case for resident hall directors. In addition, such training programs could be evaluated for their potential impact on multicultural efficacy.

Finally, it is important that researchers continue to attend to the presence of privilege and oppression with university residence halls. Results of this study suggest that though resident hall directors may be confident in their work and provide leadership, they may not have significant awareness of how systemic racial issues, such as power and privilege, function within their living communities. Campus racial

climates have been found to permeate the university experience for both White and racial minority students (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Therefore, it will be important that future research continue to examine and explore multicultural climate issues, particularly those surrounding multicultural competence and White privilege, within university residence halls in order to further our understanding of the housing experiences of students of color. Such research could include assessing minority student perceptions of White resident hall director's multicultural competence, and/or evaluating resident hall programs surrounding multicultural issues.

Limitations and Future Research

The limitations of this study are noted and discussed here to aid in future research surrounding multicultural competence and/or the use of structural equation modeling (SEM). The first limitation of the current study is the timing of recruitment and data collection. Because data collection was conducted during two time periods, the end of a university spring semesters (April through May) and the end of a university fall semester (late October through December), the consistency in responses may be lacking. Due to the dependence of resident hall director employment and responsibility on the academic calendar, it is possible that spring responses came from more established or exiting resident hall directors, while fall responses may have come from in-coming or freshly trained resident hall directors. To account for this limitation, it is suggested that future researchers attend to the monthly and annual demands of resident hall directors when gathering data from this specific population.

The second limitation of this study is two-fold and includes the collection method used, poor response return rate, and attrition rate in survey completion. Having

collected data across several listserv that connect to over 900 universities and colleagues across the United States (ACUHO-I website), it is estimated that thousands of residence life personnel had access to the online survey. However, only approximately 500 accessed the survey, and only 206 completed surveys were usable in this study. The return rate, therefore, was less than 10% of the given population. Though White resident hall directors are only a small percentage of the larger student affairs and residence life communities connected through the listserves used, this response rate is less than desirable. In addition, because this study utilized a convenience sample based on responses to a web-based recruitment process, the researcher cannot guarantee that the sample will be fully representative of White resident hall directors (Creswell, 2002).

Responses were based on willingness to participate among resident hall directors that were apart of certain listserves, so the data may not accurately reflect general beliefs and feelings of resident hall directors across all university settings, particularly for smaller colleges or universities that may not be enrolled in the organizations from which data was collected. Furthermore, the resident hall directors in this sample self-selected to take part in this research. As such, it is also possible that this sample may have a larger investment in multicultural issues than those resident hall directors that chose not to participate. This same attention to resident hall director level of commitment to multicultural issues may also have played a role in the significant attrition rate in this study. The length of survey items may have been a barrier to survey completion rates. Due to the number of items needed to foster a strong latent variable construct in SEM, survey items were numerous. Those participants who completed the

survey in its entirety may be more committed to multicultural issues than those whose responses were not as thorough. To account for these limitations it is recommended that future research collect responses from resident hall directors through both web-based recruitment and direct collection procedures. It is also important that researchers consider narrowing their focus on multicultural issues in order to protect against participant fatigue and attrition rates.

The third limitation surrounded the small sample size, which directly affected the statistical analysis that could be employed to examine gender differences. Previous research has found gender differences on White empathy and multicultural empathy (Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Bielstein Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008), White guilt (Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006), and multicultural awareness (Spanierman et al, 2008). Extant research has also indicated no gender differences on color blind racial attitudes (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Though this study was able to capture some of these gender differences using univariate analysis of variance, future studies may benefit from incorporating gender into a structural equation model or other predictive design to assess its influence on White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy.

The fourth and possibly most influential limitation was the complexity of the proposed structural equation model. Kenny and McCoach (2003) suggested that structural equation models be parsimonious and limit the number of variables incorporated in order to help ensure data fit. It is possible that the complexity of the hypothesized model contributed to the lack of fit in the data. This could also be explained by the number of participants able to be used in this study. A sample size of

200 participants is recommended in the literature for a simple SEM models. Whereas, sample sizes of 300 or more participants are recommended for complex SEM models (Iacobucci, 2009). It is suggested that future researchers continue to examine White privilege attitudes and multicultural efficacy using structural equation modeling. However, simplifying the models is recommended to establish a better fit of the data.

The fifth limitation of this study was the use of the Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES; Guyton & Wesche, 2005) to measure multicultural efficacy. For this study, the MES was chosen over other like measures of multicultural efficacy (i.e. multicultural counselor efficacy) due to the close relationship between programming and job requirements of resident hall directors and Guyton and Wesche's norm group of pre-service teacher responsibilities. Though theoretically sound and validated in its original construction, the MES has not been validated with additional norm groups. For this sample of White resident hall directors, a significantly restricted range of responses on multicultural efficacy was found. This may mean that the MES requires supplementary research and validation to clarify its reliability and validity across various sample groups. In addition, it is probable that this restricted range negatively affected the statistical analyses in this study. Such as narrow range of responses likely impacted that correlations found between multicultural efficacy and other measured multicultural variables, as well as may have prevented other correlations from emerging that were not found with this sample of resident hall directors. Though the MES did not function as expected or hoped for in this study, it is currently one of few multicultural efficacy measures and is important to the furthering of multicultural research. It is

recommended that the MES continue to be utilized in future research, particularly alongside similar measures of efficacy to assess its use with various populations.

Finally, the sixth limitation is the importance of acknowledging the complexity of measuring White privilege attitudes (Arminio, 2001). The three measures used in this study, the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to White (PCRW), and Color Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS), have been found to correlate significantly with one another. However, additional research is needed to further understand these relationships between the factors and subscales, as well as to determine if common latent variables or factors are present. This study experienced difficulties utilizing these three measures in the structural equation modeling process, which may be explained by shared factors across these scales. It is, therefore, suggested that future researchers consider conducting a large factor analysis of all White privilege attitude measures to date to assess for common factors.

Conclusion

Overall, findings of this study indicated that multicultural efficacy may not function according to the social cognitive theory assumptions regarding self-efficacy, particularly when examining White privilege attitudes among resident hall directors. However, results did elucidate the specific roles multicultural empathy, multicultural training, and multicultural experience may play in the White privilege attitudes of resident hall directors. This study also speaks to a need for additional research to examine multicultural competence among residence life professionals. White privilege attitudes have been highlighted in counseling psychology literature as being foundational to multicultural competence development (Sue, Arrendondo, & McDavis,

1992; Sue et al., 2007), but limited research to date has examined these same variables in the residence life population. Residence life professionals, particularly resident hall directors, are uniquely positioned to positively influence the racial campus climate at their university and to challenge systemic, institutional and interpersonal forms of racism among their students. Therefore, it is important that theoretical and empirical literature continue to expand information surrounding multicultural issues and residence life to address the increasing diversification among students and faculty on university campuses.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A INFORMED CONSENT

Welcome and thank you for deciding to take part in this study.

The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of the efficacy and attitudes residence life professionals hold surrounding multicultural and racial issues. For this reason it should be noted that there are no wrong answers to the questions. Your honest reactions and experiences are valuable to this project.

Please take a moment to review the 'Informed Consent' Section below.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your participation in the study is strictly voluntary. You may withdraw from participation at any time with no penalty to you.

Your name will not be associated with any of the information that you provide during the study and the data will be summarized in such a way that you cannot be identified.

There are no risks of harm to you. Although it is unlikely, should you feel discomfort regarding any of the questions and the desire to talk to a professional about these feelings, please contact your institution's counseling services. If services are not provided within your institution, please contact the primary researcher for referral information.

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. The study may help us to understand psychological dynamics of race relations and to better recognize the role Residence Life Personnel play racial issues on college campuses.

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to complete several brief surveys which asks for your opinions pertaining to racial attitudes in this country. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers to the questions and statements; we are only interested in your opinions. If you identify as a person of color, some questions may not pertain directly to you. Please feel free to leave those questions blank. If you identify as White/Caucasian/European American, please try to complete all the questions. The study will take approximately 20 to 40 minutes.

Throughout the duration of this study, your identifying information will be stored within a locked filing cabinet in the Department of Counseling Psychology at the University of North Dakota for a period of 7 years. During this time, only the principle investigator, research supervisors, graduate research assistants, and the people who audit Institutional Review Board (IRB) procedures will have access to this information. After the completion of the study, all information will be destroyed according to IRB policy.

Please address any questions or concerns you may have regarding this study by emailing Sarah Szerlong at sarah.szerlong@und.nodak.edu. If you have any other questions or concerns regarding your rights as a participant, please contact the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board at (701)777-4279.

Please click "accept" below to indicate your agreement to participate.

1. I consent to participate in this study and understand my rights as a participant.

- Yes
- No

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Gender

- Female
- Male
- Transgender
- Other (please specify) _____

2. Do you currently serve as a Resident Hall Director for your university? (Hall Director is defined as being a Residence Life member in charge of a single or multiple residence hall(s) with responsibility overseeing Resident Assistants or other Residence Life staff).

- Yes
- No

3. Age

- 18 – 22
- 23 – 27
- 28 – 32
- 33 – 37
- 38 – 42
- 42 or older

4. Birthplace

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Alabama | <input type="radio"/> Hawaii |
| <input type="radio"/> Alaska | <input type="radio"/> Idaho |
| <input type="radio"/> American Samoa | <input type="radio"/> Illinois |
| <input type="radio"/> Arizona | <input type="radio"/> Indiana |
| <input type="radio"/> Arkansas | <input type="radio"/> Iowa |
| <input type="radio"/> California | <input type="radio"/> Kansas |
| <input type="radio"/> Colorado | <input type="radio"/> Kentucky |
| <input type="radio"/> Connecticut | <input type="radio"/> Louisiana |
| <input type="radio"/> Delaware | <input type="radio"/> Maine |
| <input type="radio"/> District of Columbia | <input type="radio"/> Maryland |
| <input type="radio"/> Florida | <input type="radio"/> Massachusetts |
| <input type="radio"/> Georgia | <input type="radio"/> Michigan |
| <input type="radio"/> Guam | <input type="radio"/> Minnesota |

- Mississippi
- Missouri
- Montana
- Nebraska
- Nevada
- New Hampshire
- New Jersey
- New Mexico
- New York
- North Carolina
- North Dakota
- Northern Marianas Islands
- Ohio
- Oklahoma
- Oregon
- Pennsylvania
- Puerto Rico
- Rhode Island
- South Carolina
- South Dakota
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Utah
- Vermont
- Virginia
- Virgin Islands
- Washington
- West Virginia
- Wisconsin
- Wyoming

5. What type of area did you grow up in?

- Urban
- Suburban
- Rural
- Other (please specify) _____

6. Residence Life Experience

- Number of Years Involved _____
- Previous Positions Held _____

7. Racial/Ethnic Background

- African American/Black/African
- Arab American/Arab/Persian
- Asian American/Asian
- East Indian
- Hispanic/Latino/Latina
- Multi-Racial
- Native American or Alaskan Native
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- White/Caucasian/European American

8. Sexual Orientation

- Bisexual
- Gay
- Heterosexual/Straight
- Lesbian
- Questioning
- Other (please specify) _____

9. Socioeconomic Status
(Please check one in each column)

As a Child	As an Adult	Corresponding Annual Income
<input type="checkbox"/> Lower	<input type="checkbox"/> Lower	<input type="checkbox"/> \$000,000 to \$19,000
<input type="checkbox"/> Lower Middle	<input type="checkbox"/> Lower Middle	<input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 to \$39,000
<input type="checkbox"/> Upper Middle	<input type="checkbox"/> Upper Middle	<input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 to \$59,000
<input type="checkbox"/> Upper	<input type="checkbox"/> Upper	<input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000 to \$79,000
		<input type="checkbox"/> \$80,000 or more

APPENDIX C
DIVERSITY TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

1. I have attended one or more presentations, workshops, or courses in which the topic of White privilege was covered.

- Yes
- No

2. White privilege is discussed as part of diversity training for our Residence Life staff each year.

- Yes
 - No
 - Please describe ways you've seen White privilege taught at your university:
-

3. Please select one choice that best describes your exposure to and engagement with racial minority groups.

- I have not had any significant exposure to non-White racial groups. (e.g., attended all White or majority White schools; friends and teachers were White; exposure to people of racial minority groups has primarily been through the media and in public places).
- I have experienced limited exposure to non-White racial groups. (e.g., close friends are all or mostly White; people of racial minority groups are in my physical environment)
- I have experienced moderate exposure to non-White racial groups. (e.g., regular interaction with a friend or co-worker who belongs to a racial minority group; attended cultural events of racial minority groups; traveled to a foreign country).
- I have in-depth experience with racial minority cultures and the people who belong to those cultures. (e.g., foreign exchange student to a country with a majority non-White population; lived more than a year in a minority racial family or community; close friends/relatives who belong to racial minority groups; broach race issues with people I know).

I embrace diverse racial cultures and complex racial dynamics. (e.g., engage in in-depth discussions of race issues with friends/colleagues/relatives who belong to racial minority groups)

APPENDIX D
MULTICULTURAL EFFICACY SCALE (MES)

Multicultural Efficacy Scale (MES) Copyright 2005 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Definition: The authors intend the terms “diversity” and “people different from me” to include people of different races, ethnic groups, cultures, religions, socio-economic classes, sexual orientations, and physical abilities.

Directions: Please choose the word that best describes your experiences with people different from you by placing a check mark in the corresponding oval.

Please select from the choices below.

Never Rarely Occasionally Frequently

1. As a child, I played with people different from me.
2. I went to school with diverse students as a teenager.
3. Diverse people lived in my neighborhood when I was a child growing up.
4. In the past I chose to read books about people different from me.
5. A diverse person was one of my role models when I was younger.
6. In the past I chose to watch TV shows and movies about people different from me.
7. As a teenager, I was on the same team and/or club with diverse students.

Definitions: The author lists RHD to mean Resident Hall Director. Because these titles may be limited to institutional terminology, please view each question according to your own Residence Life position.

Directions: Respond to each statement by choosing one answer that best describes your reaction to it. Since we are simply trying to get an accurate sense of your opinions on these matters, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

Please select from the choices below.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
--	-------------------	-------------------	----------------------	----------------------

1. RHDs should adapt programs and events to reflect the different cultures represented in their hall/area.
2. RHDs should provide opportunities for students to share cultural differences in foods, dress, family life, and beliefs.
3. Discussing ethnic traditions and beliefs in the residence hall/university leads to disunity and arguments between students from different cultures.
4. Students should be taught mostly by RHDs of their own ethnic and cultural background.
5. It is essential to include the perspectives of diverse groups while teaching things about American history that are common to all Americans.
6. Programs and educational events should include the contributions of most, if not all, cultural groups in our society.
7. Residence Hall resource centers should reflect the racial and cultural differences in the hall/area.

Please select from the choices below.

I do not believe I could do this very well.	if I had to, but it would be difficult for me.	reasonably well, if I had time to prepare. I am quite	easy for me to do.
I could probably do this	I believe that I could do this	confident that this would be	

8. I can provide instructional activities to help students to develop strategies for dealing with racial confrontations.
9. I can adapt hall programming and instructional methods to meet the needs of learners from diverse groups.
10. I can develop materials appropriate for the multicultural residence hall.
11. I can develop programming that dispels myths about diverse groups.
12. I can analyze programming materials for potential stereotypical and/or prejudicial content.
13. I can help students to examine their own prejudices.
14. I can present diverse groups in our society in a manner that will build respect.
15. I can develop activities that increase the self-confidence of diverse students.
16. I can provide instruction showing how prejudice affects individuals.
17. I can plan hall activities to reduce prejudice toward diverse groups.
18. I can identify cultural biases in commercial materials used in teaching and programming.
19. I can help students work through problem situations caused by stereotypical and/or prejudicial attitudes.
20. I can get students from diverse groups to work together.
21. I can identify school practices that may harm diverse students.
22. I can identify solutions to problems that may arise as the result of diversity.

23. I can identify the societal forces which influence opportunities for diverse people.
24. I can identify ways in which various groups contribute to our pluralistic society.
25. I can help students take on the perspective of ethnic and cultural groups different from their own.
26. I can help students view history and current events from diverse perspectives.
27. I can involve students in making decisions and clarifying their values regarding multicultural issues.

* Note: The following item is different from the others in this section.

Choose the position which most closely reflects your strongest beliefs about teaching:

- If every individual learned to accept and work with every other person, then there would be no intercultural problems.
- If all groups would contribute to the general good and not seek special recognition, we could create a unified America.
- All cultural groups are entitled to maintain their own identity.
- All cultural groups should be recognized for their strengths and contributions.
- Some groups need to be helped to achieve equal treatment before we can reach the goals of democratic society.

APPENDIX E
WHITE PRIVILEGE ATTITUDE SCALE (WPAS)

Directions: Below is a set of descriptions of different attitudes about White privilege in the United States. Using the 6 – point scale, please rate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can, there are not right or wrong answers. Record your responses to the left of each item.

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

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. ___ I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege.
2. ___ Our social structure system promotes White privilege.
3. ___ I am angry that I keep benefiting from White privilege.
4. ___ I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites.
5. ___ I take action against White privilege with people I know.
6. ___ Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White bashing.
7. ___ I accept responsibility to change White privilege.
8. ___ I feel awful about White privilege.
9. ___ If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends.

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

APPENDIX F
SCALE OF ETHNOCULTURAL EMPATHY (SEE)

Please respond to each item using the following scale:

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

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak Standard English.
2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.
3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.
5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.
6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
7. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.
9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences.
10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic background speak their language around me.

11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.
12. I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.
13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.
14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.
15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic background.
16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.
17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.
18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.
19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.
21. I don't care if people make racists statements against other racial or ethnic groups.
22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.
23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.
24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.
25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

26. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.
28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.
29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.
30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.
31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day-to-day lives.

APPENDIX G
PSYCHOSOCIAL COSTS OF RACISM TO WHITES (PCRW)

Directions. Below is a set of descriptions of different affective responses to multicultural issues. Using the 6-point scale, please rate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.
2. I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition.
3. I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.
4. Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.
5. I have very few friends of other races.
6. I become sad when I think about racial injustice.
7. Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism..
8. I never feel ashamed about being White.
9. I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.
10. I am angry that racism exists.
11. I am distrustful of people of other races.
12. I feel good about being White.
13. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.

14. Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.
15. I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.
16. It disturbs me when people express racist views.

APPENDIX H
COLOR BIND RACIAL ATTITUDE SCALE (COBRAS)

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

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. ____ Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
2. ____ Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
3. ____ It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
4. ____ Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
5. ____ Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
6. ____ Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
7. ____ Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.
8. ____ Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.
9. ____ White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.

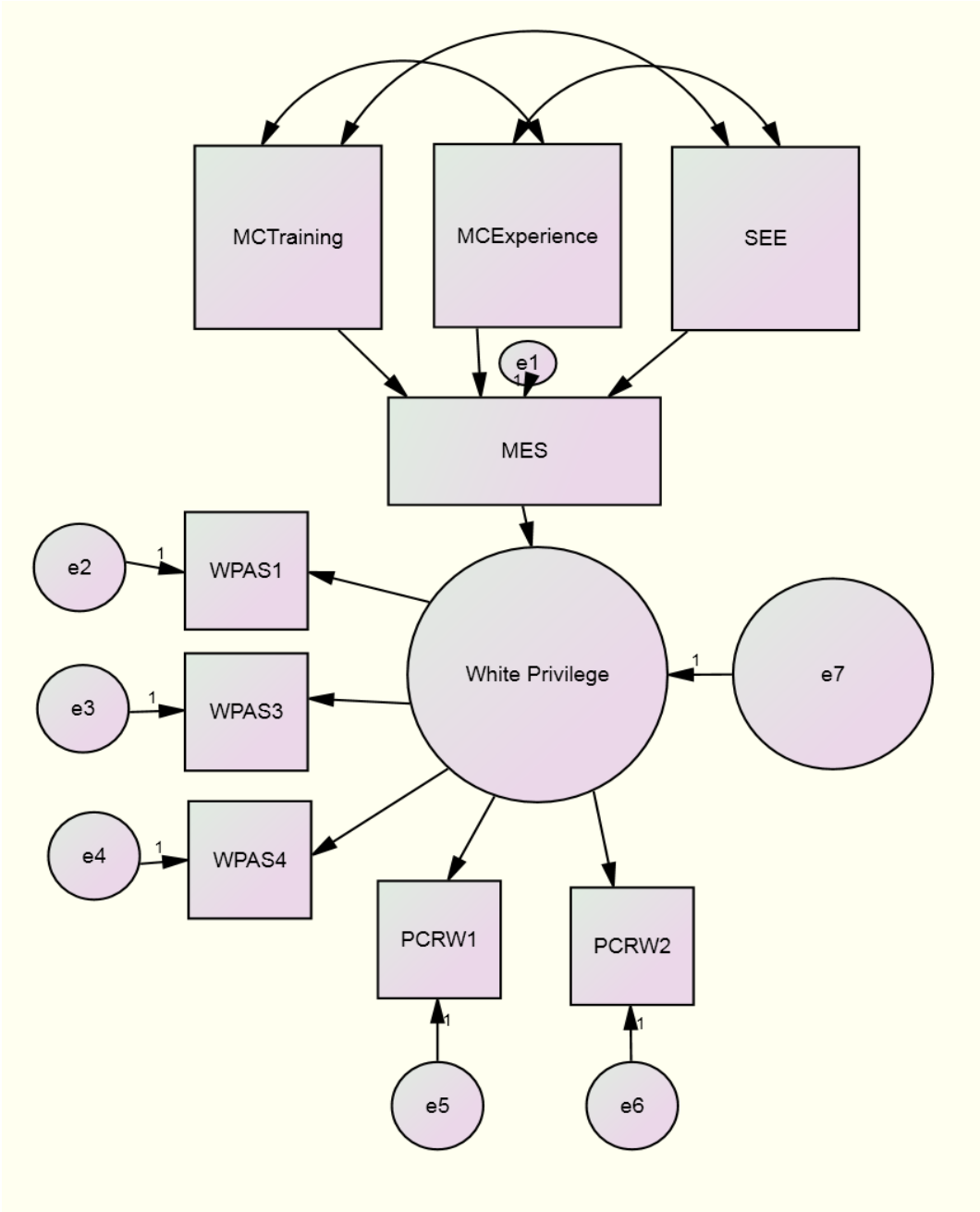
10. ____ Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
11. ____ It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
12. ____ White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
13. ____ Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.
14. ____ English should be the only official language in the U.S.
15. ____ White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.
16. ____ Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.
17. ____ It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.
18. ____ Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
19. ____ Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
20. ____ Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

APPENDIX I
MARLOW CROWNE SHORT FORM A (MCSD-SF)

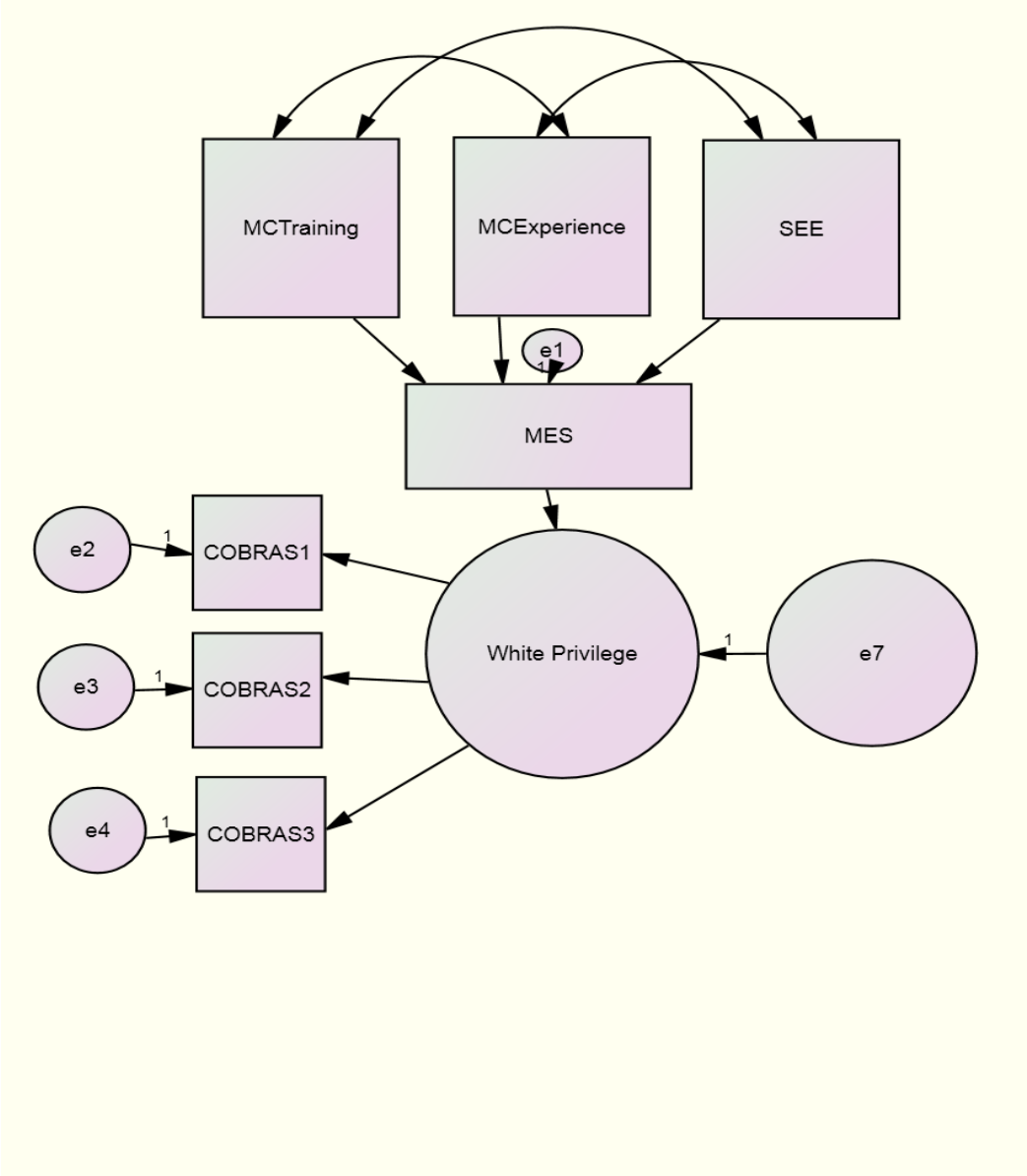
Please select “True” or “False” for the items below as they pertain to you.

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

APPENDIX J
SEM ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT MODEL 1 (WPAS & PCRW)



APPENDIX K
SEM ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT MODEL 2 (COBRAS)



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