

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale: Development and Initial Validation

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In this article, the authors describe 3 interrelated investigations among White undergraduate and graduate students that document the development and initial validation of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS). The WPAS assesses the multidimensional nature of White privilege attitudes, reflecting affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions. In Study 1 ($n = 250$), exploratory factor analysis suggested a 28-item scale with 4 factors as follows: (a) Willingness to Confront White Privilege, (b) Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege, (c) White Privilege Awareness, and (d) White Privilege Remorse. In Study 2 ($n = 251$), confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the 4-factor model was a better fit of the data compared with competing models. The authors also found support for convergent validity between scores on the WPAS factors and theoretically related measures. Study 3 ($n = 40$) documented test–retest reliability of each of the WPAS factors and nonsignificant associations with socially desirable responding. Implications for future research and practice are discussed.

Keywords: white privilege, racism, Whites, scale construction, race relations

The study of social inequality traditionally has focused on the examination of disadvantages to minority group members. To extend this significant body of research, scholars have noted ways in which inequality also privileges dominant group members (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Fine, 1997; Goodman, 2001; McIntosh, 1988; Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). Specific to racial inequality, White privilege has received increasing conceptual and empirical attention in psychology and related disciplines. Scholars have referred to White privilege using terminologies such as conferred dominance (Pinderhughes, 1989; Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005) or an invisible corollary to racism (Sue, 2003). White privilege has been defined as unearned advantages of being White in a racially stratified society and has been characterized as an expression of institutional power that is largely unacknowledged by most White individuals (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001).

Awareness of White privilege can result in strong affective, cognitive, and behavioral reactions, which we refer to as *White privilege attitudes*. With notable exceptions (e.g., Ancis & Szy-

manski, 2001; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Powell et al., 2005; Swim & Miller, 1999), limited empirical investigation has examined White privilege attitudes. Rather, White privilege attitudes have been described predominantly through conceptual writings, nonempirical observations of other Whites, or introspective reports from scholars in the interdisciplinary field of critical whiteness studies (e.g., Goodman, 2001; Gordon, 2005; Jensen, 2005; Kivel, 2002; McIntosh, 1988; Tatum, 2002; Tochluk, 2008). We conducted the present study to bridge the conceptual and empirical literature through the development of a psychometrically reliable and valid instrument to assess the multidimensional nature of White privilege attitudes. A multidimensional inventory could stimulate empirical research in this area by allowing researchers to test more nuanced expressions of White privilege attitudes, to identify how these attitudes are associated with each other and with other racial attitudes (e.g., color-blind racial attitudes, White racial identity, and multicultural counseling competence), and to examine the impact of multicultural training and supervision on awareness of White privilege.

Affective Dimensions of White Privilege Attitudes

Scholars have conceptualized a range of affective reactions that White individuals might express in response to White privilege. These reactions include, but are not limited to, fear, guilt, and anger (Díaz-Rico, 1998; Goodman, 2001; Jensen, 2005; Kivel, 2002). Recent empirical investigations have offered additional documentation of these and other responses among Whites (Iyer et al., 2003; Poteat & Spanierman, 2008; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). With regard to fear or apprehension, scholars have noted several variations. For example, fear might be linked to potential loss of material benefits, possible downward mobility in the absence of race-based advantages, and fear of losing power (Neville

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E. Janie Pinterits and V. Paul Poteat contributed equally to the manuscript. This research is an extension of E. Janie Pinterits's dissertation. E. Janie Pinterits thanks her dissertation chairperson, Michael T. Brown, for his guidance in the original conceptualization of the project.

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et al., 2001). Additionally, fear or apprehension might be associated with relationships, such as potential rejection from family and friends if one discussed the benefits of being White (Goodman, 2001; Neville et al., 2001; Tatum, 2002) or fear of rejection by racial minorities (Jensen, 2005; Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008). Fear may also be associated with ambivalence to engage in behaviors that entail risks in challenging White privilege (Goodman, 2001; Thompson & Neville, 1999). Hopelessness (Hobgood, 2000), paralysis (Titone, 1998), and powerlessness (Goodman, 2001; Howard, 1999; Kivel, 2002) have been observed as other forms of apprehensive reactions.

Guilt and shame also are common reactions of White individuals to societal inequality and White privilege (Iyer et al., 2003; Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Swim & Miller, 1999). These reactions have been the focus of social and counseling psychology research and have been linked empirically to White privilege. In their examination of the impact of an undergraduate psychology and racism course on students' White privilege awareness, Kernahan and Davis (2007) found that White privilege awareness, feelings of White guilt, and discomfort with White privilege increased following the course. Other studies have identified a strong association between White privilege awareness and White guilt (Iyer et al., 2003; Powell et al., 2005; Swim & Miller, 1999). For example, Swim and Miller (1999) found that higher levels of White privilege awareness lead to greater levels of White guilt and support for affirmative action. Acknowledgement of White privilege also has been associated with *collective White guilt*, defined as feelings of group self-blame for illegitimate racial advantages (Powell et al., 2005). Among a sample of 110 White introductory psychology students, Powell and colleagues (2005) found that framing racial inequality as privileging Whites resulted in higher levels of collective White guilt relative to framing racial inequality as disadvantaging African Americans.

Anger responses to White privilege also have been identified in the literature. Anger has been conceptualized as a defensive response coupled with denial of White privilege (Fouad & Arredondo, 2007; Kivel, 2002; Spanierman, Oh et al., 2008), which was characterized by D'Andrea and Daniels (2001) as White anger. In contrast, anger also may relate to sincere reactions toward injustice when White individuals are aware of their unearned benefits that come at the expense of people of color. This type of anger might serve as a motivating response to work against societal racism (Leach et al., 2006).

Cognitive Dimensions of White Privilege Attitudes

Much of the scholarship on the cognitive dimension of White privilege attitudes has focused on the continuum of White privilege awareness, ranging from denial to a critical consciousness. This range parallels development in White racial identity models, based on movement from a racist identity to a nonracist White identity and abandoning White privilege (Hardiman, 2001; Helms, 1995). Thus, recognition of one's White privilege is a central task in White racial identity models (Miller & Fellows, 2007). Cognitive dimensions of White privilege and social inequality on one end of the continuum include denial (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001), minimization or distortion of race and societal racism (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), rationalization and justifica-

tion based on theories of social Darwinism or social dominance (Díaz-Rico, 1998; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and the subtle and covert prejudicial reactions of modern racist attitudes (McConahay, 1986). For example, directions to think about White privilege elicited stronger endorsements of modern racist attitudes among Whites than among those who were not instructed to think about White privilege (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schifffhauer, 2007). On the other end of the continuum, scholars also have described White individuals with a critical consciousness of White privilege, which includes accepting responsibility for change at both personal and institutional levels (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Hernandez, Almeida, & Dolan-Delvecchio, 2005; Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008). Among counseling trainees, qualitative responses to Peggy McIntosh's (1988) seminal list of White privileges ranged from denial to an awareness of the systemic nature of privilege (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001).

Behavioral Dimensions of White Privilege Attitudes

Behavioral reactions to White privilege range from avoidance or unwillingness to discuss its existence (Rains, 1998; Titone, 1998) to intentions and actions to dismantle White privilege (Leach et al., 2006; Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). A frequent response to White privilege is apathy, or disinterest in discussions or other learning opportunities. This reaction is associated with a lack of willingness to dialogue (Titone, 1998), and disengagement from discussions and course material (Goodman, 1998; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Avoidance can be a response to feeling threatened by discussions of White privilege (Goodman, 2001). Also, many White individuals do not know what to do about race-based privilege and do not know how to engage in behaviors that would disrupt White privilege effectively (Kendall, 2006). This type of reaction is characterized by *ambivalence* (Díaz-Rico, 1998; Rains, 1998; Titone, 1998), which refers to avoiding responsibility for perpetuating White privilege. These reactions often are accompanied by an inability to envision solutions (Díaz-Rico, 1998) and an assertion that the receipt of the benefits of White privilege is unintentional (Kivel, 2002). Expressing interest in antiracism work can provide respite from frustration and despair of engagement against privilege and oppression (Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). Behaviors to address White privilege include interrupting racist discourse or jokes, engaging in respectful listening and involvement with communities of color, and continuing one's education on the dynamics of privilege and oppression (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2007; Kivel, 2002).

Research has identified several affective reactions that predict White individuals' intentions to engage in social action against White privilege. For example, anger at the existence of ingroup advantages predicted the desire to engage in political action among non-Aboriginal Australians (Leach et al., 2006). Also, Iyer et al. (2003) found that sympathy and guilt among Whites predicted support for compensatory policies for African Americans. Furthermore, after viewing a civil rights video, guilt was found to be a stronger predictor than shame of White students' support for African American campus programs (Harvey & Oswald, 2000).

The Present Study

On the basis of the extant research reviewed above, there is a need to examine the multidimensional nature of White privilege

attitudes. A multidimensional White privilege attitudes scale that examines the interrelations among affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions could promote research that contributes to more effective programming and training for Whites as part of multicultural counseling training and, more broadly, to motivate Whites to become involved in antiracism and social justice efforts.

Three brief measures exist that assess unidimensional aspects of White privilege attitudes. The five-item White Privilege Scale (Swim & Miller, 1999) assesses awareness and beliefs about White privilege (e.g., "My status as a White person grants me unearned privileges in today's society"). The seven-item Racial Privilege subscale of the Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000) assesses the distortion, denial, and minimization of White privilege (e.g., "Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich"). The Privilege and Oppression Inventory (Hays, Chang, & Decker, 2007) includes a 13-item subscale, White Privilege Awareness, that assesses awareness of racial advantage (e.g., "Being White and having an advantage go hand in hand"). These measures have demonstrated good psychometric properties (i.e., reliability and validity estimates) in previous research. However, each emphasizes the cognitive dimension of attitudes toward White privilege (i.e., awareness of White privilege) and therefore does not adequately capture the multidimensional nature of White privilege attitudes.

To expand the study of White privilege attitudes, we conducted three interrelated investigations to develop an instrument to assess White privilege attitudes from a more complex framework by integrating cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. In Study 1, we used exploratory factor analyses to determine the underlying factor structure of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS). In Study 2, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis to test the factor structure of the WPAS and to test for convergent validity of scores on the scale with other related measures. In Study 3, we assessed the temporal stability of the scale. Furthermore, we examined the association between the WPAS and a measure of social desirability.

We hypothesized that factors would be identified that reflected cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of White privilege attitudes. We also hypothesized that these factors would be significantly interrelated, based on emerging research noting the connection between affective and behavioral components. We hypothesized that significant differences would be identified along demographic factors such as gender and prior educational exposure to White privilege issues, based on previous studies in which differences between men and women on measures of racial affect (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Wang et al., 2003) and differences in White privilege awareness before and after a diversity course were found (Kernahan & Davis, 2007). In addition, we hypothesized that specific dimensions of White privilege attitudes would be significantly correlated with other theoretically related constructs. In particular, we hypothesized that color-blind racial attitudes (i.e., the minimization, distortion, and denial of race and racism) would correlate negatively with cognitive and behavioral dimensions of the WPAS that indicate higher levels of White privilege awareness and a behavioral tendency to disrupt White privilege dynamics. We expected costs of racism, including White empathy, guilt, and fear, as measured by the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner,

2004), to be positively associated with affective dimensions of WPAS. We anticipated that modern racist attitudes, as measured by the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986), and antiegalitarian attitudes, as measured by the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale (Pratto et al., 1994), would be negatively correlated with cognitive and behavioral aspects of the WPAS. We expected minimal or no association between the WPAS and a measure of social desirability. Finally, we expected that White privilege attitudes would be relatively stable over a 2-week test-retest period.

General Method

Initial Scale Construction

Our conceptualization of White privilege attitudes and subsequent item generation were based on the extant conceptual and empirical literature on White privilege and the tripartite affective, cognitive, and behavioral model of attitudes (cf. Breckler, 1984). We conducted a comprehensive review of the literature, consulted with leading scholars in the interdisciplinary area of critical whiteness studies, and used item-generation teams as part of the scale development process. The first phase of item generation involved a racially diverse team of faculty ($n = 5$) and graduate students ($n = 4$) with experience in multicultural counseling and the study of racism and White racial attitudes. This phase generated a total of 160 initial items. To improve content validity, five psychologists and education scholars with expertise in White privilege issues (one African American and four White) rated each item on content appropriateness and clarity using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all appropriate or clear*) to 5 (*very appropriate or clear*), respectively. Items with average ratings below 3 were dropped or revised, resulting in 111 items. Twenty-three items were reverse scored to reduce response bias. Because many items from this initial generation were double-barreled (i.e., they mentioned several facets of White privilege within a single item), two of the authors with experience in scale construction independently reviewed and edited each item to separate double-barreled items and to delete redundant items; this improved clarity and parsimony. Through a consensual process, V. Paul Poteat and Lisa B. Spanierman agreed on the final wording and number of items. E. Janie Pinterits then examined the revised items for final edits. This process resulted in 81 items (25 cognitive, 36 affective, and 20 behavioral). Of these, 15 items were reverse coded to reduce response bias.

Participants and Procedure

We recruited students across several colleges and universities because college environments often can provide opportunities for intergroup contact in which equal status interactions can occur (Lopez, 2004). It can also be a time in which young adults are exploring a variety of issues as they continue forming their own values and identities. According to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, prejudice across racial and ethnic groups can be reduced through conditions such as social equality norms, common goals, and cooperative interdependence. Thus, we expected college students to represent a relevant population from which to test the construction of our measure of White privilege attitudes.

We recruited participants with the goal of balancing formal educational exposure to White privilege issues and promoting geographic diversity to enhance external validity. Instructors from four public U.S. universities, three private universities, and four private colleges in the western, northwestern, midwestern, northeastern, eastern, and southern regions responded to listserv and e-mail requests to proctor survey administration during class time. The percentage of White students at three institutions was between 50% and 59% and at four institutions between 70% and 79%. Three institutions were more than 80% White. Response rates in the classroom administrations ranged from 67% to 100%. Participants also were recruited through the psychology subject pool of a large Midwestern university (61% White).

The questionnaire packet included the 81-item WPAS-Preliminary, a brief demographic questionnaire, the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000), MRS (McConahay, 1986), PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and SDO (Pratto et al., 1994). Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and confidential. Although students of all racial backgrounds were offered an opportunity to complete the survey, we only analyzed the data from self-identified White students because the scale was designed to assess White individuals' attitudes toward White privilege. To minimize potential priming effects of defining White privilege and White privilege attitudes directly, proctors read a standard script immediately prior to survey administration stating broadly that the study was interested in identifying and describing attitudes people have about privileges associated with social stratification in the United States. Initially, 514 White students completed the survey packet, which included all measures noted above. An advanced doctoral student examined the data and identified 4 participants' protocols with systematic random responses (e.g., endorsing the same response for the entire survey). These cases were excluded, as were nine protocols that had extensive missing data (more than five items on the WPAS), resulting in a final sample size of 501 participants. We randomly split this data set in half for two separate analyses: Study 1 (i.e., exploratory factor analysis; $n = 250$) and Study 2 (i.e., confirmatory factor analysis; $n = 251$). We used an independent sample ($n = 40$) in Study 3 and describe the sample in that section.

Study 1: Exploratory Factor Analysis

Method

Participants

Participants were 250 undergraduate (78%) and graduate students (18%); the remainder did not report their school standing. Most participants (65%) were women, approximately 34% were men, and 1 participant identified as "transgender." On average, participants were 22 years old (range = 18–70 years; $M = 22.45$, $SD = 7.43$). Most were from suburban locations (62%), followed by rural (21%) and urban settings (11%), and the remainder did not respond. About half (53%) reported that they had taken a class or workshop that addressed White privilege. Regarding exposure to and experience with people of other races, 44% self-reported having had "moderate exposure," 22% "limited exposure," 19% some "in-depth experience" with people of other races, 10% interacted with people of other races on a regular basis and consid-

ered themselves to be "multicultural," and 5% reported "no significant exposure."

Measures

White Privilege Attitudes Scale-Preliminary (WPAS-P). The 81-item WPAS-P used a 6-point Likert-type response scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicated higher cognitive (e.g., "Our social structure system promotes White privilege"), affective (e.g., "I feel awful about White privilege"), or behavioral (e.g., "I intend to work towards dismantling White privilege") dimensions of White privilege attitudes.

Demographic survey. Participants completed a demographic survey indicating age, gender, race/ethnicity, level in higher education (e.g., undergraduate or graduate student), type of location (rural, suburban, or urban), level of exposure to people of racial minority groups (no significant exposure, limited exposure, moderate exposure, in-depth experience, or interactions on a regular basis), and prior educational exposure to White privilege issues (number of multicultural courses and workshops taken in which White privilege was discussed).

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (.95) and significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($p < .001$) indicated that the sample was appropriate for exploratory factor analysis. We conducted a parallel analysis on the initial 81 items to estimate the number of components to be specified in the exploratory factor analysis. Parallel analysis can be beneficial in identifying the number of factors to retain because it adjusts for sampling error and is a more conservative test than the Kaiser criteria (Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). We generated 50 random data matrices from our data set for our parallel analysis and used the resulting eigenvalues from each data set to compute an average eigenvalue for each factor. We compared this with the eigenvalue of each factor generated from our actual data set. Factors may be retained for exploratory factor analysis if their eigenvalues are larger than the average random eigenvalue produced by the parallel analysis (Hayton et al., 2004). This comparison suggested four factors, with a potential fifth factor.

On the basis of these findings, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis using maximum-likelihood extraction with a direct oblimin rotation; we selected an oblique rotation due to our hypothesis that the factors would be correlated. We examined corrected item-total correlations and item communalities to further determine appropriate items for retention, as suggested by Worthington and Whittaker (2006). We specified that item-total correlations below .30 and communalities below .20 would not be retained for the final solution, and items were retained if they loaded .45 or higher on only one factor and if their cross-loadings were less than .25. We examined a four- and a five-factor solution based on parallel analysis results; however, items comprising the fifth factor did not meet selection criteria. Therefore, we identified the four-factor solution to best represent the data (see Table 1). The four-factor solution met multiple additional criteria such that each factor contained a minimum of three items, exhibited sufficient

Table 1
 Study 1: Factor Loadings, Means, and Standard Deviations for the WPAS Items

Item	F1	F2	F3	F4	M	SD
42. I intend to work toward dismantling White privilege.	.89	.05	-.04	.03	3.36	1.32
54. I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege.	.85	.05	-.08	.03	3.75	1.36
57. I take action to dismantle White privilege.	.81	-.02	.18	-.16	2.89	1.26
32. I have not done anything about White privilege. (R)	.64	.04	-.10	-.13	2.84	1.41
2. I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege.	.64	-.18	.11	-.17	3.52	1.38
53. I'm glad to explore my White privilege.	.62	.25	-.15	.23	3.71	1.31
17. I accept responsibility to change White privilege.	.61	.01	-.16	-.25	3.26	1.39
33. I look forward to creating a more racially equitable society.	.58	.02	-.17	.01	4.44	1.16
12. I take action against White privilege with people I know.	.57	-.20	.04	-.33	2.92	1.35
63. I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege.	.54	.21	-.28	-.13	3.54	1.38
45. I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White. (R)	.53	-.05	-.29	-.07	3.80	1.40
48. I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White privilege.	.52	.21	-.27	-.17	3.84	1.42
75. I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that Whites have.	.02	.78	-.02	-.04	2.76	1.22
66. I worry about what giving up some White privileges might mean for me.	-.05	.63	.10	-.08	3.24	1.33
29. If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends.	-.05	.64	-.17	-.13	2.18	1.19
13. I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites.	.05	.58	.11	-.18	2.48	1.26
59. If I address White privilege, I might alienate my family.	.00	.53	.07	-.14	2.20	1.28
55. I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege.	.26	.52	-.05	-.07	3.19	1.31
25. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing. (R)	-.06	.11	.79	.01	2.80	1.53
37. White people have it easier than people of color.	.04	-.04	.75	.13	2.84	1.40
4. Our social structure system promotes White privilege.	-.02	-.09	.74	.16	2.90	1.39
56. Plenty of people of color are more privileged than Whites. (R)	-.15	.10	.54	.04	3.54	1.45
21. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White.	.08	.08	-.22	-.70	3.16	1.46
19. I am ashamed of my White privilege.	.10	.08	-.11	-.70	2.65	1.35
27. I am angry knowing I have White privilege.	.12	.16	.00	-.65	2.79	1.31
9. I am angry that I keep benefiting from White privilege.	.18	.05	-.04	-.64	2.65	1.20
58. White people should feel guilty about having White privilege.	-.06	.19	-.21	-.61	2.38	1.22
16. I feel awful about White privilege.	.20	.13	-.11	-.54	2.96	1.50

Note. Means and standard deviations of the scales are divided by the number of items in each. F1 = Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.07$, $\alpha = .95$, variance accounted for = 43.80%); F2 = Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 0.90$, $\alpha = .81$, variance accounted for = 10.35%); F3 = White Privilege Awareness ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.19$, $\alpha = .84$, variance accounted for = 6.58%); F4 = White Privilege Remorse ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 1.11$, $\alpha = .91$, variance accounted for = 4.73%); (R) = item is reverse scored. Data appearing in boldface show the highest factor loading for each item.

internal consistency, and was interpretable and consistent with our initial conceptualization of White privilege attitudes (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Factor 1, *Willingness to Confront White Privilege*, reflected a 12-item behavioral dimension of White privilege attitudes and accounted for 43.80% of the variance. Items focused on participants' plans to address White privilege (e.g., "I intend to work towards dismantling White privilege") or to explore their own White privilege (e.g., "I'm glad to explore my White privilege"). This factor was internally consistent ($\alpha = .95$) and met the assumption of normality (skewness = $-.07$; kurtosis = $-.25$).

Factor 2, *Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege*, reflected a six-item mix between affective and behavioral dimensions of White privilege attitudes and accounted for 10.35% of the variance. Items reflected a degree of trepidation about addressing White privilege (e.g., "I am worried that taking action against

White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites") or about losing one's privilege (e.g., "I worry about what giving up some White privileges might mean for me"). This factor was internally consistent ($\alpha = .81$) and met the assumption of normality (skewness = $.15$; kurtosis = $.05$).

Factor 3, *White Privilege Awareness*, reflected a four-item cognitive dimension of White privilege attitudes and accounted for 6.58% of the variance. Items reflected degrees of consciousness and understanding of White privilege and racial inequities in U.S. society (e.g., "White people have it easier than people of color" [reverse coded]). This factor was internally consistent ($\alpha = .84$) and met the assumption of normality (skewness = $.11$; kurtosis = $-.49$).

Factor 4, *White Privilege Remorse*, reflected a six-item affective dimension of White privilege attitudes and accounted for 4.73% of the variance. Items reflected emotional responses such as shame

and anger about having race-based privilege (e.g., “I am ashamed of my White privilege”). This factor was internally consistent ($\alpha = .91$) and met the assumption of normality (skewness = .21; kurtosis = $-.47$).

WPAS Preliminary Statistics

The Pearson product-moment correlations among the factors ranged from small to large, as delineated by Cohen (1988). Willingness to Confront White Privilege had a large association with White Privilege Remorse ($r = .72, p < .01$) and White Privilege Awareness ($r = .63, p < .01$) and a medium association with Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege ($r = .29, p < .01$). Furthermore, Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege had a small correlation with White Privilege Awareness ($r = .23, p < .01$) and a medium association with White Privilege Remorse ($r = .43, p < .01$). We found a medium association between White Privilege Awareness and White Privilege Remorse ($r = .51, p < .01$).

To test for demographic group differences, we conducted multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) with the four WPAS factors as dependent variables. To determine the effect sizes of significant differences, we included partial eta-squared statistics, which we interpreted as either small (around .01), medium (at least .06), or large (over .14; Cohen, 1988). We did not identify significant differences on the basis of the environment in which participants grew up or their level of exposure to racial minorities ($ps > .05$). However, we documented significant differences with a moderate effect size for gender (Wilks's $\Lambda = .92$), $F(4, 242) = 5.30, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .08$; a large effect size for undergraduate compared with graduate students (Wilks's $\Lambda = .66$), $F(4, 232) = 29.90, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$; and a large effect size for prior educational exposure to White privilege issues (Wilks's $\Lambda = .76$), $F(4, 241) = 19.39, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .24$.

Follow-up univariate tests (ANOVAs) indicated that women scored higher than men on Confronting White Privilege, $F(1, 245) = 13.94, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$ (women: $M = 3.70, SD = 1.01$; men: $M = 3.16, SD = 1.03$); White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 245) = 14.03, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$ (women: $M = 4.19, SD = 1.20$; men: $M = 3.57, SD = 1.04$); and White Privilege Remorse, $F(1, 245) = 15.62, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$ (women: $M = 2.98, SD = 1.07$; men: $M = 2.42, SD = 1.05$), with moderate effect sizes for these differences. With large effect sizes, graduate students scored higher than undergraduate students on Confronting White Privilege, $F(1, 235) = 88.93, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .28$ (graduates: $M = 4.68, SD = 0.87$; undergraduates: $M = 3.26, SD = 0.90$); White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 235) = 81.44, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .26$ (graduates: $M = 5.27, SD = 0.99$; undergraduates: $M = 3.70, SD = 1.03$); and White Privilege Remorse, $F(1, 235) = 47.58, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .17$ (graduates: $M = 3.74, SD = 1.12$; undergraduates: $M = 2.59, SD = 0.98$). Finally, participants with prior educational exposure to White privilege issues scored higher than those who had not on Confronting White Privilege, $F(1, 244) = 59.02, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$ (prior education: $M = 3.94, SD = 1.02$; no prior education: $M = 3.01, SD = 0.83$); White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 244) = 59.82, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$ (prior education: $M = 4.48, SD = 1.14$; no prior education: $M = 3.40, SD = 0.94$); and White Privilege Remorse, $F(1, 244) = 25.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$ (prior education: $M = 3.10, SD = 1.11$, no prior education: $M = 2.44,$

$SD = 0.96$), with moderate to large effect sizes for these differences.

Study 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 251 undergraduate (73%) and graduate students (19%); the remainder (8%) did not report this information. Most participants were women (67%), approximately 31% were men, and 2% did not report their gender. On average, participants were 22 years old (range = 18–56 years; $M = 22.10, SD = 6.14$). Sixty-two percent were from suburban locations, followed by rural (20%) and urban settings (11%), and the remainder (7%) did not report this information. Over half (57%) reported that they had taken a class or workshop in which White privilege was discussed. Regarding exposure to people of other races, 51% self-reported having had “moderate exposure,” 18% had “limited exposure,” 16% had some “in-depth experience” with people of other races, 11% interacted with people of other races on a regular basis and considered themselves to be “multicultural,” and 4% reported “no significant exposure.” Data were collected using identical procedures as described in Study 1. Although the 81-item WPAS-Preliminary, described above, was administered, only the 28 items retained in Study 1 were included in the analyses.

Measures

The WPAS. The 28-item WPAS contains the four subscales described in Study 1: Willingness to Confront White Privilege (12 items), Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege (six items), White Privilege Awareness (four items), and White Privilege Remorse (six items). In this study, coefficient alphas for each subscale were .93, .78, .84, and .89, respectively.

The PCRW. The 16-item PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) includes three subscales assessing various consequences of racism experienced by Whites, including (a) White Empathic Reactions toward Racism (six items, “I am angry that racism exists”), (b) White Guilt (five items, “Sometimes I feel guilty about being White”), and (c) White Fear of People of other Races (five items, “I am distrustful of people of other races”). A Likert-type response format ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) through 6 (*strongly agree*) is used in the measure. Higher scores reflect higher experiences of psychosocial costs. Internal consistency estimates have ranged as follows: White Empathic Reactions $\alpha = .70-.85$, White Guilt $\alpha = .73-.81$, and White Fear $\alpha = .63-.78$ (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Temporal stability estimates, over a 2-week period, have ranged from .69 for White Guilt to .95 for White Fear (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Convergent validity has been established with related scales, including the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000), the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang et al., 2003), and the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI; Ponterotto et al., 1995). In the present study, coefficient alphas for the three PCRW subscales were: .79, .83, and .68, respectively.

The CoBRAS. The 20-item CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) assesses cognitive aspects of color-blind racial attitudes (i.e., denial, distortion, and minimization of racism). A Likert-type response format ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly*

agree) is used in the scale. Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes (i.e., higher levels of racial unawareness). The scale has been found to have adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = .84-.91$) for the total scale score (Neville et al., 2000) and is related to belief in a just world and racial intolerance and is not strongly associated with measures of social desirability (Neville et al., 2000). The CoBRAS includes items such as “Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.” For the present sample, the internal consistency estimates for the total scale was $\alpha = .90$.

The MRS. The seven-item MRS (McConahay, 1986) measures a subtle form of racism as delineated by White individuals’ attitudes toward individuals of African descent (e.g., “Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted”). A Likert-type response format that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) is used. It has satisfactory internal consistency ($\alpha = .81-.86$) in college samples (McConahay, 1983) and high test-retest stability (McConahay, 1986). Convergent validity with the Old-Fashioned Racism Scale has been demonstrated (McConahay, 1986). The internal consistency estimate for the present sample was $\alpha = .75$. Due to the diversity of racial and ethnic minorities subject to racism in the United States, the wording of the MRS was broadened in the present study from an exclusive focus on Blacks (as originally worded) to a more general focus on racial and ethnic minorities (e.g., “Racial/ethnic minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted”).

The SDO. The 16-item SDO (Pratto et al., 1994) assesses antiegalitarian beliefs and preference for inequality among social groups (e.g., “Some groups of people are just more worthy than others”). Responses are rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree/disapprove*) to 7 (*strongly agree/favor*). Higher scores reflect higher SDO levels. Internal consistency (average $\alpha = .83$ across 12 samples), temporal stability ($r = .81$ over a 3-month period), and construct validity have been reported (Pratto et al., 1994). The internal consistency estimate for the present sample was $\alpha = .93$.

Demographic survey. This measure was identical to the demographic survey described in Study 1.

Results

Using LISREL 8.7 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2006), we conducted a maximum-likelihood estimation confirmatory factor analysis to examine the fit of the four-factor model. As suggested by Bollen and Long (1993), we used a competing model strategy and tested the four-factor model against independence, unidimensional, second-order, and three-factor models. Furthermore, as Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger, and Müller (2003) recommended, we examined the chi-square statistic divided by the degrees of freedom. If the ratio is less than 3, then the model is considered to be an adequate fit of the data (Kline, 1998). We also used several relative fit indices as suggested by Martens (2005), including the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), incremental fit index (IFI), comparative fit index (CFI), and root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA). These indices are less affected by model misspecifications and less sensitive to sample size than the chi-square statistic (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Values of the TLI, IFI, and CFI greater than or equal to .95 indicate a good fit to the data (Schermelleh-Engel et al., 2003). Values for the RMSEA within

the 90% confidence interval should be approximately .05 or less (Schermelleh-Engel et al., 2003). Across the aforementioned indices, the four-factor solution established in Study 1 was found to be a good fit of the data and superior to the independence, unidimensional, and three-factor competing models (see Table 2 and Figure 1). The matrix for the second-order factor model, in which we treated the four factors as lower factors of a “white privilege attitudes” factor, was not positive definite. In this specific case, the error variance associated with the first factor (Confronting White Privilege) was negative, which would suggest that the second-order factor explained over 100% of the variance in this factor. Thus, we could not interpret the results for this model.

We present descriptive statistics and correlations among the subscales in Table 3. To test for mean differences between the two samples on the WPAS subscales, we conducted a MANOVA, with the WPAS subscales as dependent variables, and found no significant differences between participants in Studies 1 and 2 (Wilks’s $\Lambda = .99$, $F(4, 493) = 0.91$, $p > .05$). Correlations among the subscales in Study 2 also were similar to those documented in Study 1.

Group Differences

To test for demographic group differences, we conducted MANOVAs with the four WPAS factors as dependent variables. As in Study 1, no significant differences were identified on the basis of the environment in which participants grew up; however, we found significant differences with a small effect size based on level of exposure to racial minorities (Wilks’s $\Lambda = .84$), $F(16, 740) = 2.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Also as in Study 1, we documented significant differences for gender with a small effect size (Wilks’s $\Lambda = .95$), $F(4, 239) = 2.96$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and a large effect size for both undergraduate compared with graduate students (Wilks’s $\Lambda = .73$), $F(4, 224) = 20.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$, and prior educational exposure to White privilege issues (Wilks’s $\Lambda = .84$), $F(4, 240) = 11.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$.

Results from follow-up ANOVAs were identical to those of Study 1. Women scored higher than men on Confronting White Privilege, $F(1, 242) = 11.68$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$ (women: $M = 3.69$, $SD = 1.01$;

Table 2
Study 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis Goodness-of-Fit Summary

Index	Model			
	1 ^a	2 ^b	3 ^c	4 ^d
χ^2/df	40.32/378	3.99/350	2.25/344	3.49/347
TLI	.00	.89	.97	.95
IFI	.00	.90	.97	.95
CFI	.00	.90	.97	.95
RMSEA	.21	.13	.072	.10
RMSEA 90% CI	.204, .215	.12, .14	.066, .079	.094, .11

Note. $N = 251$. TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; IFI = incremental fit index; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square-error of approximation; RMSEA 90% CI = upper and lower bounds of the RMSEA 90% confidence interval.

^a Independence model. ^b Unidimensional model. ^c Hypothesized four-factor model. ^d Competing three-factor model.

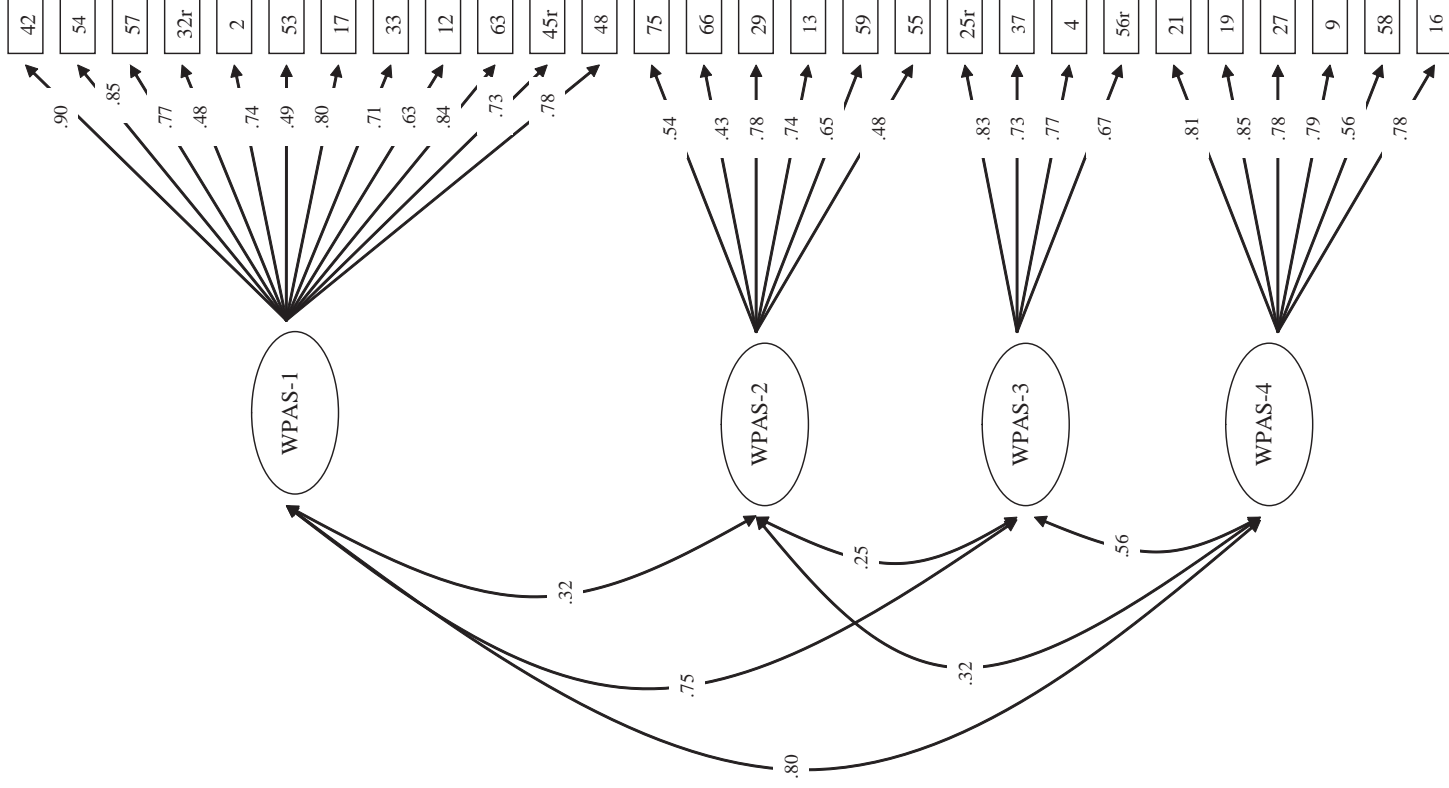


Figure 1. Confirmatory factor analysis of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS).

men: $M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.90$); White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 242) = 4.10$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$ (women: $M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.24$; men: $M = 3.71$, $SD = 0.99$); and White Privilege Remorse, $F(1, 242) = 7.57$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (women: $M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.12$; men: $M = 2.54$, $SD = 1.05$), with generally small effect sizes for these differences.

Graduate students scored higher than undergraduate students on Confronting White Privilege, $F(1, 227) = 53.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$ (graduates: $M = 4.42$, $SD = 0.97$; undergraduates: $M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.89$); White Privilege Awareness, $F(1, 227) = 74.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$ (graduates: $M = 5.16$, $SD = 0.98$; undergraduates:

Table 3
Correlations Among Included Measures

Scale	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Confronting WP	3.54 (1.02)	—	.29**	.63**	.72**						
2. Anticipated Costs	2.77 (0.89)	.33**	—	.23**	.43**						
3. WP Awareness	2.99 (1.18)	.68**	.27**	—	.51**						
4. WP Remorse	2.93 (1.12)	.74**	.31**	.49**	—						
5. White Empathy	4.68 (0.85)	.55**	.16*	.37**	.45**	—					
6. White Guilt	2.52 (1.14)	.61**	.36**	.60**	.65**	.38**	—				
7. White Fear	2.80 (0.87)	-.26**	.29**	-.07	-.21**	-.21**	.00	—			
8. CoBRAS	3.07 (0.84)	-.75**	-.27**	-.81**	-.56**	-.53**	-.59**	.21**	—		
9. MRS	1.28 (0.94)	-.54**	-.01	-.52**	-.40**	-.57**	-.35**	.31**	.65**	—	
10. SDO	2.04 (0.94)	-.51**	-.02	-.39**	-.37**	-.52**	-.23**	.28**	.49**	.60**	—

Note. Correlations above the diagonal are for Study 1 participants (N = 248–250), and correlations below the diagonal are for Study 2 participants (N = 244–250). Confronting WP = Willingness to Confront White Privilege subscale of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS); Anticipated Costs = Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege subscale of the WPAS; WP Awareness = White Privilege Awareness subscale of the WPAS; WP Remorse = White Privilege Remorse subscale of the WPAS; White Empathy = White Empathic Reactions toward Racism subscale of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW); White Guilt = White Guilt subscale of the PCRW; White Fear = White Fear of People of Other Races subscale of the PCRW; CoBRAS = Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale; MRS = Modern Racism Scale; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation.

** p < .01.

M = 3.70, SD = 1.04); and White Privilege Remorse, F(1, 227) = 25.93, p < .001, η²_p = .10 (graduates: M = 3.62, SD = 1.22; undergraduates: M = 2.71, SD = 1.02), with moderate to large effect sizes for these differences. Participants with prior educational exposure to White privilege issues scored higher than those who had not on Confronting White Privilege, F(1, 243) = 27.88, p < .001, η²_p = .10 (prior education: M = 3.81, SD = 1.00; no prior education: M = 3.13, SD = 0.89); White Privilege Awareness, F(1, 243) = 40.08, p < .001, η²_p = .14 (prior education: M = 4.37, SD = 1.23; no prior education: M = 3.47, SD = 0.88); and White Privilege Remorse, F(1, 243) = 23.62, p < .001, η²_p = .09 (prior education: M = 3.19, SD = 1.14; no prior education: M = 2.50, SD = 0.98), with moderate effect sizes for these differences. Finally, we documented differences on Confronting White Privilege, F(4, 245) = 5.29, p < .001, η²_p = .08, and White Privilege Remorse, F(4, 245) = 3.84, p < .01, η²_p = .06, based on level of exposure to racial minorities with moderate effect sizes for these differences. Post hoc Bonferroni comparisons indicated that individuals with no significant exposure reported lower scores on Confronting White Privilege than all individuals except those with limited exposure (ps < .01), and reported lower scores on White Privilege Remorse than individuals reporting in-depth experience (p < .01).

Convergent Validity

As hypothesized, higher CoBRAS (lower awareness of racism), MRS, and SDO scores were significantly associated with lower scores on the behavioral (Confronting White Privilege), cognitive (White Privilege Awareness), and affective (White Privilege Remorse) dimensions of the WPAS (see Table 3). Higher CoBRAS scores also were significantly associated with lower Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege. Scores on the CoBRAS were significantly associated with WPAS factors, including Confronting White Privilege (r = -.75, p < .001), Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege (r = -.27, p < .001), White Privilege Awareness (r = -.81, p < .001), and White Privilege Remorse (r = -.56, p < .001). In contrast, higher White Empathy and

White Guilt scores were significantly associated with higher scores on Confronting White Privilege, Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege, White Privilege Awareness, and White Privilege Remorse. Higher levels of White Fear were significantly associated with lower scores on Confronting White Privilege and White Privilege Remorse and higher scores on Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege.

Study 3: Test–Retest Reliability Estimates and Socially Desirable Response Data

Method

Participants and Procedure

Sixty-eight participants completed initial questionnaires, and 44 completed the retest. Of these, 40 participants who identified as White provided usable surveys during both data administrations. Participants were 28 (70%) women and 12 (30%) men ranging in age from 19 to 35 years (M = 21.8, SD = 2.9). Participants were recruited in two small social science undergraduate-level courses from a mid-sized, predominantly White (80%) midwestern university. The retest administration took place 2 weeks after the first administration. A demographic form and a measure of social desirability were completed with the 28-item WPAS during the first test administration. Retest administration consisted of the 28-item WPAS. Surveys were matched through participant-generated anonymous alphanumeric codes.

Measures

The WPAS. The final 28-item scale was administered, consisting of the four subscales Willingness to Confront White Privilege, Anticipated Cost of Addressing White Privilege, White Privilege Awareness, and White Privilege Remorse. In the present study, coefficient alphas for the first test administration for each subscale

were .91, .73, .74, and .89, respectively. For the retest administration, coefficient alphas were .91, .83, .81, and .87, respectively.

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale-Form A (M-C Form A; Reynolds, 1982). The M-C Form A measures the extent to which participants may respond in a socially desirable manner. Developed from the original Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), the 11-item M-C Form A is shorter and consists of true-false items. The internal consistency estimate of the M-C Form A was .74 (Reynolds, 1982). High scores indicate higher levels of unwillingness to self-report information viewed as socially undesirable. Convergent validity for the M-C Form A has been documented (Reynolds, 1982). The internal consistency estimate for the present sample was .62.

Results

As hypothesized, we found no significant correlations between the WPAS subscales and the M-C Form A, thus providing evidence of independence between socially desirable self-presentations and White privilege attitudes. The 2-week test-retest reliability estimates of the scores on the WPAS subscales were as follows: Willingness to Confront White Privilege ($r = .83$), Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege ($r = .70$), White Privilege Awareness ($r = .87$), and White Privilege Remorse ($r = .78$). These results suggest that the WPAS subscales demonstrated adequate temporal stability.

General Discussion

Across three studies, we documented psychometric support for our development of a multidimensional assessment of White privilege attitudes: the WPAS. This included support for its factor structure, internal consistency, convergent validity of scores on each of the WPAS subscales with theoretically related factors, and temporal stability for each factor. Furthermore, scores on the WPAS were not significantly correlated with socially desirable responding. Use of the WPAS as a multidimensional assessment of White privilege attitudes could be beneficial toward developing more comprehensive and effective training and intervention programs for White undergraduate and graduate students and, perhaps, for applied psychology trainees.

Interrelations Among the Dimensions of White Privilege Attitudes

The WPAS represents one of the first scales to assess White privilege from a multidimensional framework and consists of four interrelated but conceptually distinct subscales. The WPAS factors reflect a nuanced representation of the tripartite model of affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions. Willingness to Confront White Privilege reflected a behavioral dimension in its assessment of intentions to address White Privilege. Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege reflected affective dimensions that were linked to potential behaviors and assessment of anxiety and fear about addressing or losing White privilege. White Privilege Remorse reflected a second affective dimension in its assessment of feelings, such as anger and shame, over the existence of White privilege. Finally, White Privilege Awareness reflected a cognitive dimension of having a conscious understanding of White privilege.

Our finding that these dimensions were significantly associated was consistent with previous empirical findings (Iyer et al., 2003; Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008; Swim & Miller, 1999).

The Confronting White Privilege factor is particularly important, as other scales have not directly assessed behavioral or behavioral intentions around White privilege. Moreover, this factor accounted for the largest proportion of variance in the measure (43.80%). It was most significantly associated with White Privilege Remorse and White Privilege Awareness. This mirrors findings by Ancis and Szymanski (2001), whose qualitative work identified individuals with "Higher Order Awareness and Action," characterized by an awareness of White privilege and who have taken actions to resist it. This also parallels immersion/emersion and autonomy statuses in Helms' (1995) White racial identity ego statuses model, wherein one acknowledges White privilege and engages in social justice work.

White Privilege Remorse, although strongly associated with Confronting White Privilege, was conceptually distinct on the basis of its focus on affective reactions. Researchers have indicated the need to address affect in the process of fostering multicultural counseling competence among White counselor trainees (Spanierman, Poteat, et al., 2008). This is also a likely necessity when working with Whites to build an understanding of White privilege and to promote their engagement in social action to dismantle systems of privilege. However, as noted in the conceptual (Monk, Winslade, & Sinclair, 2008) and empirical literature (Kernahan & Davis, 2007), the link between negative affect about having White privilege and self-reported behavioral intent to address White privilege is likely stronger compared with the connection between negative affect and actual engagement in this behavior. Continued attention to the interaction between these two factors is warranted and concurrent with the recommendations of Spanierman, Poteat, et al. (2008), and future studies should consider possible optimal levels of affect that facilitate actual behavior to confront White privilege. Research might examine the extent to which cognitive awareness of and affective reactions toward White privilege predict various behaviors to address White privilege and engage in antiracism and social justice work.

The association between Anticipated Costs and Confronting White Privilege suggests that grappling with worry of potential loss is an important component of being able to confront one's privilege. This has emerged in several conceptual writings, such as the distinction between passive and active acceptance of or resistance to benefiting from White privilege (Goodman, 2001; Hardiman et al., 2007). Although some individuals may be willing to confront White privilege while anticipating the costs of doing so, other individuals may decide to avoid actions that entail risk or negative consequences.

The association between White Privilege Awareness and White Privilege Remorse follows previous findings that greater awareness of White privilege is correlated with higher levels of White guilt (Case, 2007). This supports previous research in which significant associations were found between various components of color-blind racial ideology (e.g., unawareness of institutional racism and unawareness of White privilege) and White guilt. In their conceptual model of racial identity dilemmas of White students, Miller and Fellows (2007) also have noted the importance of addressing guilt regarding institutionalized racism and White priv-

ilege. These findings support the need for curricula that foster awareness of structural elements of racism and the distribution of societal resources.

Connecting WPAS With Other Related Constructs

The associations of the WPAS subscales with theoretically related constructs in the hypothesized directions provide convergent validity and additional understanding of the dynamics of White privilege, racism, and social hierarchy. As expected, Willingness to Confront White Privilege, White Privilege Awareness, and White Privilege Remorse were negatively correlated with the CoBRAS, MRS, and SDO. In contrast, Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege was not associated with SDO or MRS. Because we had not anticipated this particular dimension, we did not have a priori hypotheses for its relation with other factors. However, this relation is understudied in the literature and bears greater scrutiny. A possible explanation could be that rather than tapping attitudes toward social hierarchies, Anticipated Costs taps the fear of challenging these hierarchies and the status quo (Goodman, 2001).

White privilege attitudes also were associated with various affective reactions to racism, as assessed by the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Both Confronting White Privilege and White Privilege Remorse were positively associated with White Empathy and White Guilt and negatively associated with White Fear. Although White Privilege Awareness was also positively associated with empathy and guilt, it was not significantly associated with fear. This provides some further distinction between these factors. Anticipated Costs was the only WPAS factor to correlate positively with White Fear of People of Other Races. This relates to qualitative responses from some White individuals around irrational fears of racial minority uprisings against Whites due to the history of racial inequality (Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008). This also adds to the conceptual literature suggesting that fear can be associated with ambivalence to engage in behavioral changes that entails risks in challenging White privilege (Goodman, 2001; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Consistent with some studies (e.g., Neville et al., 2000) and inconsistent with others (e.g., Kernahan & Davis, 2007), women in our study scored higher than men on all WPAS factors except Anticipated Costs. However, we should note that the effect sizes were small. Women's experience of sexism might relate to greater awareness of privilege in general and therefore result in stronger negative feelings about White privilege and greater willingness to disrupt such privilege. In contrast, we documented large effect sizes for differences between undergraduate and graduate students in scores on the Confronting, Awareness, and Remorse subscales. This suggests that education levels, relative to gender, is a characteristic that provides a more substantial distinction between individuals scoring low or high on White privilege attitudes. This may reflect a greater number of opportunities to learn about White privilege and institutional racism as part of continuing education. It is interesting to note that individuals who took part in a workshop or class in which White privilege was explicitly discussed scored higher on all subscales except on Anticipated Costs, and effect sizes for these differences were in the medium range. This suggests that as White individuals learn about the unearned advantages of racism for Whites, some become interested in its

elimination. This would concur with White racial identity development models (Fouad & Arredondo, 2007; Miller & Fellows, 2007) and White privilege awareness models (Kendall, 2006; Sue, 2003). Empirically, there is evidence that diversity courses increase the level of awareness of White privilege and racism and increases a sense of responsibility to engage in antiracism action (Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Spanierman, Poteat, et al., 2008). Research is needed to capture more clearly the links between raising awareness of White privilege and behaviors to confront White privilege. This could be of particular interest in the development of multicultural competency skills in training and supervision. Studies might also examine ways in which White privilege awareness and confronting White privilege relate to awareness of and behaviors to prevent racial microaggressions (Nadal, 2008).

Given the findings related to Anticipated Costs, closer examination of this factor is warranted. It is likely that apprehension about the anticipated costs of addressing White privilege is a common reaction among Whites while learning about the systemic nature of oppression and privilege. Unzueta and Lowery (2008) concluded that this threatens White individuals' positive self-image. Research is needed to identify how training and programming efforts might facilitate movement from apprehension due to anticipated costs to motivation toward and actual engagement in antiracist and social justice behavior.

Limitations and Additional Recommendations for Future Research and Training

Several limitations in the present investigation warrant consideration for future research. Although the data analyzed for Studies 1 and 2 constituted different samples of individuals, the data were collected simultaneously and from individuals attending the same 10 institutions and therefore were not entirely independent. Future research should continue to examine the generalizability of the WPAS among different populations (e.g., community-based samples), age groups (e.g., K–12 students), socioeconomic positions, and geographic locations. Recent findings have suggested some distinctions between White college students and employed adults in the community on affective reactions to racism (Poteat & Spanierman, 2008), and future research might compare patterns of findings for White privilege attitudes among different populations. Extending our present examination of theoretically related factors (i.e., affective reactions, antiegalitarian beliefs, and modern racism attitudes), future studies might consider additional constructs, such as heterosexual privilege and socioeconomic class privilege, in relation to the multiple dimensions of White privilege attitudes. Finally, qualitative studies could offer a better understanding of individuals who report high levels of Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege.

Understanding the ways in which White privilege permeates U.S. society and its institutions, including the counseling psychology profession, is imperative to socially just teaching, research, practice, training, and advocacy. A central component of multicultural competence is self-awareness, including White trainee awareness of White privilege (Fouad & Arredondo, 2007). Researchers might examine how White privilege attitudes among counselor trainees relate to observed or client-rated cultural competence of counselors. As the field of counseling psychology becomes more racially diverse, White privilege attitudes in super-

vision dyads could also be examined using the therapy interaction process model (Helms & Cook, 1999) to promote the development of parallel or progressive relationships rather than regressive relationships. As noted above, skills training to identify and prevent racial microaggressions within counseling sessions could involve attention to White privilege attitudes. Future study should examine the sensitivity of the WPAS in detecting change before and after an intervention. The WPAS could be a valuable aid in assessing pedagogical interventions to enhance students' abilities to navigate through feelings of remorse and shame as they develop multicultural competence and behaviors to confront racial privilege.

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Received July 28, 2008

Revision received April 13, 2009

Accepted April 26, 2009 ■