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## **Educational Interventions to Raise Awareness of White Privilege**

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*Diversity courses in higher education often seek to deepen understanding of the systematic advantages associated with dominant group membership, such as white privilege. Most pedagogical studies of privilege awareness examine the impact of full-length diversity courses on white privilege awareness (Case, 2007; Kernahan & Davis, 2009; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996). However, investigation of specific classroom interventions to raise understanding and awareness is needed to confirm which pedagogical strategies affect student learning. This study provides experimental information regarding learning about white privilege via specific pedagogical interventions (videos/handouts). Participants exhibited significant increases in white privilege awareness and white guilt as a result of the video intervention. The handout intervention led to increased support for affirmative action. Findings provide insights for using pedagogical strategies when designing diversity courses.*

Over the last 25 years, instructors teaching diversity courses addressing race steadily have advanced efforts to address systemic advantages associated with dominant group membership in various forms (for example, white<sup>1</sup>, male, heterosexual privileges). Instructors of diversity courses covering race and racism as systemic oppression often attempt not only to reduce biases, assumptions, and stereotypes among students (Blincoe & Harris, 2009; Todd, Spanierman, & Aber, 2010), but also to raise awareness of white privilege. Evidence of increased privilege awareness from the beginning to the end of a course provides encouraging data on student learning (Case, 2007; Cole, Case, Rios, & Curtin, 2011; Kernahan & Davis,

2007). In fact, empirical investigation at the course level provides essential information about the current impact of diversity courses. In order to be effective in the design of these courses and the implementation of class exercises, information on more specific activities and learning experiences is needed. Targeted learning activities, documented as effective by empirical investigation, will equip instructors with stronger pedagogical tools for teaching about white privilege.

This experimental study investigated the impact of reflective interventions on students' awareness of white privilege. This research assessed the effectiveness of two interventions (educational handout/testimonial video) in terms of increasing white privilege awareness compared to the control condition. The study also examined the impact of the interventions on support for affirmative action and White students' levels of white guilt.

### **White Privilege in the Classroom**

Since McIntosh's (1988) influential privilege essay, white privilege has received some attention within social science research (Ancis & Syzmanski, 2001; Case, 2007, 2012, 2013; Hays, Chang, & Dean, 2004; Lawrence & Bunche, 1996; Mindrup, Spray, & Lamberghini-West, 2011; Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005; Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips, & Denney, 2012). This scholarship examined white privilege in counseling settings (for instance, Ancis & Syzmanski, 2001), pedagogical challenges (for instance, Lawrence & Bunch, 1996), and psychological correlates (for instance, Stewart et al., 2012). Privilege refers to unearned advantages and benefits afforded to dominant group members with a particular social identity within a system of oppression (Case, Hensley, & Anderson, 2014; Case et al., 2012; McIntosh, 1988). When educators attempt to engage discussions of privilege, the focus tends to shift to oppression and discrimination (Case, 2012; McIntosh, 2012). McIntosh (2012) argued "studies of oppression will not go anywhere toward ending oppression unless they are accompanied by understanding of the systems of privilege that cause systems of oppression" (p. 204). In other words, studying discrimination without including analysis of privilege fails to expose students to all components of systemic oppression. Privilege and discrimination operate as interwoven codependent structural forces (Case et al., 2012) that require attention for informed comprehension of oppression. In the classroom, focused reflection and enhanced awareness of privilege facilitates a more well-rounded understanding of systemic oppression for students (Case, 2013).

Pedagogical research on teaching and learning about white privilege

includes some theoretical papers; anecdotal evidence of learning, such as student feedback; and instructor descriptions of teaching strategies (Abrams & Gibson, 2007; Lawrence & Bunch, 1996; Tatum, 1994). Student perceptions of learning and instructor reflections, though informative and valuable, cannot provide empirical data to assess their comprehension of white privilege. In fact, instructors need empirical studies designed to investigate the direct impact of teaching methods on learning about privilege. Research evaluating the impact of full-length diversity courses on learning about white privilege have found changes in student awareness (Ancis & Syzmanski, 2001; Case, 2007; Cole et al., 2011; Doucet, Grayman-Simpson, & Wertheim, 2013; Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Yeug, Spanierman, & Landrum-Brown, 2013). For example, Cole et al. (2011) examined race and ethnicity diversity courses from multiple disciplines to assess course impact on student attitudes in comparison with students enrolled in Introduction to Psychology. Findings revealed the race and ethnicity courses led to greater white privilege awareness, acknowledgment of blatant racism, and understanding of intersections of identity among both White students and students of color.

These studies provide evidence of learning at the broader course level. However, instructors addressing white privilege in the classroom also need research that identifies classroom activities for promoting student understanding of privilege. For example, in their experiment testing a video's impact on racial attitudes, Soble, Spanierman, and Liao (2011) found students viewing the video exhibited lower colorblindness endorsement and more white empathy and guilt than the control group. Given the broadened coverage of white privilege in diversity course content in the last few decades, instructors and students would benefit from more experimental research examining the impact of specific educational interventions. This study provides essential information about the relationship between understanding white privilege and specific interventions for potential use in the classroom.

### **Student Policy Support and White Guilt**

Diversity education often encourages students' critical analyses of institutional policies with regard to group inequality, such as sexual harassment, university non-discrimination statements, or college affirmative action in admission procedures (for instance, Case, Kanenberg, Erich, & Tittsworth, 2012). In fact, social justice education without consideration of the impact of social policy on privileged and oppressed lived experiences would be missing an essential piece of the curricular puzzle. For

example, a course addressing poverty and homelessness would need to offer students the skills to critically analyze economic policies, access to affordable housing and the availability of jobs providing a living wage, etc. Based on their studies of social dominance orientation and group privilege and the work of Leach, Iyer, and Pederson (2007), Pratto and Stewart (2012) argued that privileged individuals should take action to oppose and defeat policies to promote equality. This study examined whether the privilege interventions increased support for race-based affirmative action policies. Case (2007) found that there was a positive correlation between white privilege awareness and support for affirmative action and that both increased during the diversity course studied. Swim and Miller (1999) also identified a relationship between white privilege awareness and positive attitudes toward affirmative action. However, specific interventions to raise understanding of privilege and support for policies addressing inequality have not yet been identified. Just as support for social policies may be a side effect of awareness of privilege, guilt may also result from new knowledge of one's advantages due to social identity.

When learning about race and racism, White students often exhibit resistance and emotional reactions, such as white guilt, defensiveness, and frustration (Chan & Treacy, 1996; Higginbotham, 1996; Jackson, 1999; Wise & Case, 2013). Research has shown connections between recognition of the unearned advantages of white privilege and feelings of guilt (Case, 2007; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Swim & Miller, 1999). As White individuals become more aware of privilege, guilt may develop because they recognize personal benefits that result from systemic racism. In fact, there is some evidence that diversity courses may increase white guilt among White students (Case, 2007). How might this side effect of privilege awareness impact student learning? Greater guilt may drive some personally to challenge the systemic racial oppression that provides them with privilege. However, feelings of white guilt may lead students to shut down, feel targeted, get defensive, and exhibit greater resistance to learning. Due to the potential impact of white guilt, instructors need information on the impact of specific privilege interventions on white guilt.

### **The Study**

This repeated-measures experimental study examined the effectiveness of two interventions—a privilege list handout and testimonial video—to raise white privilege awareness. The handout was modeled after McIntosh's (1988) list of privileges afforded to White individuals in society. Due to the widespread pedagogical use of this list, the study aimed to provide empirical testing of its direct effect on learning. The video in-

intervention presented participants with individual testimonials focusing on how white privilege impacts their daily lives. Previous research on out-group bias suggested video testimonials may provoke perspective taking, empathy, and attitude change (Bernstein & Davis, 1982; O'Donahue, Yeater, & Fanetti, 2003). The video was chosen to test the presumed impact of personalized videos on learning. Reflective writing was also used after each intervention to promote retention and intervention effectiveness. Previous research on reflective writing suggests this type of exercise may enhance appreciation of cultural diversity (Kyles & Olafson, 2008), empathy (DasGupta & Charon, 2004), and self-awareness (Epstein & Hundert, 2002). Therefore, reflective writing may influence learning about white privilege.

Both interventions were hypothesized to raise awareness of white privilege due to learning about daily implications of privilege and then writing a reflective summary. Additionally, as a more vivid form of media, the video was expected to lead to significant increases in privilege awareness beyond that of the handout. As a result of perspective taking and empathy promoted by videos, participants may learn more about privilege when viewing personal video testimonials from real people compared to reading a list of privileges. Therefore, the video was predicted to raise white privilege awareness more than the handout.

The study also investigated whether the two pedagogical interventions affected white guilt and attitudes toward affirmative action policies. Those gaining greater understanding of the unfair benefits of white privilege were predicted to increase the endorsement level of policies designed to promote equal access to education and employment. White students exhibiting higher levels of awareness of their own privilege due to the interventions were expected also to report increased white guilt.

## Method

### *Participants*

Students ( $N = 257$ ; 82% female) received course credit for participating through the psychology department's subject pool. Of the 233 participants that reported their race, respondents identified themselves as 48.2% White, 19.1% Hispanic, 11.3% Black, 6.6% Asian, 1.2% Native American, 1.2% Arab or Middle Eastern, and 3.1% Bi/Multi-Racial. In response to the question about sexual orientation, 85% identified as heterosexual and 8% as gay, lesbian, or bisexual (7% declined to answer). The participants' average age was 29.4 years, due to the non-traditional student population at the university.

The high percentage of female students was due to the makeup of the social science program students taking courses that either require participant pool credit or offer extra credit for participation. The southern regional university study site is a Hispanic-serving Master's comprehensive institution with a large percentage of commuter, first-generation, and non-traditional/returning students.

### *Instruments*

Each scale on the Time 1 and Time 2 surveys used Likert-item responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). See Appendix A for all scale items.

#### **White Privilege Awareness**

This 6-item scale assessed whether or not participants are aware of privilege and acknowledge that Whites have privilege (Case, 2007). Sample items included the following: (1) "White people automatically have more opportunities than non-whites"; and (2) "Whites are at an advantage because their cultural values determine what is normal" (Cronbach's alpha: Time 1 = .88; Time 2 = .89).

#### **Support for Affirmative Action Policy**

This 8-item scale measured the extent to which participants endorsed educational admissions and workplace hiring policies to promote diversity (Case, 2007). Sample items included the following: (1) "People of color should receive racial entitlement such as affirmative action and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America"; and (2) "Once affirmative action programs for people of color are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against White people" (reversed item; Cronbach's alpha: Time 1 = .77; Time 2 = .80).

#### **White Guilt**

This 4-item scale assessed White students' ( $n = 124$ ) feelings of guilt as associated with membership in the dominant racial group (Swim & Miller, 1999). To be clear, only White students completed this scale, because it is relevant only to those in the privileged group. Sample items included the following: (1) "I feel guilty about the past and present social inequality of Black Americans (i.e., slavery, poverty)"; and (2) "When I learn about racism, I feel guilt due to my association with the White race" (Cronbach's alpha: Time 1 = .86; Time 2 = .86).

*Procedure*

The experiment consisted of a control condition and two experimental interventions: (1) privilege list and reflective writing or (2) video testimonial and reflective writing. Participants completed an online Time 1 survey that included demographics and all of the study instrument items at least 48 hours before the lab intervention and Time 2 survey. For the lab intervention, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: the control condition with no intervention ( $n = 81$ ), the privilege list handout intervention ( $n = 90$ ), or the video intervention ( $n = 86$ ).

Individuals in the handout intervention were presented with a two-page list of daily privileges created for this study, titled "Daily Effects of White Privilege," based on the white privilege list in McIntosh's (1988) essay, which is often assigned as required reading in diversity courses. The handout highlighted white privilege benefits, such as educational materials that promote white culture, assumptions of Whites' financial reliability, perceptions of Whites being individuals rather representatives of their race, and positive representations of Whites in the media. Sample items included the following: (a) "White people can easily buy posters, post-cards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of their race"; and (b) "White people can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that they got it because of race." Participants were asked to study the handout for 10 minutes and think about each item carefully. Immediately following, participants were asked to write a reflective essay for 10 minutes outlining what they had learned from the list.

In the second experimental intervention, participants were asked to watch a 10-minute video about white privilege. The video presented White volunteers discussing concrete ways that white privilege provides unearned benefits for them on a daily basis. The two women and two men in the video were undergraduate students, graduate students, and alumni of ages 25-38. The video began with a White woman defining white privilege at the individual and societal levels. The testimonials described personal experiences with privilege, such as not being followed in stores or assumed to be stealing and not being profiled by airport security due to race. The video testimonials also discussed the direct benefits from having Whites' own race represented in all forms of media, fashion, and beauty products. One speaker highlighted that privilege comes from every month being "white history month" and having white historical figures represented in K-12 textbooks. Another speaker explained that she does not have to worry about race as a negative factor when applying for jobs,

housing, and loans. Immediately following the video, participants wrote a reflective essay for 10 minutes outlining what they had learned from the video. Participants in both experimental interventions completed the Time 2 survey immediately after the reflective writing essay.

## Results

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) revealed no Time 1 differences across conditions for white privilege awareness ( $F [2, 254] = 0.91; p = .41$ ), support for affirmative action ( $F [2, 254] = 2.62; p = .08$ ), or white guilt ( $F [2, 121] = 1.67; p = .85$ ).

Analyses consisted of planned comparisons for the three dependent variables: (a) the control group versus the handout intervention, (b) the control group versus the video intervention, and (c) the handout versus the video intervention. Planned comparisons were used because 2 X 3 (time X intervention type) ANOVAs involving all three conditions at once may be significant without providing the details in terms of which conditions were significantly more effective than each of the two others. Repeated-measures 2 x 2 (time X intervention type) ANOVAs compared Time 1 and 2 data for each dependent measure. Table 1 provides variable means and standard deviations for each group. Figure 1 provides the graphic representation of significant Time X Condition  $F$  values for each intervention's impact on dependent variables. Participants who received the video intervention showed significant increases in white privilege awareness compared to the controls ( $F [1, 165] = 9.88; p = .002$ ). For participants' support of affirmative action, the handout intervention had significant increases compared to the control condition ( $F [1, 169] = 7.81; p = .006$ ). However, the video intervention failed to reach significance in terms of impact on attitudes toward affirmative action when compared to the control ( $F [1, 162] = 3.12; p = .076$ ). Analyses revealed that the video intervention significantly raised white guilt among White participants compared to the control group ( $F [1, 175] = 6.74; p = .011$ ). The handout intervention failed to significantly change white privilege awareness or white guilt. In consideration of time X intervention X sex interactions, student sex did not influence any of the changes on dependent measures. Similarly, time X intervention X race did not have a significant impact on white privilege awareness or affirmative action (participants for white guilt all identified as White).

## Discussion

The study findings indicated that the video intervention raised white

Table 1  
Time 1 and Time 2 Means and Standard Deviations

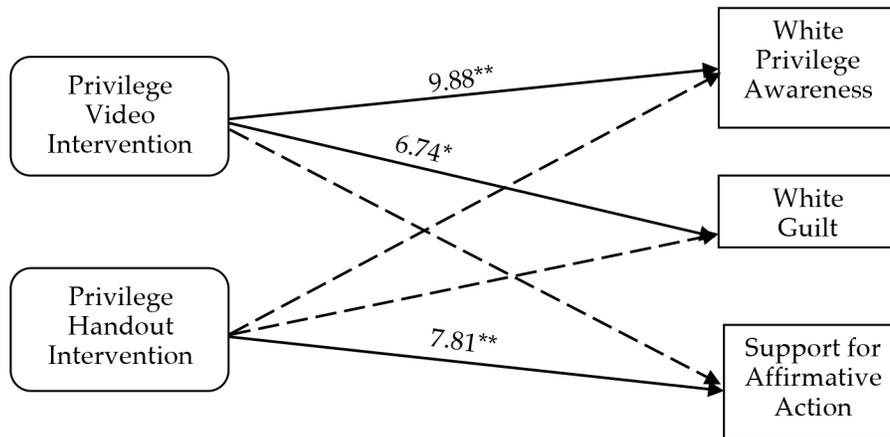
Dependent Measures	<i>Control</i>		<i>Privilege Handout Intervention</i>		<i>Privilege Video Intervention</i>	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
White Privilege Awareness	4.29 (1.19)	4.12 (1.17)	4.46 (1.00)	4.28 (1.10)	4.51 (1.07)	4.68** (1.01)
Support Affirmative Action	3.29 (.87)	3.30 (.94)	3.13 (.87)	3.36** (.85)	3.42 (.84)	3.59 (.84)
White Guilt	3.09 (1.23)	2.93 (1.28)	2.94 (1.20)	2.91 (1.29)	3.05 (1.17)	3.36* (1.37)

Note. Time 1 = T1; Time 2 = T2.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ . All  $p$  values refer to Time X Condition ANOVA comparisons of the control versus the intervention. Standard deviations indicated in parentheses.

privilege awareness compared to control group participants receiving no intervention. Participants' written reflections indicated that the individualized, personal, and detailed stories shared by each White interviewee in the video may have provoked empathy ("Whites shouldn't get all the privileges. It's not fair"), attitude change ("I had never really thought about the music industry . . . honestly, I would find a country singer of a race different than White as weird and out of place, but Eminem as a rapper is fine?"), and perspective taking ("I suppose what stands out the most in the video is that the White privilege is not having extra worries or doubts or concerns in our mind[s] every day"), as supported by previous research on testimonial videos (Bernstein & Davis, 1982; O'Donahue et al., 2003). The perspective taking and empathy evoked by watching White individuals describe real examples and personal testimonials from their lives may explain the effectiveness of the video compared to the ineffective handout. Among White participants, the video intervention also increased white guilt, supporting the hypothesis that participants with raised privilege awareness would also exhibit greater white guilt. For example, the following participant acknowledged privileges that come with being

Figure 1  
Significant Time X Condition *F* Values  
for Each intervention's Impact on Dependent Variables



Note. Solid paths *F* values represent change from Time 1 to Time 2 for each experimental group compared to the control group. Dotted lines represent non-significant *F* values.

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

White and expressed discomfort about unearned favorable treatment:

Being White definitely has its perks . . . which is disgusting. I have had a few occurrences where I felt like I was chosen or praised more than another (colored people). These instances are not pleasurable for me. I hate that at times I may get what I want . . . just because of my color.

Previous studies of white privilege found a positive relationship with white guilt (Case, 2007; Iyer et al., 2003; Swim & Miller, 1999) that calls for attention to this reaction in advance, during the curriculum design phase. Students may benefit from early discussions of possible guilt responses to learning about privilege, readings addressing white guilt, and check points for reflecting on these reactions throughout the course. The video also increased policy support for White participants but did not reach significance. The video's inclusion of White people talking about their individual-level privileges aided student learning about privilege. At the same time, "all the people discussing white privilege were White

people, and I wanted to hear how others felt from other races," as noted by a participant. The absence of people of color providing examples of institutional discrimination in education and employment settings may have produced a lack of knowledge about the need for policy to address inequality.

Although the video affected white privilege awareness, the hypothesis that the handout would raise privilege awareness when compared to the control group was not supported. This finding was somewhat surprising at first, but analysis of the items revealed possible explanations for this outcome. For example, all handout items were phrased as theoretical and depersonalized from individual people and concrete illustrations. Items presented vague examples of privilege without specific details or stories from real people, making the abstract concept of privilege difficult to envision. For example, one participant emphasized personal responsibility in vague terms to circumvent the topic of privilege, stating, "Yes, I do see some privilege for people of White race, but I believe ultimately some of the decisions and actions will be based on morals and ethics rather than race." Such items may be easier to dismiss as inaccurate or fabricated compared to video testimonials of real, lived experiences, as evidenced in some participants using single counter-examples to argue against systemic inequality:

In the pamphlet it mentions twice how White people can buy posters, dolls, toys, and children's magazines with people of their race. That is true, but what about Dora the Explorer or the Latino Barbie dolls. . . . White people assume people in power are White also, but our President is Barack Obama.

Although this response does not negate the widespread pedagogical use of the privilege list, it suggests that instructors should incorporate supporting pedagogical structures in the form of reading materials and discussions to facilitate critical analysis. Better yet, the list handout coupled with videos that provide examples of white privilege and personal experiences with discrimination may maximize the list's pedagogical potential. In addition, the handout intervention increased support for affirmative action policy. As one might expect, the affirmative action scale items focused on education and employment settings. Likewise, the handout presented specific examples related to institutional-level privilege in education, media, government, and legal and medical settings. In fact, the handout included one item referring directly to affirmative action policies. This particular focus of the handout and the affirmative action scale may have influenced the impact on students, thereby achieving significance even though the video did not. This was evident in multiple

reflections by participants about the benefits of policies like affirmative action that serve to remedy unequal practices in institutions such as the criminal justice system:

I do believe that when White people are put in a bad situation, the issue of race was never the cause of it. White people do not get categorized for being "bad" or "criminals." Especially Hispanics and Blacks are targeted by the criminal justice system.

In addition, some participants indicated understanding of the benefits of such policies that diversify work and educational settings:

One thing needed to solve this problem is to encourage interaction between the different cultures, so that White people are less likely to remain ignorant about them . . . any fears of reverse discrimination could be put at ease knowing that mere interaction itself can actually reduce discrimination (in both directions).

An important point for pedagogical practice is the multiple points of reference to affirmative action in the handout condition. As demonstrated in written reflections by participants in this condition, repetition of main points may benefit learning, especially when the information challenges privileged narratives about race or other social identities.

### *Pedagogical Strategies to Maximize Learning*

Based on these findings, diversity course instructors need a variety of approaches when teaching about privilege and social policy that encourage students as they examine and cope with feelings of guilt. These strategies should provide students with individual-level examples of privilege and structural-level concrete examples to help them comprehend the full picture of privilege as a systemic issue. Examples and illustrations that capture true stories and vivid experiences from individuals will provide the context and details to help students envision each instance of privilege. Pedagogical approaches related to white privilege could incorporate assigned readings, handouts, videos, role-play exercises, discussions, reflective papers, final projects, and more. For example, students in first author Kim's Psychology of Women course write a personal reflection paper deconstructing one form of privilege that they have as a result of their social identity group membership. This assignment requires students to identify privilege via individual examples, institutional examples, psychological effects, behavioral implications, and intersectional connections between privilege and their various other social identities. One simple experiential activity some instructors employ uses a trash can as a symbol

of privilege (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KlmvmuxzYE>). Each student crumples up one piece of paper and attempts to throw into the small trash can placed at the front of the room. Students must remain in their seats as they aim for the can. Students in the back of the room quickly recognize this game as unfair, yet students in the front fail to object to the inequality. The activity lends itself to productive discussions about how privilege operates and the systemic rules that protect privilege, such as starting from different points of opportunity (that is, seat placement in the room). The pedagogical format chosen may be less important than ensuring that the comprehensive curricular design presents students with real personal stories as examples of privilege at individual and structural/institutional levels.

### *Limitations and Future Research*

This study contained several limitations for possible consideration in future research. Of course, the endurance of the changes that resulted from the interventions beyond the post-intervention survey remains unknown. Research to revisit participants perhaps 6 months or a year later would provide information on the long-term impact. Despite the racial diversity and non-traditional age of the study sample, the use of a student sample from only one university presents challenges for generalizability. In addition, the influence, if any, of the interventions on potential ally behavior to challenge racism is unpredictable. Even though the interventions may lead to voting for public policies that promote equality in employment and education or some other anti-racist actions, these findings cannot predict such changes.

In the interest of understanding variables that predict privilege awareness, future research might explore whether participant backgrounds (for example, education levels, out-group contact experiences, geographic origin) affect privilege awareness or perhaps moderate the effectiveness of interventions. Given that this study did not assess prejudice levels, investigations might examine whether the privilege interventions also reduce racial prejudice. Of course, white privilege represents only one form of privilege relevant to diversity courses. Many forms of privilege based on sexual identity, social class, ability, sex, gender identity, age, religion, immigrant status, and more deserve curricular attention as well as empirical investigation of effective teaching strategies. As noted by several participants, “none of the females mentioned about men being privileged,” and “judging . . . exists everywhere . . . it happens due to race, dress, rich and poor, expensive and cheap cars.” See Case et al. (2014) for

empirical studies of interventions to raise male and heterosexual privilege awareness.

### Conclusions

Instructors of diversity courses at the college level continue to incorporate more privilege content, exposing students to this often-invisible aspect of oppression (McIntosh, 2012). Research illustrating the impact of diversity courses on white privilege awareness (Ancis & Syzmanski, 2001; Cole et al., 2011; Kernahan & Davis, 2007) have suggested that student awareness can be raised. Despite the advancement of privilege studies curricula and course effectiveness studies, research is lacking on specific pedagogical tools for raising awareness. This study addressed this lack of empirical evidence by investigating two educational tools to raise white privilege awareness. The findings suggest a need for a variety of specific educational strategies, addressing both individual and institutional levels, for raising awareness of and support for policies that promote equality. By identifying pedagogical tools that effectively develop and enhance understanding of white privilege, instructors can design diversity course curricula to address individual and institutional privilege and develop activities and assignments based on research findings. In fact, infusion throughout and across a multitude of courses, including diversity and core courses within majors, will maximize students' learning during their undergraduate tenure. Instituting pedagogy for "privilege awareness across the curriculum" could transform student awareness in profound ways.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>When referring to individuals or a group of people, "White" is capitalized in accordance with APA style guidelines. However, references to concepts such as white privilege, white guilt, and white identity are not capitalized.

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Appendix A  
Scale Items: Reverse Scoring Marked as "R"

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*White Privilege Awareness (Case, 2007)*

1. Whites and non-whites have equal chances at success in this country. (R)
2. Whites are at an advantage because their cultural values determine what is normal.
3. Non-whites are the advantaged groups and whites are currently at a disadvantage. (R)
4. White people automatically have more opportunities than non-whites.
5. Just as non-whites are the disadvantaged, whites are the advantaged.
6. Whites must be willing to confront their privileged status before racism can end.

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*Support for Affirmative Action (Case, 2007)*

1. A certain quota of people of color, even if not all of them are fully qualified, should be admitted to colleges and universities.
  2. If I were an employer, and two equally qualified applicants, a person of color and a White person, applied for the same job, I would be more likely to hire the person of color.
  3. People of color should receive racial entitlement such as affirmative action and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America.
  4. To compensate for racial injustices, I feel that universities should create special entitlement for people of color including multicultural "theme" dorms or student unions.
  5. After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that people of color are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education.
  6. People of color have to learn they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit. (R)
  7. Once affirmative action programs for people of color are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against White people. (R)
  8. If there are no affirmative action programs helping people of color in employment and education, then they will continue to fail to get the share of jobs and higher education, thereby continuing past discrimination in the future.
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Appendix A (*continued*)  
**Scale Items: Reverse Scoring Marked as "R"**

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*White Guilt* (Swim & Miller, 1999)

1. Although I feel my behavior is typically nondiscriminatory toward Blacks, I still feel guilt due to my association with the White race.
  2. I feel guilty about the past and present social inequality of Black Americans (i.e., slavery, poverty).
  3. I do not feel guilty about social inequality between White and Black Americans. (R)
  4. When I learn about racism, I feel guilt due to my association with the White race.
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