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AN EXAMINATION OF RELATIONS AMONG FEAR, GUILT, SELF-
COMPASSION, AND MULTICULTURAL ATTITUDES IN WHITE ADULTS

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

Whitney Wheeler Black

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Sharon Scales Rostosky, Professor of Counseling Psychology

Lexington, Kentucky

2018

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

AN EXAMINATION OF RELATIONS AMONG FEAR, GUILT, SELF-COMPASSION, AND MULTICULTURAL ATTITUDES IN WHITE ADULTS

Structural racism is often perpetuated by well-intentioned White individuals who passively accept or are unaware of its existence. However, when their perceptions and understanding of the world are challenged through learning about structural racism, White people may experience emotions such as fear, and guilt, which seem to serve either a debilitating or a motivating role in multicultural attitude development. Self-compassion, which is the ability to process distressing emotions without resorting to avoidance of the emotional experience, may help White individuals work through strong negative affect that accompanies an awareness of structural racism and ultimately aid in the development of multicultural attitudes.

This hypothesized model of moderated mediation was tested using a sample of White adults ($N = 240$; 70.8% women, 26.3% men, 2.9% gender-expansive) who completed an online survey. Awareness of structural racism had a larger positive relationship with White guilt in individuals who endorsed lower levels of self-compassion. For individuals with high levels of self-compassion, more awareness of structural racism was associated with more fear, which in turn was associated with lower multicultural attitudes. For individuals with low levels of self-compassion, more awareness of structural racism was associated with less fear, which in turn was associated with more multicultural attitudes. Contrary to the theoretical model, the indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White guilt was not moderated by self-compassion. Implications and recommendations for research and practice in the field of counseling psychology are discussed.

KEYWORDS: White Privilege, Racial Prejudice, Self-Compassion, Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, Racial Identity Development, Multiculturalism

Whitney Wheeler Black

June 26, 2018

AN EXAMINATION OF RELATIONS AMONG FEAR, GUILT, SELF-
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Awareness of Structural Racism	3
Race-based discrimination in the United States.....	4
White privilege awareness.....	6
Resistance to multiculturalism.....	10
Developing Multicultural Attitudes	11
Race-Related Affect.....	12
White fear.....	13
White guilt.....	14
Gaps in knowledge on changing multicultural attitudes.....	17
White Identity Development Models	19
White racial identity development model.....	19
A model for social justice ally development.....	21
Self-Compassion.....	25
Research Question and Hypotheses	26
Hypothesis 1.....	29
Hypothesis 2.....	29
Hypothesis 3.....	29
Hypothesis 4.....	30
Hypothesis 5.....	30
Hypothesis 6a.....	30
Hypothesis 6b.....	30
Hypothesis 7.....	31
Hypothesis 8a.....	31
Hypothesis 8b.....	31
Chapter Two: Method	33
Participants and Procedures	33
Measures	35
Predictor: Awareness of structural racism.....	37
Awareness of privilege and oppression.....	37
Awareness of White privilege.....	38
Awareness of contemporary racism and privilege.....	40
Mediators.....	40
Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale.....	40
White privilege remorse.....	42
Moderator.....	42
Chapter Three: Analyses and Results	44
Preliminary Analyses	44
Missing data.....	44
Outliers.....	45

Inferential Statistics	46
Dimensionality Testing	50
Fitting a Measurement Model.....	54
Normality.	56
Model Testing	56
Chapter Four: Discussion.....	64
What is the Role of White Fear in Developing Multicultural Attitudes?	65
What is the Role of White Guilt in Developing Multicultural Attitudes?	68
What is the Role of Self-Compassion in Moderating Fear & Guilt?	70
In the current study,	71
Limitations	75
Future Directions	78
Implications for Professional Practice	80
Conclusion	82
Appendices.....	83
Appendix A: Informed Consent.....	83
Appendix B: Demographics Questionnaire	85
Appendix C: Self-Compassion Scale.....	88
Appendix D: White Privilege Attitudes Scale	90
Appendix E: APOS-2.....	91
Appendix F: Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale	92
Appendix G: Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE)	93
References.....	96
Vita.....	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of participants ($N = 240$)	33
Table 2: Summary inferential statistics ($N = 240$)	48
Table 3: Correlation matrix for continuous variables in the study ($N = 240$).....	49
Table 4: Global fit testing	51
Table 5: Global fit testing for the Self-Compassion Scale	53
Table 6: Fit indices for measurement and structural models	55
Table 7: Standardized path coefficients with confidence intervals (standard errors in parentheses).....	62
Table 8: Summary of hypothesis testing.....	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual model.....	32
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Chapter One: Introduction

American society has grown increasingly racially and ethnically diverse in the past few decades, with projections that People of Color will become a numerical majority of the population by 2042 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Theorists suggest that the demographic shift has contributed to increased prejudice and discrimination against People of Color (e.g., Nail, McGregor, Drinkwater, Steele, & Thompson, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Prejudice is defined as negative bias toward a particular group of people (Allport, 1954). Racial prejudice functions to maintain the status quo of structural oppression, affecting the physical and psychological well-being of both oppressed and privileged groups (Utsey, Ponterotto, & Porter, 2008). Racism, and other forms of oppression, are maintained by an institutional system of domination, as well as through individual belief structures and attitudes that justify the oppression of those who do not belong to the dominant group (Neville, Spanierman, & Lewis, 2012). Increased denial of structural racism has been associated with less support for anti-oppressive actions, such as race-based affirmative action (Oh, Choi, Neville, Anderson, & Landrum-Brown, 2010). Within the context of privilege, power, and oppression in the United States, White individuals are members of the dominant social group who have a choice about acknowledging and taking action in the elimination of racial injustice (McIntosh, 1988). Therefore, for White individuals to begin to overcome their prejudiced attitudes, they must first become conscious of and acknowledge the existence of racist institutions, White privilege, and individual bias (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Freire, 1970).

Structural racism and White privilege are omnipresent in the current U.S. socio-political climate. News outlets and social media accounts report swastikas at schools,

racist slurs, and other hate-fueled attacks and acts of intimidation. In addition to these visible and overt forms of racism, there are also insidious and sometimes covert manifestations. Modern, or covert, racism is characterized by three core characteristics: denial that discrimination against People of Color is still a problem, resentment about the perceived sociocultural gains made by racial minorities, and antagonism toward programs that promote social equality (Hogan & Mallott, 2005). From White nationalist rallies occurring on college campuses, unprecedented rates of deportation of undocumented individuals, and stigmatization and persecution of immigrants, oppressive and racist attitudes are apparent and palpable in many White Americans.

Increased awareness of racism and oppression seems to lead White Americans down two paths: (a) entrenching into group membership and discrimination, or (b) movement toward valuing multiculturalism and dismantling oppressive structures. An example of the first path is that some White Americans view race relations as “zero-sum,” in which status gains for People of Color equate to loss of status for White individuals (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014), and less bias against People of Color means more bias against White individuals (Norton & Sommers, 2011). The core of racism is a prejudiced sense of superiority in an attempt to exercise or maintain power to subjugate other groups (Utsey et al., 2008). Thus, prejudiced attitude translates into discriminatory behavior. However, not all White Americans hold or maintain the zero-sum view.

White individuals with a multicultural ideology are members of a privileged social group who support and advocate for members of an oppressed group as a result of their deeper understanding of the experience of others (Washington & Evans, 1991). A multicultural ideology views the world from a structural perspective and often

accompanies a desire to work together toward social change and work against the status quo (Bishop, 2002). Individuals with multicultural attitudes appreciate and learn from other cultures, most often along racial/ethnic identities, and seek to develop skills to work in any cultural setting (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012). How White individuals develop a multicultural ideology is complicated, in that it often requires a reduction of negative attitudes, the cultivation of positive attitudes, and encouragement of action directed toward social change (Bishop, 2002; Pittinsky, 2012).

It remains unclear when multicultural ideologies will and will not interrupt oppressive attitudes. Provided these differing paths for White Americans, the next section will further explicate structural racism in the context of the United States and outline what is known about (a) awareness of structural racism, (b) models of White racial identity development, and (c) potential barriers to developing multicultural attitudes for White individuals.

Awareness of Structural Racism

The system of inequity that privileges White individuals and disadvantages People of Color can be referred to as structural racism, defined as a system of social structures and the associated ideological beliefs or narratives that White people tell themselves in order to rationalize their superiority (Neville et al., 2012). Structural racism is perpetuated not only by those with full awareness and hateful intentions, but also by well-intentioned White individuals who passively accept or are unaware of how racism is embedded in the social and institutional structures of the United States.

Structural racism is influenced by and results from institutional racism (e.g., racially

biased politics, education, economic policies, and media) and individual racism (Neville et al., 2012).

Race-based discrimination in the United States. Race-based discrimination, both the institutional system of domination and the “corresponding ideological belief that justifies the oppression of people whose physical features and cultural patterns differ from those of the politically and socially dominant group,” remains a significant human rights concern in the United States (Neville, et. al, 2012, p. 334). While a focus on overt racism remains important in the current socio-political climate, covert racism, which is subtle and complex, also reduces the well-being of People of Color (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; D’Andrea & Daniels, 2001). Subtle, individual acts of covert racism, referred to as microaggressions, are often communicated outside of the awareness of the individual and are grounded in cultural assumptions about race and racial groups (Neville et al., 2012).

Structural racism is evidenced in America in countless ways. People of Color continue to have the lowest wages, highest rate of incarceration and unemployment, and lowest educational levels as compared to White individuals (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2011; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2010). The increased visibility of violent and exploitative crimes directed at People of Color by police represents another example of structural racism. At the forefront of the media coverage was the death of Michael Brown, an 18-year-old Black man, who was shot and killed by Darren Wilson, a White police officer, in 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri. Media coverage presented Michael Brown’s murder as an isolated instance that was restricted to individual-level prejudice and did not acknowledge the existing institutional bias that contributes to structural racism. However, Bonilla-Silva (2006) argued that

institutional forces are responsible for the continuation of race-based inequities. The U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division's (2015) Report on the Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department supported Bonilla-Silva's claims. Their report "revealed a pattern or practice of unlawful conduct within the Ferguson Police Department that violates the First, Fourth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, and federal statutory law" (United States Department of Justice, 2015, p. 1). This report chronicled the sanctioned violence and unconstitutional policing that "reflect and exacerbate existing racial bias, including racial stereotypes" (United States Department of Justice, 2015, p. 2). Thus, structural racism results in premature death of People of Color and disproportionate rates of incarceration, and has psychological consequences for People of Color living in environments with these patterns of injustice. This long-standing historical pattern of structural racism persists.

Alarming, news sources have attributed rises in hate groups to Whites' reactions to shifting U.S. racial demographics (e.g., Curry, 2012). In 2016, Donald Trump was elected U.S. President, with a decree to "Make America Great Again" and a platform based in White nationalism, racism, and xenophobic policies. It is because of institutional forces, such as the media, education, and the criminal justice system, that structural racism continues. As a direct result of structural racism, which is comprised of an intertwined system of institutional and individual bias, People of Color are trapped in a cycle of insufficient education and unemployment compounded with criminal charges that significantly decrease their chances of future employment. Structural racism negatively impacts the mental and physical health of People of Color. Greater perceived racism has been related to increased mental health symptoms and lower levels of well-

being (Neville et al., 2012). Experiences of race-based discrimination are related to negative health behaviors (e.g., alcohol and substance use, risky sexual behavior) and fewer health-promoting behaviors. Discriminatory behavior against People of Color reduces biopsychosocial health for People of Color, ranging from low self-worth (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001) to premature death (Neville et al., 2012). Silence and inaction of White individuals has been equated to indifference, and indifference to violence against People of Color (Bernaldo-Olmedo, 2017). The first step toward action is awareness and understanding of the system of inequity to which many White individuals are complacent.

White privilege awareness. It is necessary to explore the ways in which White individuals are advantaged in society in order to understand structural racism (Neville et al., 2012). White privilege consists of greater access to resources while living without experiencing discrimination on the basis of racial group membership or having one's self-worth and value contested by cultural norms. Unearned advantages of being White in the United States include a longer life expectancy, higher salaries, and reduced chances of incarceration (Neville et al., 2012). Neville, Worthington, and Spanierman (2001) identified invisible and often unacknowledged expressions and unearned advantages of White privilege at the macro (e.g., access to new technology) and micro (e.g., a sense of entitlement) levels. In addition to these levels there are numerous institutional structures of power that assist White individuals in achieving personal goals and maintaining status. Few studies have explored or attempted to quantify White individuals' awareness of their privilege, with the notable exception of Pinterits, Poteat, and Spanierman (2009). The most consistent finding among White privilege studies is that greater awareness of White

privilege is related to increased awareness of structural racism (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Neville et al., 2012; Pinterits et al., 2009; Swim & Miller, 1999).

There are many individual-level processes that sustain unearned structural advantage and White privilege. One such motivator is a deeply held belief that the world is just. Belief in a just world (BJW) theory suggests that individuals are highly invested in defending the belief that a world is stable and logical (Lerner, 1980). In a just world, people get what they deserve and outcomes are largely within an individual's control. If behavior has little impact on consequences, incentive to behave appropriately diminishes (Lerner, 1980).

Lerner (1980) theorized that BJW contributes to a distressed psychological state, which causes people to engage in rational (e.g., working to reduce injustice) or irrational strategies (e.g., denial and withdrawal, victim-blaming) to manage discomfort. People with high BJW are likely to attribute systemic disparities based on race (e.g., poorer health and criminal justice outcomes, access to education and housing, economic power) to a fair, socially just process based on individual choice and ability rather than situational factors such as present and past oppression (Wilkins & Wenger, 2014). When White individuals believe they are living in a just world, they are likely satisfied and acritical of the status quo, motivating them to ignore or rationalize an unjust social interaction. Acknowledging the injustice would pose a significant conflict with their core beliefs about the world. In this way, White individuals may enact an irrational strategy in the face of evidence that may threaten their belief that the world is just.

As a result of a shifting political and cultural climate after the 2016 presidential election, many liberal White Americans were surprised at the politics that led to a Trump

victory, illustrating a lack of awareness about the scope and severity of contemporary racism (Shirazi, 2017). A report by the Southern Poverty Law Center stated that since the election, reports of hate crimes have risen substantially across the country (Potok, 2017). There is a dangerous discrepancy between what White individuals believe about racist attitudes in the United States and the violent lived experiences of People of Color.

Not only are White individuals often passive and silent, but they may also consciously or unconsciously deny the existence of racism. As a result, White individuals are able to hide behind institutional racism and unconscious individual bias and continue to benefit from these systems, which then perpetuates structural racism (Spanierman, 2002). Although a lack of awareness of privilege and oppression may not directly lead to intentional discrimination or prejudice, related attitudes such as minimization and rationalization of racism, color-blind racial attitudes, cultural dominance, and a negative stance about affirmative action perpetuate the status quo of racial inequity (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005; Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006; Neville et al., 2001). However, wherever oppression exists, there is also resistance to oppression.

Anti-oppressive attitudes are developed by increasing one's critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Critical consciousness is the awareness of privilege and oppression in society and a shift toward connection with others and socially just action (Freire, 1970; Neville et al., 2012). White individuals are called upon to participate fully in efforts to bring about social change (Neville et al., 2012), yet there is insufficient knowledge about why some White individuals develop anti-oppressive attitudes that lead to behavior while others do not. What is known is that reducing prejudiced attitudes and developing

multicultural attitudes involves (a) a critical understanding of the system of racism and White privilege and (b) intentional attitudes that are aligned with multiculturalism (Sue, 2003). In the current study, “multicultural attitudes” will be used to refer to individual attitudes aligned with multiculturalism, commonly defined as the belief that racial and ethnic differences should be acknowledged and appreciated (Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). “Multicultural attitudes” will encompass positive dispositions aligned with multiculturalism, such as cultural openness and the belief that cultural diversity enhances quality of life. Multicultural attitudes also include reduced negative attitudes, such as those aligned with prejudice or cultural dominance, the belief that one’s cultural group is superior and that intergroup interactions should be minimal. Without a multicultural worldview, prejudiced attitudes and the status quo are maintained. Prejudiced attitudes that individuals possess toward those who hold different social identities are often formed without basis in fact or lived experience and lead to stereotyping and discrimination.

Cognitive awareness of racism and privilege is necessary for developing multicultural attitudes (Bishop, 2002; Broido & Reason, 2005; Reason, Scales, & Roosa Millar, 2005). Bishop (2002) emphasized the importance of recognizing on an intellectual level the structure of race in society and the larger system of privileged and oppressed racial identities. Education aimed at cultivating an intellectual awareness of privilege and oppression typically begins with defining key terms, such as racism and White privilege, on individual, institutional, and cultural levels. A focus on structural rather than personal racism is recommended, not to let White participants off the hook, but to minimize defensiveness, encourage reflection, and allow for conversations that are less threatening (Reason et al., 2005). Attempts to cultivate multicultural attitudes have

been paradoxically associated with surprising increases (Thomas & Plaut, 2008), as well as decreases (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009) in prejudiced attitudes and bias in White Americans.

Resistance to multiculturalism. Although many White Americans claim color blindness and a lack of bias, extant research on resistance to multiculturalism contradicts this narrative. After reading about increasing demographic diversity (vs. a control article), White participants showed greater fear and anger toward minority groups and decreased endorsement of diversity (Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2012). Under some conditions, (e.g., high-conflict situations; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008), encouraging some people (e.g., those who strongly identify with their ethnicity; Morrison et al., 2010) to recognize and appreciate differences may produce unintended reactions.

Increasing racial diversity has been shown to be threatening to some, but not all, White Americans and likely contributed to President Trump's election in reaction to perceptions of declining status and fear of loss of privilege (Major, Blodorn, & Major Blascovich, 2016). In an experimental study, Major and colleagues (2016) found that White Americans with higher levels of ethnic identification showed increased support for Trump, anti-immigrant policies, and greater opposition to political correctness after being presented a news story about shifting racial demographics of the United States. These findings suggested that Trump's success among White Americans was related to increases in perceived threats to majority group status. In this context, fostering multicultural attitudes is of the utmost importance to promoting biopsychosocial health and wellness for all.

Developing Multicultural Attitudes

Sue (2003) described developing multicultural attitudes as a process filled with “unpleasant insights” (p. xiii) for White individuals as they begin to increase awareness of themselves as racial beings and fully acknowledge White privilege. He asserted that overcoming racism requires that White individuals (a) be willing to tolerate unpleasant feelings that are associated with examining one’s bias, (b) begin to challenge their own racial reality and how it affects their view of racism, (c) begin to understand the worldview of People of Color through experiential reality rather than through images shown in media, and (d) take action to fight against their own racism and the racism of other individuals and society. Sue (2003) posited that, as a result of overcoming their racism, White individuals often experience outcomes such as a greater appreciation of people from diverse backgrounds, less fear of differences, improved communication skills, and increased spiritual connection with all groups of people.

Research suggests that White individuals experience strong affect in response to learning about structural inequity and race-based issues (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008; Tatum, 2003). Theoretical works written by experts in conducting prejudice reduction trainings with White individuals have identified their reactions as ranging from helplessness to anger (Bishop, 2002; Goodman, 2011; Tatum, 2003). For the most part, White individuals are silent and apathetic, and also may either consciously or unconsciously deny the existence of racism. This passive denial of racist institutional and cultural practices allows White individuals to benefit from this system and a White-dominated United States, of which the privileges are undeniable and vast (McIntosh, 1988; Neville et al., 2001). Although People of Color experience more severe and

persistent costs, to understand the effects of structural racism on all persons who operate within that structure it is necessary to acknowledge that White individuals experience costs as well (Goodman, 2011; Neville et al., 2012; Spanierman, 2002). Goodman (2011) discussed economic, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and affective costs of structural racism to members of dominant groups. Empirical studies have identified psychosocial costs of racism as White guilt, White fear, and White empathy (Spanierman, 2002).

Race-Related Affect

In addition to acknowledging the benefits of racism to White individuals, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) referred to costs that can be either acknowledged or unacknowledged and that White people are socialized to avoid and deny. Psychosocial costs of racism to White individuals include (a) feelings of fear, anger, and guilt; (b) a distorted perception of reality; (c) confusion and a lack of knowledge; (d) limited interpersonal relationships with People of Color; (e) self-censoring and avoidance of racial tension; and (f) rejection by other privileged individuals for challenging racism (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Experiencing the aforementioned psychosocial costs of racism, specifically the intense affective responses, likely contributes to resistance and avoidance of diversity training experiences and interactions with diverse individuals.

When a White individual acknowledges that they possess unearned benefits based on their White identity, they are also accepting that they are participating in an oppressive system, either actively or passively (Spanierman, 2002). People are motivated to maintain a positive self-image and develop self-esteem (Neff, 2003b). Fear of rejection or anger from other White individuals are potential consequences that safeguard the status quo of White privilege and prevent and discourage White individuals from

exploring their own racial identity and challenging the system (McIntosh, 1988). Additionally, when their perceptions and understanding of the world are challenged, people may experience such emotions as fear, anger, anxiety, guilt, and apathy (Pinderhughes, 1989; Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005). Experiencing an affective response to racism implies at least a cognitive understanding that racism exists (Spanierman, 2002). As White individuals continue to acknowledge privilege and oppression, they may begin to feel guilty about being White, the contributions they have made to structural racism, and the benefits of White privilege. Anxiety and fear are associated with decreased awareness of structural racism and White privilege, heavy reliance on racial stereotyping, and a distorted view of reality (Spanierman, 2002).

Understanding how an individual manages their affective reactions to racism is important to developing allies against racism. White empathy, guilt, and fear are key affective responses in the context of increased awareness of privilege and oppression (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Swim & Miller, 1999). White empathy refers to an individual's reactions, such as anger, sadness, and frustration about the existence of racism (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). White guilt is a feeling of remorse about receiving unearned advantages as a result of their White identity, which is linked to feelings of personal responsibility (Goodman, 2011). Swim and Miller (1999) suggested that White guilt is associated with acknowledging one's privilege and understanding that racism is still very much alive. Higher levels of White guilt have been associated with positive attitudes toward minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).

White fear. Fear and anxiety are the most common reactions that White students experience when learning about racism (Reason et al., 2005). White fear is the mistrust

of and feeling unsafe around People of Color and has been associated with lower levels of multicultural education, exposure to people of other races, racial awareness, and ethnocultural empathy (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). In a study of racial awareness among 34 White counseling trainees, Ancis and Szymanski (2001) elicited racial anxiety by presenting McIntosh's (1988) well-known list of White racial privileges to the students. Written reactions were collected and then subjected to qualitative analysis. Almost 60% of the participants exhibited limited awareness of racial inequality; half of these participants reported strong, negative feelings of anger and anxiety related to learning about White privilege in class.

Anxious feelings about appearing racist, offending others, or facing one's own racism are also captured under the umbrella of White fear (Tatum, 2003). Additionally, White fear has been described as a fear of accepting one's unearned privilege and has been identified as a major barrier to developing socially-just attitudes and behaviors (Spanierman et al., 2008). Goodman (2011) suggested that White fear sometimes manifests itself in expressions of rage and hostility. Mekawi, Bresin, and Hunter (2015) explored the effects of White fear (specifically the fear of People of Color) on shooting bias and found that these two factors did have significant roles in a person's shooting bias toward Black individuals. Individuals high in White fear were more likely to shoot individuals who appeared Black versus those who appeared White (Mekawi et al., 2015). These findings suggest that clarifying the role of fear in prejudice reduction and ally-building would contribute to the literature and help to improve anti-racism interventions.

White guilt. White guilt has received significant empirical attention in relation to awareness of systemic racism and White privilege (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Iyer,

Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; Spanierman et al., 2008; Swim & Miller, 1999). Tatum (2003) noted the role of guilt within the process of White racial identity development, and Rudman, Ashmore, and Gary (2001) argued that White guilt may play a role in changing implicit racial attitudes. Experimental studies have found that eliciting awareness of White privilege or Black oppression results in increased levels of guilt among White individuals (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman et al., 2008; Swim & Miller, 1999). Swim and Miller (1999) surveyed 102 White undergraduates and found that individuals who reported White guilt had stronger beliefs in the existence of White privilege, demonstrated a greater awareness of discrimination against Black individuals, and reported lower levels of prejudice. In this sample of White undergraduates, those who experienced White guilt also demonstrated more negative personal evaluations of other White people. Consistent with White racial identity theories (summarized below), White guilt, shame, embarrassment about being White, and a lack of identification with other White individuals are normative experiences in White identity development (Helms, 1995; Tatum, 2003).

In a randomized control study of a multicultural education intervention on 153 White undergraduate students, guilt was determined to be a self-focused emotion that plays a supportive role in educating students about race-based issues and decreasing racially biased attitudes (Estrada, 2012). Kernahan and Davis (2007) found that after participating in a course entitled the Psychology of Prejudice and Racism, students reported more awareness of racism and White privilege than their counterparts in a control group. Additionally, these students demonstrated changes in their affective

experience (higher levels of White guilt and more discomfort when learning about White privilege) and a feeling of responsibility to take action against racism.

The relationship between White guilt and prejudice reduction appears to be complex. In a brief video intervention with 138 college students, a documentary about a Black man and a White man's vastly different experiences in college was used to decrease color-blind racial ideology and prejudiced attitudes (Soble, Spanierman, & Liao, 2011). White guilt and White empathy were significantly higher at post-test for participants in the experimental group when compared to the control group (Soble et al., 2011). Additionally, as anticipated, color-blind racial ideology scores were significantly lower in the experimental condition at post-test. The intervention led to greater racial awareness and increased White guilt and race-related empathy, but it did not increase comfort with racial diversity or decrease racial prejudice. This finding might be attributed to the intervention participants' intensity of emotion as their awareness of societal racism and White privilege increased. There may be an optimal amount of White guilt that motivates an individual toward attitude change instead of creating a barrier (Soble et al., 2011).

White privilege remorse is a lesser studied race-related affect that is conceptually similar, yet distinct from White guilt. Pinterits and colleagues (2009) described White privilege remorse as an emotional response (e.g., shame and anger) about having race-based privilege and the existence of White privilege. In developing the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), Pinterits and colleagues reported that White privilege remorse was highly correlated with higher levels of White privilege awareness, which is consistent with the previously presented literature on White guilt. In the current study, a

measure of White privilege remorse was utilized in conjunction with a measure of White guilt in order to capture affect specific to awareness of White privilege.

Individual affective responses to privilege seem to serve either a debilitating or a motivating role in multicultural attitude development (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001).

White individuals who have attained awareness of structural racism may not feel positively about their race and may feel paralyzed to action (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). Other times, increases in awareness result in motivation to modify one's worldview as a result of the discomfort one feels in reaction to a challenged reality and self-image (Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005). Unfortunately, little is known about what inspires some White people to develop multicultural attitudes and others to become paralyzed or apathetic, or even to regress when they become aware of their unearned privilege. Most of what is known about how White individuals react to discussions of White privilege and racism comes from the diversity training and prejudice reduction literature.

Gaps in knowledge on changing multicultural attitudes. The prejudice reduction literature, while extensive, is flawed. A majority of strategies for prejudice reduction focus on changing negative attitudes by challenging stereotypes and bias, reducing discriminatory behaviors, and creating tolerance toward stigmatized groups. Because positive and negative intergroup attitudes are largely independent of one another and have different antecedents and outcomes, interventions should attend to both dimensions (Gonzalez, Riggle, & Rostosky, 2015). Existing prejudice reduction literature that include measures for positive attitudes provide evidence that reducing prejudice does not necessarily increase positive attitudes (Gonzalez et al., 2015).

Therefore, in investigating the process of developing multicultural attitudes, a positive dimension should be included.

A review of 178 articles on diversity training interventions (Bezrukova et al., 2012) identified further limitations of lacking robust experimental and longitudinal designs to evaluate effectiveness. Only 13 studies in educational settings (out of 136 empirical studies in the review) monitored the effects of diversity training over time. A vast majority of studies have taken place within educational contexts, typically using undergraduate students enrolled in a psychology course as participants, limiting the generalizability of results. Common findings across studies are that diversity trainings sometimes fail, progress is often slow, positive outcomes fade over time, and discrimination is still a problem in spite of an increase in diversity education efforts (Harris Interactive, 2008). Importantly, this field of research largely ignores the affective experience of participants in diversity education.

Although there is evidence that long-term, multi-level systemic diversity programs are effective in creating a positive diversity climate (Horowitz & Hansen, 2008), what remain less clear are the processes by which improvement occurs. Bishop (2002) posited that knowledge of the processes and facilitating factors involved in an individual's acknowledgment and regulation of White privilege is critical to overcoming all types of oppression. These facilitating factors must be examined further. To continue this examination of race related affect, theories of White racial identity development will be presented to explore the relationship between affect and multicultural attitude development.

White Identity Development Models

White racial identity development models discuss affective responses to racism and privilege (Bishop, 2002; Edwards, 2006; Hardiman & Jackson, 1992; Helms, 1995; Worell & Remer, 2003). Identity development models describe the strong negative emotions, such as anger, guilt, shame, and anxiety, that accompany increased awareness of privilege and oppression. To learn more about facilitating and inhibiting factors in the development of multicultural attitudes, a better understanding of the role that affect plays in these processes is necessary. However, it is unclear which affective factors motivate individuals to engage in racial justice work rather than to resist development. More simply, what is lacking in the literature is an understanding of why some people have multicultural attitudes and engage in racial justice work and others do not. What is known is that awareness of structural racism and White privilege is important in reducing prejudiced attitudes (Freire, 1970; Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005) and that an individual's affective experience characterizes their level of identity development (Bishop, 2002; Goodman, 2011, Helms, 1995). In fact, the latter stages of White identity development models are characterized by multicultural attitudes and racially just behaviors. However, little is known about how attitudes and affect work together. To begin to elucidate this relationship, it is helpful to understand both (a) how White individuals develop in their racial identity, and (b) what White individuals with multicultural attitudes look like.

White racial identity development model. Helms's (1995) White racial identity development model attempts to explain how or whether White individuals identify with other White individuals and either evolve or avoid evolution of a non-oppressive White identity. Helms's model consists of six statuses (Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration,

Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, Autonomy) that occur within two phases (abandonment of racism and defining a non-racist identity) characterized by varying levels of awareness of structural racism and White privilege. In the second status, Disintegration, individuals are beginning to develop an awareness of different treatment as a result of racism and struggling with the dilemma of White privilege. This influx of knowledge often leads to anger at other members of the dominant group and identification as a burgeoning ally. However, because White individuals at this status do not fully recognize that oppression is systemic and that they play a role in that system, guilt, anger, and anxiety associated with increased awareness may result in lashing out against others and victim blaming (Helms, 1995).

The third status in Helms's (1995) model, Reintegration, is characterized by resistance to acknowledging structural racism. In this status, the person responds to increasing awareness of White privilege with pride in White group membership, acceptance of dominant cultural messages about race, and fear and anger toward other racial groups. White individuals in the Reintegration stage are not likely to identify or aspire to be an ally. If they are able to work through their anger and fear in a productive way, White individuals often arrive at the fourth status, a highly intellectual understanding of race, White privilege, and racism, which Helms identified as Pseudo-Independence. As growth continues, the individual begins to recognize the role their White identity has played in the oppression of others and feelings of guilt often increase. In this status, many aspiring allies may attempt to separate themselves from other White people by attempting new behaviors. However, anti-racist efforts in this status are often

superficial because individuals cannot confront racism in a deeper way that would allow them to work through their feelings of defensiveness (Helms, 1995).

In the fifth status, Immersion/Emersion, White individuals have shifted focus to trying to change other White people (Helms, 1995). Attempts by individuals in this status to act as anti-racist allies are often thwarted by their anger toward other White people, which distinguishes them from individuals in the final status. In the final status, Autonomy, negative feelings of guilt and anger have been worked through and increasing awareness of race is no longer threatening to a positive conceptualization of the self. Individuals at this status are most able to be effective anti-racist allies because they can work with members of the oppressed groups, eagerly seek to understand their own role in oppression, and understand the complexity of the system of privilege and oppression (Helms, 1995).

Helms (1995) identified several emotional experiences occurring within White racial identity development. When first confronted with racism and White privilege, individuals often respond with anger toward the dominant group, guilt, and anxiety. Next comes a period of resistance to critical consciousness and regression into the safety of privilege. The subsequent statuses are characterized by an intellectual understanding of systemic racism associated with defensive feelings, anger toward other White individuals and strong feelings of guilt. Finally, the model is complete with the resolution of anger and guilt.

A model for social justice ally development. Bishop (2002) provided a six-step framework for understanding the development of social justice allies that combines affective, cognitive, and behavioral components including: (a) understanding oppression,

(b) understanding different oppressions, (c) consciousness and healing, (d) becoming a worker for your own liberation, (e) becoming an ally, and (f) maintaining hope. Bishop identified three underlying assumptions that set apart her model from other models on social justice attitude development: (a) everyone has the experience of being oppressed and oppressing others, (b) individual experience of oppressing others is often hard to access because privilege is invisible to those who hold it, and (c) our oppression of others is based on unhealed and sometimes unconscious pain from previous experiences being oppressed.

Bishop (2002) suggested that the development of social justice attitudes begins with understanding oppression, including how oppression began, how it is maintained, and the impact it has on the individuals and institutions that promulgate it. For example, White individuals must recognize oppression as part of societal structures and as both self-sustaining and difficult to eradicate. She asserted that “all oppressions are interdependent, they all come from the same world-view, and none can be solved in isolation” (Bishop, 2002, p. 20). The second step in her model, therefore, is to recognize and understand the interactions among different oppressions. By becoming more informed and establishing an emotional connection to the complicated relationship among different oppressions, an individual can confront inequalities collectively. A lack of awareness of the interactions among different oppressions would be characterized by focusing only on the separation between groups, the tendency to place oppressions in a hierarchy, and a drive for social groups to compete for resources. Bishop submitted that social justice attitudes are strengthened when the individual can articulate the similarities and differential interactions between oppressions.

As noted in Helms's (1995) model of White racial identity development, affect accompanies an increased understanding of one's role in the cycle of oppression (Bishop, 2002). In step three, Bishop (2002) suggested that healing this pain is essential to breaking the cycle of oppression and developing multicultural attitudes and behaviors. She defined the cycle of oppression as the unconscious pain that is buried in each person that causes them to use old survival strategies when a new situation seems threatening. When threatened, individuals project pain, both individual and collective, onto others and then punish them for their negative emotions. Bishop stated that consciousness raising and healing, which can operate at both individual and collective levels, are needed to address pain. Focusing on the larger picture instead of personal blame, an individual can raise consciousness through journal writing, reading, reflection, group processing, observation, and analysis. Consciousness raising can be most effective when an individual is experiencing a flashback or a powerful interaction or learning new information.

The fourth step in Bishop's (2002) model is to recognize areas where oppression touches everyone and to take action toward change. Bishop stated that before one can become an ally to others one must become "a worker in [their] own liberation" (p. 100). This step involves fostering individual healing, increasing individual power, and taking action to save others from experiencing what one has experienced. Sources of individual power can include nurturing others, embracing sexuality, embracing anger, sharing grief, cultivating friendship, and strengthening the connection with one's own body. Choosing what kind of power to possess as "power-with" instead of "power-over" (p.102) is

important for building a new society by using only the forms of power that one would want others to use.

Step five, becoming an ally, requires each individual to examine their previous roles as oppressors and learn a new skill set as allies (Bishop, 2002). Bishop (2002) recognized a defined role for dominant group members in working for the liberation of target group members and provided over a dozen suggestions on how to be an effective ally. These included helping other members of dominant groups understand oppression, listening to and supporting others rather than leading (or co-opting) the movement of the target group, and being authentic about how one feels. The action of allies, according to Bishop, must be within the dominant group to which they belong, and allies are tasked primarily with educating themselves and their dominant group peers about oppressive behaviors and systems.

Lastly, Bishop (2002) recognized that being an active social justice ally is difficult. In step six of her model, she discussed the importance of maintaining hope and idealism while working for social change. Recognizing a social movement as a long-term journey and holding onto the sincere belief that systemic racism can be dismantled is essential for sustaining a social justice ally identity. Similar to Helms (1995), Bishop outlined the necessity of healing from the pain that results from realizing you are a part of the system of structural racism and that you have been oppressed and also have oppressed others. Both of the models reviewed highlight the inevitability of White individuals experiencing strong affect in response to increased awareness of structural racism.

Ally development theorists suggest that education should focus on the systemic nature of oppression to reduce feelings of blame and guilt and overall resistance to

multicultural attitude development (e.g., Bishop, 2002). Discussions of White privilege and racism on an individual level may not be comfortable for many White people, but this discomfort is an important component of developing multicultural attitudes. Some individuals seem to react to learning about racism by opening to the new information, whereas others react with aggression or resistance. Racial justice education requires strategies to encourage engagement and growth by teaching skills that allow individuals to hold their strong emotional experience and new knowledge in balanced awareness.

Self-Compassion

Self-compassion, as defined by Neff and colleagues (2007), “involves three components: (a) being kind to oneself in instances of pain or failure, (b) perceiving one’s experience as part of the larger human experience, and (c) holding painful feelings and thoughts in balanced awareness” (p. 908). Self-compassion involves being motivated by your own suffering and experiencing feelings of kindness toward yourself when presented with adversity or perceived inadequacy (Neff, 2003b). Self-compassion is not the same as being selfish or self-centered, but instead focuses on an individual’s understanding that suffering is inherent to living for all people.

Self-compassion is associated with the following outcomes: (a) well-being (Baer, Lykins, & Peters, 2012; Gilbert, 2005); (b) resilience to negative events (Leary, Tate, Adams, Allen, & Hancock, 2007); (c) self-improvement (Breines & Chen, 2012); and (d) intrinsic motivation (Magnus, Kowalski, & McHugh, 2010). Self-compassion has been linked to concern for the well-being of others (Neff & Pommier, 2013). In samples of college undergraduates, community adults, and active meditators, higher levels of self-compassion were associated with increased perspective taking, less personal distress, and

greater forgiveness (Neff & Pommier, 2013). Individuals who have high levels of self-compassion demonstrate the ability to soothe themselves when distressed without being overwhelmed by negative reactivity (Neff, 2003b). Therefore, self-compassion may contribute to helping people deal with learning about their contribution to the systemic oppression of others with more emotional balance, a more global perspective, and less personal distress.

Addressing issues of race and White privilege can elicit strong emotional reactions in White students, such as anxiety, denial, guilt, and defensiveness (Lucal, 1996; Thompson & Neville, 1999; Utsey & Gernat, 2002). These affective costs to learning about one's racial privilege and systemic oppression likely influence a person's ability and willingness to engage in further racial identity development (Bishop, 2002; Helms, 1995; Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005; Sue, 2003). Findings from several studies suggest that the affective costs of racism are directly related to an individual's likelihood of developing multicultural attitudes (Case, 2007; Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Whether or not an individual is capable of being compassionate toward themselves when they are experiencing strong affect in response to increasing awareness of structural racism could be an important part of this process.

Research Question and Hypotheses

To gain an understanding of how White racial attitudes are developed, researchers have focused on examining the feelings, attitudes, and behaviors of White individuals in relation to their privileged identity. A significant focus has been on the costs of racism to White individuals, which include the feelings associated with realizing they have a distorted perception of reality and lack knowledge about structural racism (Spanierman,

2002; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman et al., 2006). Individuals with privilege who are unaware of oppression are not able to recognize their own need for liberation from the status quo and therefore are less aware of the costs of racism (Bishop, 2002). Furthermore, additional effort is not required to maintain the status quo of privilege, which makes holding racist attitudes convenient or the default. Unacknowledged privilege is a significant barrier to awareness of systemic oppression and to developing multicultural attitudes. Research suggests that awareness of structural racism is related to a decrease in prejudiced attitudes (Freire, 1970; Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005). Even when acknowledged, structural racism is sometimes only intellectually understood, which may not provide the necessary motivation for multicultural attitude development. Case (2007) and Kernahan and Davis (2007) argued that strong negative affect is a barrier to this relationship.

When individuals from privileged social groups begin to develop awareness of their positionality within an oppressive social structure that has benefitted and oppressed them, they may experience a strong affective response (Sue, 2003). Hostility, guilt, fear, denial, embarrassment, pain, and anxiety have been identified as common reactions to increasing privilege awareness, which can result from diversity training or from naturally occurring social interactions (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001; Parker & Schwartz, 2002).

The current study addresses empirical questions about awareness of structural racism, multicultural attitudes, and affective experiences of White individuals. Higher levels of White guilt have been associated with positive attitudes toward minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), whereas White fear has been identified as a barrier to

multicultural attitudes (Spanierman et al., 2008). As reported by Spanierman and colleagues (2006), those with multicultural attitudes should report the highest levels of White guilt and the lowest levels of White fear.

Self-compassion, which is the ability to process distressing emotions without resorting to avoidance of the emotional experience, may help White individuals work through strong affect (i.e., fear and debilitating guilt) that accompanies an awareness of structural racism and ultimately aid in the development of multicultural attitudes. Elucidating the role of self-compassion in multicultural attitude development could be a key to understanding how someone can process their self-directed guilt about contributing to the systemic oppression of others, as well as their fear of change and rejection, in a way that helps resolve cognitive dissonance and resistance to awareness of structural racism. Individuals who are high in self-compassion tend to take a more balanced approach to negative experiences in a way that allows them to neither suppress nor exaggerate strong painful affect (Neff et al., 2007). Self-compassion is a potential tool for White individuals be able to work through painful new knowledge to arrive at a place of openness and acceptance, rather than anger, resistance, and resentment.

The purpose of the current study was to examine the conceptual model depicted in Figure 1 and to explain the contribution of self-compassion to the previously established relationship between awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes using race-related affect as intermediaries. Further, the study investigated whether levels of self-compassion affect the strength of awareness of structural racism's influence on White guilt and White fear. It was anticipated that self-compassion would moderate the relationship between awareness of structural racism and race-related affect. Further, the

study posited that self-compassion may facilitate the development of multicultural attitudes even when White guilt and White fear are present. The goal of the study was to identify whether one's response to one's own mistakes and faults (self-compassion) could play a role in working through the negative affect experienced when an individual is aware of their unearned privilege. The hypothesized model of moderated mediation can be summarized as follows: awareness of structural racism affects race-related affect (White guilt and White fear) uniquely for different levels of self-compassion, which in turn influences the development of multicultural attitudes. To confirm, clarify, and explore the relationship among the variables explored above, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1. Multicultural attitudes are developed by increasing awareness of privilege and oppression in society (Neville et al., 2012). Therefore, in the current study, awareness of structural racism was predicted to be positively associated with multicultural attitudes (Path a in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 2. In White racial identity development, guilt is associated with full recognition that oppression is systemic and that one has played a role in that system (Helms, 1995). Experimental studies have found that conditions focused on White privilege as well as on Black oppression result in increased levels of guilt among White individuals (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Awareness of structural racism was expected to be positively associated with White guilt (Path b in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 3. White fear is the mistrust of and feeling unsafe around People of Color and has been associated with lower levels of multicultural education, exposure to people of other races, and racial awareness (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Awareness

of structural racism was anticipated to be negatively associated with White fear (Path c in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 4. White fear has been described as a fear of accepting one's unearned privileges and has been identified as a major barrier to developing socially just attitudes and behaviors (Spanierman et al., 2008). As such, White fear was expected to be negatively associated with multicultural attitudes (Path d in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 5. White individuals who reported White guilt also reported lower levels of prejudice (Swim & Miller, 1999). As such, White guilt was predicted to be positively associated with multicultural attitudes (Path e in Figure 1).

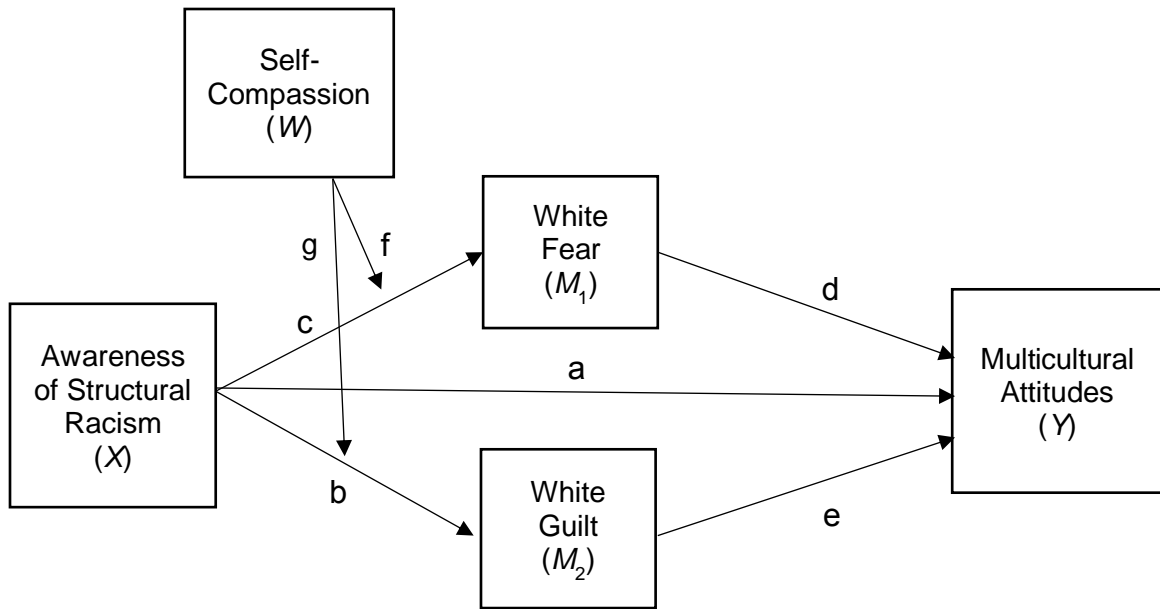
Hypothesis 6a. Bishop (2002) discussed unconscious pain that is buried in each person that causes them to project pain, both individual and collective, onto others and then punish them for their negative emotions. Therefore, the negative relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear was predicted to be weaker for individuals low on self-compassion than for individuals high on self-compassion (Path f in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 6b. White guilt has been shown to be a self-focused emotion that plays a supportive role in educating students about race-based issues and decreasing racially biased attitudes; however, guilt is also associated with significant discomfort when learning about White privilege (Estrada, 2012; Kernahan & Davis, 2007). The positively associated relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt was predicted to be weaker for individuals high on self-compassion than for individuals low on self-compassion (Path g in Figure 1).

Hypothesis 7. Research suggests that age (Stewart, von Hippel, & Radvansky, 2009), level of education (Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000), and gender (Navarrete, McDonald, Molina, & Sidanius, 2010) are correlates of prejudiced attitudes. The cumulative indirect effect between awareness of structural racism, self-compassion, White fear, and White guilt was predicted to explain a significant amount of the variability of multicultural attitudes after controlling for age, gender, and education.

Hypothesis 8a. In the Reintegration status of White identity development, White individuals exhibit fear of People of Color and associate White privilege with pride in group membership and acceptance of dominant cultural messages about race (Helms, 1995). Awareness of structural racism was predicted to have an indirect effect on multicultural attitudes through White fear that was larger for individuals with high self-compassion than for individuals with low self-compassion (indirect path from X to Y through M_1 by W).

Hypothesis 8b. As White individuals recognize the role their White identity has played in the oppression of others, feelings of guilt often increase. Individuals are likely to have at least a foundational understanding of racism and White privilege at this status, even if they are not capable of a full range of anti-racist behaviors (Helms, 1995). Awareness of structural racism was expected to have an indirect effect on multicultural attitudes through White guilt that was weaker for individuals with high self-compassion than for individuals with low self-compassion (indirect path from X to Y through M_2 by W).



Predictor	Moderator	Mediators	Outcome
Awareness of structural racism ^a (awareness of privilege and oppression, contemporary racism)	Self-compassion	White fear White guilt ^a (guilt and remorse)	Multicultural attitudes ^a (cultural resentment ^b and cultural openness)

^alatent variable

^breverse-coded items

Figure 1: Conceptual model

Chapter Two: Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were 240 individuals over the age of 18 ($M = 31.79$, $SD = 13.09$, Range 18–76). Participants identified as women ($n = 170$, 70.8%), men ($n = 63$, 26.3%), and gender-expansive ($n = 7$, 2.9%). Sexual identity, relationship status, education level, and country of origin distributions for the sample are found in Table 1. The participant sample consisted mostly of straight women from the United States who hold at least a college degree.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of participants ($N = 240$)

Characteristics	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Woman	168	70.0
Man	63	26.3
Gender Expansive	9	3.8
Sexual Identity		
Straight	184	76.7
Gay/Lesbian	23	9.6
Queer/Other	19	7.9
Bisexual	13	5.4
Missing	1	0.4
Country of Origin		
United States	227	94.6
International	13	5.4
Education Completed		
Some high school	4	1.7
High school or GED	12	5.0
Some college	68	28.3
College degree	36	15.0
Some graduate or professional school	22	9.2
Graduate or professional degree	98	40.8

Table 1 (continued): Demographic characteristics of participants ($N = 240$)

Characteristics	<i>n</i>	%
Relationship Status		
Single	70	29.2
Dating	27	11.3
In a committed relationship	56	23.3
Married/domestic partnership	75	31.3
Divorced/Other	12	5.0
Student Status		
Currently enrolled	132	55.0
Not enrolled	108	45.0
Student Classification ($n = 132$)		
First year	15	11.3
Sophomore	19	14.4
Junior	13	9.8
Senior	22	16.7
Graduate or professional student	55	41.7
<i>Missing</i>	8	6.0

Participants were recruited in the summer of 2015 through social media (Facebook, Twitter) and email listservs. Study data were collected and managed using Research Electronic Data Capture (REDCap) tools hosted at the University of Kentucky (Harris, Taylor, Thielke, Payne, Gonzalez, & Conde, 2009). To guarantee anonymity, identifying information on participants was not collected. Participants acknowledged informed consent (Appendix A) before entering the survey and answering demographic questions (Appendix B). Following completion of the demographics section, participants were asked to complete the items outlined in the measures section (Appendices C–G), and were then offered the opportunity to leave comments for the researchers. Once the survey was completed, participants were thanked for their participation. The survey took

approximately 20 minutes to complete. All study procedures were approved by the University Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Outcome: Multicultural attitudes. The Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE) was designed to assess the effectiveness of campus ethnic/racial diversity programming (Mallinckrodt, Miles, Bhaskar, Chery, Choi, & Sung, 2014). This scale is an updated, expanded version of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy, which measured participants' awareness and feelings about people from diverse cultural backgrounds, and the degree of acceptance toward people from different cultures (Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003). Ethnocultural empathy is defined as empathy directed toward people from racial and ethnic cultural groups different than one's own and has been shown to promote mutual understanding between various racial groups on cognitive and affective levels (Wang et al., 2003). Because ethnocultural empathy is not the only goal of developing multicultural attitudes, the EMC/RSEE sought to expand the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy to include assessment of: (a) culturally relevant knowledge of oneself and others, (b) multicultural skills (e.g., self-reflection, perspective-taking, intergroup communication), and (c) multicultural attitudes (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014). To develop the instrument, Mallinckrodt and colleagues (2014) generated an 84-item pool from focus groups of campus administrators, staff, and instructors who were asked to identify multicultural competencies that White undergraduates should possess.

The EMC/RSEE was not designed to provide a total score representing overall level of empathy or multicultural competency; each subscale is distinct yet interrelated

(Mallinckrodt et al., 2014). Initial evaluation studies indicated that the EMC/RSEE has an appropriate 6-factor structure, good internal reliability, and test-retest reliability for each subscale. The EMC/RSEE consists of six subscales: (1) cultural openness and desire to learn, which seeks to capture positive attitudes about diversity (10 items); (2) resentment and cultural dominance, which contains negative, prejudicial attitudes that multicultural programming seeks to reduce (10 items); (3) anxiety and lack of multicultural self-efficacy, which seeks to measure self-reported interpersonal skills and feelings about intercultural interactions (7 items); (4) empathic perspective-taking, which reflects a cognitive type of empathy (5 items); (5) awareness of contemporary racism and privilege, which contains knowledge of systemic racism (8 items); and (6) empathic feeling and acting as an ally, which includes aspects of taking action based on empathic feelings (8 items). Subscales 2 and 3 are designed such that higher scores represents undesirable multicultural attitudes.

Two subscales of the EMC/RSEE served as measures of multicultural attitudes in the current study. Items on these subscales were scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The cultural openness and desire to learn subscale (10 items; $\alpha = .93$) measured positive attitudes toward learning about diversity. Total scores and scoring ranges were calculated. Higher scores on this subscale indicated more interest in other cultures and positive attitudes toward multicultural learning, with items such as “Most Americans would be better off if they knew more about the cultures of other countries” ($M = 54.01$, $SD = 7.40$, actual range 11–60, possible range 10–60). The resentment and cultural dominance subscale (10 items; $\alpha = .93$) measured negative, resentful, culturally dominant attitudes that represent not being open to learning about diversity. Total scores

and scoring ranges were calculated. Higher scores on this subscale indicated more negative attitudes toward cultural diversity, with items such as “I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me” ($M = 22.74$, $SD = 11.27$, actual range 10–53, possible range 10–60).

Predictor: Awareness of structural racism. Three subscales were chosen to identify each participant’s level of awareness of structural racism (defined as a combination of awareness of classic racism and contemporary racism and awareness of White privilege).

Awareness of privilege and oppression. The Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale (APOS; Montross, 2003), which has been updated as the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014), was designed to measure social justice knowledge and awareness. The original APOS was a 50-item Likert-type scale that measured an individual’s awareness of privilege and oppression in four areas: (a) race, (b) gender, (c) sexual orientation, and (d) socioeconomic status (Montross, 2003). This measure was based on Worell and Remer’s (2003) social identity development model and assessed gains in awareness of the existence of privilege and oppression.

The APOS-2 was designed to assess awareness of privilege and oppression (McClellan, 2014). The original APOS was updated to reduce the number of test items, improve question content, and enhance content validity. The APOS-2 consists of 26 items from the original APOS (Montross, 2003) as well as an additional 14 items produced from an expert focus group (McClellan, 2014). Subscales included (a) awareness of sexism, (b) awareness of heterosexism, (c) awareness of classism, and (d) awareness of racism. The reliability estimate for the total score was .92 and the subscales

of the APOS-2 ranged from .73 to .86, demonstrating acceptable reliability based on a sample of 484 undergraduate students (McClellan, 2014). The APOS-2 was tested for convergent validity against a measure of openness to diversity, and the correlation coefficient was .83. The discriminant validity demonstrated no significant relationship between the APOS-2 and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale ($r = .103$, McClellan, 2014). Overall, the results indicated improved validity over the original APOS.

In the current study, the 11-item APOS-2 racism subscale (Appendix D; $\alpha = .90$) is one of the three subscales that measures awareness of structural racism, a predictor in this study. The 11-item APOS-2 racism subscale was presented on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree; $M = 44.55$, $SD = 11.22$, actual range 18–66, possible range 11–66). Total scores and scoring ranges were calculated after four items were reverse coded. A sample item of this subscale is “People of Color experience high levels of stress because of the discrimination they face.” Higher scores indicate more awareness of privilege and oppression based on race.

Awareness of White privilege. White privilege awareness was measured using the White privilege awareness subscale of the WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009) which focuses on the affective, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions of White privilege. The WPAS is a 28-item, Likert-style scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree). The WPAS consists of four subscales: (a) willingness to confront White privilege, a behavioral dimension including plans to address White privilege and explore one’s own privilege; (b) White privilege apprehension, an affective and behavioral dimension reflecting the degree of trepidation about addressing or losing one’s privilege; (c) White

privilege awareness, a cognitive dimension that reflects a degree of critical consciousness and understanding of racial inequities; and (d) White privilege remorse, an affective dimension that reflects emotional responses such as shame, guilt, anxiety, and anger about having race-based privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009). Cronbach's alphas for the subscales listed above were .93, .78, .84, and .89, respectively (Pinterits et al., 2009).

To test convergent validity, Pinterits and colleagues (2009) compared scores on the WPAS with measures of Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), and Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) in 251 White undergraduate students. Higher CoBRAS (operationalized as lower awareness of racism), Modern Racism Scale, and Social Dominance Orientation 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 (Pinterits et al., 2009). Higher CoBRAS scores were also significantly associated with lower anticipated costs of addressing White privilege. Color-blind racial ideology was negatively associated with all four WPAS subscales.

Pinterits and colleagues (2009) identified that the subscales of the WPAS were conceptually related, yet distinct. As such, subscales from the WPAS can be used independently from one another. The 4-item White privilege awareness subscale (Appendix C; $\alpha = .88$) measures awareness of structural racism, a predictor in this study. Higher scores on this subscale indicated more cognitive awareness of White privilege, with items such as "Our social structure system promotes White privilege." Items on this subscale were scored from 1 to 6 ($M = 18.05$, $SD = 5.21$, actual range 4–24, possible

range 4–24). Total scores and scoring ranges were calculated after two items were reverse coded.

Awareness of contemporary racism and privilege. The 8-item awareness of contemporary racism and privilege subscale of the EMC/RSEE was used to assess awareness of systemic racism (Appendix F; $\alpha = .94$). Higher scores on this subscale indicated more cognitive awareness of contemporary racism and privilege, with items such as “The U.S. has a long way to go before everyone is truly treated equally.” Items on this subscale were scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree; $M = 38.91$, $SD = 9.34$, actual range 10–48, possible range 6–24). Total scores and scoring ranges were calculated after two items were reverse coded.

Mediators. Race-related affect variables were tested as mediators of the relationship between awareness of structural racism (measured by the racism subscale of the APOS-2, the White privilege awareness subscale of the WPAS, and the awareness of contemporary racism subscale of the EMC/RSEE) and multicultural attitudes (measured by the cultural openness and cultural resentment subscales of the EMC/RSEE).

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale. The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) measures psychological and social costs of racism experienced by White individuals and consists of three subscales: (a) White empathic reactions toward racism, (b) White guilt, and (c) White fear of others. The 16-item scale uses a Likert-style response format ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Higher scores represent higher levels of the construct, identified as costs of racism. Because some costs are considered more productive than others (empathy vs. fear), a total score is not recommended. Internal

consistency estimates of the subscales from a sample of college-aged participants are as follows: (a) White empathy $\alpha = .85$; (b) White guilt $\alpha = .81$; and (c) White fear $\alpha = .78$ (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). White fear ($\alpha = .75$) and White guilt ($\alpha = .85$) served as mediators in the current study (Appendix E). White empathic reactions toward racism was not used because the questions are not related to direct experiences of White individuals and do not measure how White individuals feel about their own White identity and Whiteness. Instead, these items were intended to measure feelings of anger and sadness on behalf of People of Color and against racist structures (e.g., “It disturbs me when people express racist views”).

The 5-item White guilt subscale of the PCRW was used to assess White individuals’ guilt and shame related to racism. An example item is “Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.” Higher scores indicate more guilt in relation to one’s White identity. The 5-item White fear of others subscale of the PCRW was used to assess White individual’s fear and mistrust of People of Color. An example item is “I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.” Higher scores on this subscale indicate more fear and distrust of others and a lack of perceived safety when interacting with People of Color. Items on both subscales were scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree; possible range 6–30). Total scores and scoring ranges were calculated after two items from the White guilt subscale ($M = 14.25$, $SD = 6.28$, actual range 6–29) and one item from the White fear subscale ($M = 10.52$, $SD = 3.92$, actual range 6–21) were reverse coded.

White privilege remorse. In the current study, a measure of White privilege remorse was included to capture affect specifically related to unearned privileges. The White privilege remorse subscale of the WPAS (described above; Pinterits et al., 2009) was used. The 6-item White privilege remorse subscale of the WPAS (Appendix C; $\alpha = .94$) is an affective dimension that reflects emotional responses such as shame, guilt, anxiety, and anger about having race-based privilege. Higher scores on this subscale indicate more remorse related to one's White identity, with items such as "White people should feel guilty about having White privilege." Items on this subscale were scored from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree; $M = 19.33$, $SD = 8.27$, actual range 6–36, possible range 6–36) and a total score was calculated for each participant.

Moderator: Self-compassion. The Self-Compassion Scale (SCS), developed by Neff (2003a), is a 26-item scale designed to measure the positive and negative aspects of the three main components of self-compassion: (a) self-kindness compared with self-judgment, (b) common humanity versus isolation, and (c) mindfulness compared with over-identification (Appendix B). Responses are given on a 5-point scale ranging from "almost never" to "almost always." Higher scores represent more self-reported self-compassion. Example items include "I try to be loving toward myself when I'm feeling emotional pain" and "When something painful happens I try to take a balanced view of the situation."

Neff (2003a) reported the SCS has an appropriate factor structure, test-retest reliability ($r = .93$), and internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .94$); is not significantly correlated with social desirability bias; and possesses convergent and discriminant validity. All six subscales have been shown to be highly inter-correlated, and a

confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) determined that a single higher-order factor of self-compassion explained these inter-correlations (Neff, 2003a). Further, self-compassion was strongly associated with psychological health, life satisfaction, social connectedness, and emotional intelligence (Neff, 2003a). Self-compassion was negatively associated with depression, anxiety, rumination, and self-criticism (Neff, 2003a). A total self-compassion score was calculated for each participant after reverse scoring the negative subscale items (self-judgment, isolation, and over-identification; $M = 79.84$, $SD = 17.09$, actual range 38–127, possible range 26–130). The self-compassion scale served as the moderator in the current study (Appendix C; $\alpha = .93$).

Chapter Three: Analyses and Results

The following section will present (a) preliminary analyses (including a discussion of missing data and outliers), (b) inferential statistics (including descriptive statistics and correlation analyses for demographic and study variables), (c) dimensionality testing (using CFA models), (d) the fitting of a measurement model (assuming all variables to be freely correlated), and (e) hypothesis testing for the model of moderated mediation (using latent variable structural equation modeling and an index of moderated mediation). All data analyses were conducted using the Mplus 7.4 statistical software package (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). Mplus is a highly flexible program for estimating statistical models that has built-in features for (1) properly handling categorical data using polychoric correlations and weighted least squares estimation techniques, (2) CFA and structural equation modeling, and (3) analyzing mediation and moderation at the latent level.

Preliminary Analyses

Missing data. A total of 544 individuals began the survey by confirming the informed consent. Participants self-identified their racial identity and were given the option to select multiple races (see Appendix B for demographic survey items). Individuals who identified as more than one race or who did not select Caucasian/White were excluded from the study. Participants who selected Caucasian/White and did not select another identity were included in the study. One hundred and sixteen individuals (21.3% of total) were removed from the dataset because they did not identify their race as Caucasian/White, and 19 individuals (3.5% of total) were removed because they selected Caucasian/White and another racial identity.

Of the remaining cases, 168 (31% of total) were removed from the dataset because they were missing more than 20% of the data and exited the survey before completion. Of the 168 removed cases, 65 were missing all data, 90 were missing more than 50%, and 13 were missing between 20 and 50% of the data. An independent samples *t* test was conducted to compare APOS-2 scores between study participants and those removed due to missing data. There was not a significant difference in the scores for study participants ($M = 46.4, SD = 11.32$) and removed data ($M = 33.2, SD = 9.8$); $t(2.126) = 6.89, p = .146$. Missing data were also analyzed in regard to demographic variables. Gender ($\chi(1) = 0.655, p = .418$) and current student status ($t(338) = -.291, p = .771$) were not significantly associated with dropping out of the survey. However, individuals who completed the survey were significantly older ($M = 31.79, SD = 13.09$) than those who did not complete the survey ($M = 28.36, SD = 12.11$); $t(296) = 2.017, p = .045$.

The final sample consisted of 241 participants (44% of the 544 people who began the survey). Of the participants in the final sample, approximately 92% were missing no data. Missing data were handled using multiple imputation by creating 20 imputed datasets using a Bayesian analysis technique (Enders, 2010) which predicts values based on regression equations using the rest of the data for each case as predictors. These data sets were imputed by Mplus 7.4, which was also used to analyze all datasets and pool the results (Muthén & Muthén, 2012).

Outliers. Prior to conducting analyses, Mahalanobis distance was calculated for detection of the presence of outliers. One participant had a Mahalanobis distance (49.720) substantially greater than all other respondents, diminishing the fit of the CFA

models and the measurement model. Further inspection of this case identified that the individual's response pattern was to select the lowest option for each question for all measures other than the APOS-2 and SCS; therefore, this participant was removed from the study, resulting in all analyses being based on a final sample of 240 participants.

Inferential Statistics

Descriptive statistics and Cronbach's alphas for the variables of interest are presented in Table 2, and bivariate correlations in Table 3. Within demographic group differences were examined using descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, median) on all variables of interest. A series of one-way ANOVAs were used to test for demographic differences in study variables. Study items were answered significantly differently by participants of different genders and education levels across most variables (awareness of structural racism, White guilt, White privilege remorse, and multicultural attitudes). Given the wide age range in the sample (18–76), the correlation between age and variables of interest was also investigated. Age of the participant significantly affected their responses on most variables (awareness of structural racism, self-compassion, White guilt, White privilege remorse, and multicultural attitudes). In light of these significant associations, age, gender, and education level were expected to influence study findings and were treated as control variables.

A correlation matrix (Table 3) was computed and reported for all continuous variables of interest. Multicollinearity is problematic when exogenous (predictor) variables are nearly collinear; this was not found to be an issue in the current model. Among the observed variables, only the three measures (the racism subscale of the APOS-2, the White privilege awareness subscale of the WPAS, and the awareness of

contemporary racism and privilege subscale of the EMC/RSEE) on the latent awareness of structural racism variable were correlated higher than .80. Path coefficients in the proposed model analysis appear to be reliable.

Bivariate correlations indicated that the associations among variables were partially consistent with predictions. Subscales measuring awareness of structural racism (consisting of APOS-2, WPAS, and awareness of contemporary racism subscales) were associated positively with those measuring multicultural attitudes (consisting of cultural openness and reverse-coded cultural resentment), in support of Hypothesis 1. Subscales assessing awareness of structural racism were positively associated with White guilt (including White guilt and White privilege remorse subscales), supporting Hypothesis 2. However, subscales measuring awareness of structural racism (APOS-2, WPAS, and awareness of contemporary racism) were not significantly associated with White fear, which did not support Hypothesis 3. Consistent with Hypotheses 4 and 5, White fear was inversely associated with multicultural attitudes (cultural openness and reverse-coded cultural resentment subscales) and White guilt was positively associated with multicultural attitudes. It is important to note that the strength and direction of bivariate correlations can sometimes be misleading due to omitted variable bias and suppression effects (Mendenhall & Sincich, 2003).

Table 2: Summary inferential statistics ($N = 240$)

	Variable	N	Min	Max	M	SD	Skew	Kurt.	α
Predictor: ASR	APOS-2	240	18	66	46.55	11.22	-.326	-.911	.90
	WPA	240	4	24	18.05	5.21	-.856	-.150	.88
	ACR	240	10	48	38.91	9.34	-.925	.052	.94
Mediator: Race-related Affect	WG	240	6	29	14.25	6.28	.234	-.851	.85
	WR	240	6	36	19.33	8.27	-.038	-1.130	.94
	WF	240	6	21	10.52	3.92	2.78	-.500	.75
Moderator	SC	240	38	127	79.84	17.09	-.026	-.241	.93
Outcome: Multicultural Attitudes	COPEN	240	11	60	54.01	7.40	-2.14	6.23	.93
	RESEN	240	10	53	22.74	11.27	.846	-.169	.93

Notes: ASR = Awareness of structural racism; APOS-2 = Racism subscale of the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale-2 (McClellan, 2014); WPA = White privilege awareness subscale of White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009); ACR = Awareness of contemporary racism and privilege subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); WG = White guilt subscale of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004); WR = White privilege remorse subscale of WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009); WF = White fear of others subscale of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004); SCS = Self-Compassion Scale (Neff, 2003a); COPEN = Cultural openness and desire to learn subscale of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); RESEN = resentment and cultural dominance subscale of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014).

Table 3: Correlation matrix for continuous variables in the study ($N = 240$)¹

Variable	Measure ²	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASR	1. APOS-2	46.55	11.22	(.90)								
	2. WPA	18.05	5.21	.872**	(.88)							
	3. ACR	38.91	9.34	.869**	.872**	(.94)						
WG	4. WG	14.25	6.28	.700**	.657**	.658**	(.85)					
	5. WR	19.33	8.27	.662**	.698**	.703**	.752**	(.94)				
WF	6. WF	10.52	3.92	.042	.057	.029	.045	-.021	(.75)			
Self-Compassion	7. SCS	79.84	17.09	-.087	-.100	-.071	-.193**	-.195**	-.170*	(.93)		
Multicultural Attitudes	8. COPEN	54.01	7.40	.522**	.486**	.614**	.321**	.441**	-.177*	.035	(.93)	
	9. RESEN <i>reverse coded (+)</i>	22.74	11.27	.729**	.746**	.767**	.603**	.619**	-.187*	-.013	.577**	(.93)

Notes: ¹. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. ². ASR = Awareness of structural racism; APOS-2 = Racism subscale of the Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale-2 (McClellan, 2014); WPA = White privilege awareness subscale of the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009); ACR = Awareness of contemporary racism and privilege subscale of the Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE; Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); WG = White guilt subscale of the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004); WR = White privilege remorse subscale of the WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009); WF = White fear of others subscale of PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004); SCS = Self-Compassion Scale (Neff, 2003a); COPEN = Cultural openness and desire to learn subscale of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); RESEN = resentment and cultural dominance subscale of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014).

Dimensionality Testing

CFA models were used to test the dimensionality of the variables used in this study. To minimize the risk of common methodological variance, variables measured by a common instrument were analyzed together. Therefore, a three-factor model was fit for the subscales of the EMC/RSEE (cultural openness, resentment and cultural dominance, and awareness of contemporary racism and privilege). Likewise, a two-factor model was fit for the two subscales of the PCRW (White fear and White guilt). A final two-factor model was fit for the subscales of the WPAS (White privilege awareness and White privilege remorse). Unidimensional models were fit for the APOS-2 and SCS. Due to the categorical nature of the items from these instruments, a matrix of polychoric correlations was computed and a weighted least squares estimator was used to fit each model (WLSMV of Mplus 7.4; Muthén & Muthén, 2012). The results of global fit testing for these CFA models can be found in Table 4.

The global fit indices RMSEA (good fit $< .06$, Hu & Bentler, 1999; acceptable fit $< .08$, Byrne, 2008), CFI (good fit $> .95$, Hu & Bentler, 1999; acceptable fit $> .90$, Hu & Bentler, 1995), and TLI (good fit $> .95$, Hu & Bentler, 1999; acceptable fit $> .90$, Hu & Bentler, 1995) were evaluated to determine global model fit. Because cutoffs for measures of global fit have been shown to be sensitive to certain types of models (Fan & Sivo, 2005; Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004), and specifically RMSEA performs poorly in models with few degrees of freedom (Breivik & Olsson, 2001), local fit was also examined. In a local fit model, absolute residual correlations greater than .100 are a cause for concern (Kline, 2015) and absolute residual correlations greater than .200 indicate poor fit.

Table 4: Global fit testing

	χ^2 (df)	<i>p</i>	RMSEA	RMSEA 90% CI	CFI	TLI
EMC/RSEE	659.159 (347)	<.001	.061	[.054, .068]	.982	.981
PCRW	175.608 (34)	<.001	.132	[.113, .151]	.938	.918
PCRW (After removal of Item 5 from White fear scale)	73.917 (26)	<.001	.088	[.065, .111]	.978	.970
WPAS	124.192 (34)	<.001	.105	[.086, .125]	.991	.988
APOS-2	184.726 (44)	<.001	.115	[.099, .133]	.970	.962
SCS	1644.938 (299)	<.001	.137	[.131, .143]	.799	.781

Note. EMC/RSEE = Everyday Multicultural Competencies/Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014), PCRW = Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), WPAS = White Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits et al., 2009), APOS-2 = Awareness of Privilege and Oppression Scale-2 (McClellan, 2014), SCS = Self-Compassion Scale (Neff, 2003a), RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation, CI = Confidence interval, CFI = Comparative fit index, TLI = Tucker-Lewis index.

The three-factor model for the EMC/RSEE subscales showed good global fit. In terms of local fit, a small number (23 out of 378) of residual correlations had an absolute value greater than 0.1; however, none had an absolute value greater than 0.2. Therefore, this model showed acceptable fit to the data.

The two-factor model for the two subscales of PCRW (White fear and White guilt) exhibited poor model fit according to RMSEA and marginal model fit according to CFI and TLI. While the RMSEA could have been explained by the small size of the model (Breivik & Olsson, 2001), local fit testing revealed a substantial problem. Item 5 from the White fear subscale exhibited large negative (as high as $-.318$) residual correlations with every White guilt item. This item stated “I am fearful that racial

minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.” Additional studies could not be found that reported similar concern with this item. Accordingly, the decision was made to drop this item from the analysis. The two-factor model for the two subscales was re-estimated using only the first four White fear items. This new model showed poor fit according to RMSEA (again, possibly explained by the small model size) but good fit according to CFI and TLI. Local fit testing revealed that only 2 out of 36 residual correlations had absolute values greater than 0.1. Accordingly, this model acceptably fit the data.

The two-factor model for WPAS subscales exhibited poor model fit according to RMSEA yet good model fit according to CFI and TLI. In terms of local fit, none of the residual correlations had an absolute value greater than 0.1. Therefore, this model showed acceptable fit to the data.

The unidimensional model for APOS-2 exhibited poor model fit according to RMSEA yet good model fit according to CFI and TLI. In terms of local fit, a small number (6 out of 55) of residual correlations had an absolute value greater than 0.1; however, none had an absolute value greater than 0.2. Therefore, this model showed acceptable fit to the data.

The unidimensional model for the 26 SCS items displayed poor global model fit and similarly poor local fit, with many (31 out of 325) item pairs resulting in residual correlations with absolute value greater than 0.2. Several other models for these items were tested, including a six-factor model according to the originally postulated facets of self-compassion, a bifactor model with positive and negative method factors, and a unidimensional short form (Neff, Whittaker, & Karl, 2017; Reise, Moore, & Haviland,

2013; Williams, Dalglish, Karl, & Kuyken, 2014). Results of global fit testing of these models can be found in Table 5. None of these models exhibited acceptable global fit, and all of these models result in several large ($> .200$) residual correlations between items.

A recent examination of the factor structure of the SCS using a six-factor model, a bifactor model, and a higher order model in five different populations ($N = 2221$ adults) upheld the original six-factor model as the most appropriate for measuring self-compassion (Neff et al., 2017). However, a large percentage (at least 90%) of the total variance in SCS scores was accounted for by a general factor (Neff et al., 2017), indicating that the SCS is essentially unidimensional (Rodriguez, Reise, & Haviland, 2016). Therefore, per the instructions of the scale creator, self-compassion was treated as a unidimensional construct measured by a sum score in the current study (Neff, 2017).

Table 5: Global fit testing for the Self-Compassion Scale

Model	χ^2 (df)	p	RMSEA	RMSEA 90% CI	CFI	TLI
Unidimensional	1644.938 (299)	<.001	.137	[.131, .143]	.799	.781
Six-factor	704.926 (284)	<.001	.079	[.071, .086]	.937	.928
Bifactor	1023.435 (273)	<.001	.088	[.082, .094]	.915	.899
Short Form	441.294 (54)	<.001	.173	[.158, .188]	.838	.802

Note. RMSEA = Root mean square error of approximation, CI = Confidence interval, CFI = Comparative fit index, TLI = Tucker-Lewis index.

Since each scale, except SCS, contributed its own unique dimension to the relevant CFA model, and all scales produced acceptable reliability estimates (Table 2), sum-scores for each subscale were computed and used in a structural equation model to test the remaining hypotheses.

Fitting a Measurement Model

The primary analyses were conducted using latent variable structural equation modeling (SEM). Latent variables were created if subscales were closely correlated with one another, if subscale items were determined to measure the same variable, and if using a latent variable in the model increased effect sizes. Each of the latent variables (awareness of structural racism, White guilt, and multicultural attitudes) were measured by the following: (a) awareness of structural racism was measured by the awareness of racism subscale of the APOS-2 (McClellan, 2014), the awareness of white privilege subscale of the WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009), and the awareness of contemporary racism subscale of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014); (b) White guilt was measured by the White guilt subscale of the PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) and the White privilege remorse subscale of the WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009), and (c) multicultural attitudes were measured by the cultural openness and desire to learn and resentment and cultural dominance subscales of the EMC/RSEE (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014). The measurement model also included demographic control variables (gender, age, and education level).

Since each latent variable is measured by multiple observed subscales, the measurement error variance for each variable is uncorrelated. Only the reliable variance was correlated with other variables. The latent variable was used to capture the common variance in each item. Accounting for the measurement error in the SCS and White fear subscale is not possible without the use of a single-indicator latent variable (SILV; Hayduk, 1987). An SILV is created by specifying the residual variance of the observed indicator to the unreliable variance. To achieve an accurate estimate of the scale's

reliability, it is recommended to use an average of reliability estimates provided in the literature or the sample reliability (DeShon, 1998). To avoid bias resulting from overzealous corrections, the largest reliability estimate from either the sample or literature was used. For example, in the current sample, the reliability estimate for SCS was $\alpha = .93$ and $\alpha = .82$ for the 4-item White fear subscale, which were higher than what was found in the literature. Therefore, the sample reliability was used to provide the most conservative estimate.

The measurement model exhibited poor model fit according to RMSEA and TLI, and acceptable fit according to CFI (Table 6). Kenny, Kaniskan, and McCoach (2014) studied the performance of the RMSEA with models with fewer than 50 degrees of freedom and found that models with both few degrees of freedom and small sample sizes had RMSEA values that often falsely indicated a poor model fit. In terms of local fit, a small number (1 out of 105) of residual correlations had an absolute value greater than 0.1; however, none had an absolute value greater than 0.2. Therefore, this model showed acceptable fit to the data.

Table 6: Fit indices for measurement and structural models

Model	χ^2 (df)	RMSEA A	CFI	TLI	SRM R	AIC	BIC
Measurement Model	117.145 (39)	.091	.948	.891	.030	4569	4778
Structural Model						4558	4767

Since the moderated mediation model involves an interaction between latent variables, it was estimated in Mplus 7.4 as a random effects model, and fit indices based on the chi-square statistic were not available. However, AIC and BIC were used to compare the fit of the structural model to the fit of the measurement model (< 10

indicates no meaningful change in fit, with lower AIC and BIC indicating better fit; (Burnham & Anderson, 2002). The structural model is seen to have similar to slightly better fit than the measurement model (see Table 6). Analysis of the residual correlations showed a similar pattern as the measurement model: only one residual correlation out of 105 was large (-0.122).

Normality. Prior to hypothesis testing, data were screened to ensure fulfillment of linear regression assumptions. Mardia's test showed significant multivariate skew (index = 20.914, $p < .001$) and kurtosis (index = 126.552, $p < .001$), suggesting that using the maximum likelihood estimator was not appropriate (Dimitrov, 2014; Finney & DiStefano, 2013). Instead, the MLR estimator of Mplus 7.4 was used to provide robust standard errors and confidence intervals for the structural equation model used to evaluate the hypotheses (Muthén & Muthén, 2012).

Model Testing

The proposed model of moderated mediation (Figure 1) has more than one indirect effect from X (awareness of structural racism) to Y (multicultural attitudes) through two mediators (White guilt and White fear), and one moderator (self-compassion). Latent variables were defined from observed variables such that higher values reflect more awareness of structural racism, more White guilt, more White fear, more self-compassion, and more multicultural attitudes. All path coefficients were freely estimated as described above to evaluate the research hypotheses; these estimates can be found in Table 7. See Table 8 for a summary of results corresponding to study hypotheses.

Hypotheses 6a and 6b predicted that self-compassion would moderate the relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear/White guilt. Specifically, Hypothesis 6a stated the negative relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear would be significantly weaker for individuals low on self-compassion than for individuals high on self-compassion. Hypothesis 6a was partially supported by the estimated model, with a significant positive interaction effect (standardized $\beta = .228, p = .001$). However, the moderator did not merely change the strength of the relationship; it also changed the direction of the relationship entirely (positive at high self-compassion, negative at low self-compassion). The standardized regression coefficient of awareness of structural racism on White fear (controlling for age, gender, and education level) for a hypothetical person with high self-compassion (+1 *SD*) is .186, 95% CI [.002, 0.405]; for a hypothetical person with average self-compassion it is $-.042$, 95% CI [$-.233, .153$]; and for a hypothetical person with low self-compassion (-1 *SD*) it is $-.270$, 95% CI [$-.567, -.001$]. Therefore, two persons with high self-compassion who differ by 1 *SD* on awareness of structural racism are expected to differ by .186 *SD* on White fear. For two persons with low self-compassion, this difference is expected to be $-.270$ *SD* on White fear. While self-compassion did moderate the effect of awareness of structural racism on White fear, it did so weakly. Awareness of structural racism had only a statistically significant effect on White fear when self-compassion was very high (± 1 *SD*). Using a formal inferential test of moderation, awareness of structural racism on White fear was moderated by self-compassion ($\beta = 0.228$, CI [0.111, 0.344], $p < .001$). Individuals whose response indicated a very high level of self-compassion were more likely to report a positive

association between awareness of structural racism and White fear. In other words, higher levels of awareness of structural racism were associated with more White fear in individuals with high self-compassion.

Next, Hypothesis 6b stated the positively associated relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt was predicted to be weaker for individuals high on self-compassion than for individuals low on self-compassion. Hypothesis 6b was supported by the estimated model, with a significant negative interaction effect (standardized $\beta = -.085$, $p = .020$). The standardized regression coefficient of awareness of structural racism on White guilt (controlling for everything else) for a hypothetical person with high self-compassion (+1 *SD*) is .765, 95% CI [.642, .892]; and for a hypothetical person with low self-compassion (-1 *SD*) is .935, 95% CI [.777, 1.102]. This means that two persons with high self-compassion who differ by 1 *SD* on awareness of structural racism are expected to differ by .765 *SD* on White guilt. For two persons with low self-compassion, individuals who differ by 1 *SD* on awareness of structural racism are expected to differ by .935 *SD* on White guilt. The positive association between awareness of structural racism and White guilt was moderated by self-compassion according to a formal inferential test of moderation ($\beta = -0.085$, CI = -0.144 to -0.025, $p < .05$). Thus, as expected, higher amounts of self-compassion diminished the effect of awareness of structural racism on White guilt (Figure 2). Higher levels of awareness of structural racism were associated with less White guilt in individuals with high self-compassion.

Consistent with Hypothesis 7, the cumulative indirect effect of study variables explained a significant amount of variance in multicultural attitudes above and beyond

what could be explained by demographic control variables alone, $\Delta R^2 = 0.581$, $F(3, 224) = 964.030$, $p < .001$. Overall, the proposed model explained 75.2% of the variance in White guilt ($p < .001$), 12.2% of the variance in White fear ($p = .018$), and 95.5% of the variance in multicultural attitudes ($p < .001$).

Finally, a model of moderated mediation was tested that included the interaction between awareness of structural racism and self-compassion. Moderated mediation is evidenced if the indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White fear or White guilt is conditional on levels of self-compassion and assessed using Hayes' (2015) index of moderated mediation. The index of moderated mediation is a single inferential test of the size of the association between the moderator and the indirect effect. This model has two specific indirect effects of X on Y , one through M_1 and one through M_2 . Moderation of the direct effect would be accomplished by including W and XW as predictors. MLR's robust standard errors were used to generate 95% CIs to test the significance of indirect relations in the model; if the CI does not contain zero, the indirect relation is significant at $p < .05$ (Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei, & Russell, 2006). An important feature of this test is that evidence of statistically significant interaction between any variable in the model and the moderator (self-compassion) is not a requirement of establishing moderation of a mechanism (Hayes, 2015).

Consistent with Hypothesis 8a, the index of moderated mediation for the serial indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White fear moderated by self-compassion was significant, $a_{32} \times b_2 = -.067$, $p = .007$. Using the standardized coefficients in Table 7, the standardized indirect effect of awareness of

structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White fear can be computed at different levels of self-compassion. For low levels of self-compassion ($-1 SD$), the standardized indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White fear is .080, 95% CI [.004, .158], while for high levels of self-compassion ($+1 SD$) the effect is $-.055$, 95% CI [$-.109$, $-.004$]. Similar to the discussion of the moderation of awareness of structural racism on White fear by self-compassion, a moderated mediation effect only existed when self-compassion was large (greater than $+1 SD$ or less than $-1 SD$), and the effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes was only mediated by White fear for fairly extreme values of self-compassion. Further consistent with Hypothesis 6a, the direction of the relationship changed at high and low levels of self-compassion. The total effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes was lower for individuals with high levels of self-compassion than for individuals with low levels of self-compassion. This difference can be explained by considering the influence of White fear. For individuals with high levels of self-compassion, increasing awareness of structural racism was associated with increasing White fear, which in turn was associated with decreasing multicultural attitudes. Therefore, the generally strong positive relationship between awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes was somewhat tempered. On the other hand, for individuals with low levels of self-compassion, increasing awareness of structural racism was associated with decreasing White fear, which in turn was associated with increasing multicultural attitudes. Therefore, the positive relationship between awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes was strengthened.

Contrary to Hypothesis 8b, the index of moderated mediation for the serial indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White guilt moderated by self-compassion was not significant (Figure 3), $\beta = .001$, $p = .916$, 95% CI [-.013, .015]. This finding would yield the conclusion that the indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White guilt is not moderated by self-compassion. Because the CI for the regression coefficient included zero, one cannot definitely claim that mediation of the effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes by White guilt was affected by level of self-compassion.

Table 7: Standardized path coefficients with confidence intervals (standard errors in parentheses)

	White Guilt (M_1)		White Fear (M_2)		Multicultural Attitudes (Y)	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Awareness of Structural Racism (X_1)	0.850*** (0.045)	0.775, 0.925	-0.042 (0.102)	-0.211, 0.126	0.894*** (0.118)	0.700, 1.087
Self-Compassion (W)	-0.030 (0.054)	-0.119, 0.059	-0.492*** (0.121)	-0.691, -0.293		
White Guilt (M_1)					-0.011 (0.101)	-0.177, 0.155
White Fear (M_2)					-0.295*** (0.053)	-0.382, -0.208
$X_1 \times X_2$	-0.085* (0.036)	-0.144, -0.025	0.228*** (0.071)	0.111, 0.344		
Age (U_1)	-0.058 (0.048)	-0.138, 0.021	0.063 (0.071)	-0.054, 0.180	-0.121** (0.051)	-0.205, -0.037
Women (U_2)	0.030 (0.052)	-0.055, 0.155	0.014 (0.071)	-0.102, 0.130	0.095* (0.049)	0.015, 0.175
Education (U_3)	-0.003 (0.106)	-0.177, 0.171	0.141 (0.143)	-0.094, 0.376	0.169 (0.103)	-0.001, 0.338
	$R^2 = 0.749***$		$R^2 = 0.121**$		$R^2 = 0.953***$	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .00$

Table 8: Summary of hypothesis testing

	Hypothesis	Result
1	Awareness of structural racism will be positively associated with multicultural attitudes	Supported
2	Awareness of structural racism will be positively associated with White guilt	Supported
3	Awareness of structural racism will be negatively associated with White fear	Not Supported
4	White fear will be negatively associated with multicultural attitudes	Supported
5	White guilt will be positively associated with multicultural attitudes	Supported
6a	The negative relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear will be moderated by self-compassion	Partially Supported
6b	The positive relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt will be moderated by self-compassion	Supported
7	Awareness of structural racism, self-compassion, White fear, and White guilt will explain a significant amount of the variability in multicultural attitudes	Supported
8a	Self-compassion will moderate the mediating relationship White fear has on the effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes.	Partially Supported
8b	Self-compassion will moderate the mediating relationship White guilt has on the effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes.	Not Supported

Chapter Four: Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to (a) confirm previous findings that more awareness of structural racism is associated with multicultural attitudes, (b) clarify the mediating effect of race-related affect (White guilt and White fear) on this relationship, and (c) test the effect of self-compassion on race-related affect in a model of moderated mediation (see Figure 1). Correlational analyses revealed that awareness of structural racism was related to more multicultural attitudes (supporting Hypothesis 1). The present study then employed a model of moderated mediation to test the relationship among variables (Hayes, 2015). Results suggested that for individuals with high levels of self-compassion, increasing awareness of structural racism was associated with increasing White fear, which in turn was associated with decreasing multicultural attitudes. For individuals with low levels of self-compassion, more awareness of structural racism was associated with less White fear, which in turn was associated with more multicultural attitudes. Contrary to the theoretical model, results failed to support the indirect effect of awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White guilt moderated by self-compassion.

A vast majority of the empirical research on affective experiences has been based on the work of Spanierman and colleagues (2002; 2004; 2006; 2008; 2015) and is focused on affect as a cost of racism for White individuals. Race-related affect is a reaction to as well as a cost of increased awareness of privilege and oppression and influences how White individuals develop their racial identity (Bishop, 2002; Helms, 1995). Self-compassion is presented as a tool for successfully navigating White fear and White guilt in order to allow multicultural attitudes to develop. In this chapter, the

findings from this study will be discussed in relation to the role of White fear, White guilt, and self-compassion in developing multicultural attitudes. Limitations of the current study and future directions for research will also be presented.

What is the Role of White Fear in Developing Multicultural Attitudes?

Learning about structural racism and White privilege provokes negative affect because it requires individuals to be honest and aware of their biases, abandon or alter their worldview, and ultimately relinquish and share power. Prior to, and in the earliest stages of developing critical consciousness about racism, White individuals express emotional response characterized by fear and mistrust of People of Color and fear of neighborhoods associated with racial minorities (Kordesh, Spanierman, & Neville, 2013). White fear interferes with developing multicultural attitudes. Higher levels of White fear have been associated with less multicultural education, fewer interracial friends, less support for affirmative action, lower openness to diversity, and lower cultural sensitivity (for a review, see Spanierman & Soble, 2010).

The present study failed to confirm a relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear, which was predicted by Hypothesis 3 to be a negative relationship. A potential explanation for this lack of correlational relationship is that White fear exists at high *and* low levels of awareness of structural racism. Participants who scored in the top and bottom 10% of awareness of structural racism also scored high on White fear. Using the PCRW, developed by Spanierman and Heppner (2004), Spanierman and colleagues (2006) identified five distinct racial affect patterns in a sample of 230 White college students. Affective reactions were found to follow identifiable patterns for White individuals based on their level of cognitive awareness of

structural racism and White privilege. The Antiracist type reported the highest levels of White guilt, with the lowest levels of White fear. Another type was referred to as “Fearful Guilt,” where individuals experienced high levels of both White guilt and fear, with moderate levels of empathy. This cluster of White individuals was linked to awareness of racial privilege and exposure to multicultural education, however with characteristically higher levels of racial fear and less empathy than the Antiracist type. Contact with people of other races was associated with Antiracist type whereas participants in the Fearful Guilt type had mostly White friends. It is possible that contact with people of other races affects was a confounding variable in the current study and that a significant portion of the participant group fell into the Fearful Guilt category.

The “Unempathetic and Unaware” subtype was related to low levels of guilt and moderate levels of fear; the “Insensitive and Afraid” subtype was characterized by low levels of guilt and high levels of fear. Individuals in both of the aforementioned subtypes display color-blind racial ideology, are oblivious to issues of racism, do not possess racial privilege awareness or multicultural attitudes, or engage in cross-racial friendships. Interestingly, individuals in these types have been shown to be more likely to “regress” after multicultural education experiences to a less desirable type (Unempathetic and Unaware to Insensitive and Afraid), meaning that participation in multicultural education resulted in an increase in White fear and resistance to awareness of structural racism (Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009). The authors posited that because White students were from privileged backgrounds, experiences with diverse individuals after arriving in college resulted in increased threat and perceived need to compete for campus resources (Spanierman et al., 2009). Regression at the time of first contact with the realities of

racism is consistent with the Reintegration stage of White racial identity development (Helms, 1990). Further avoidance of painful emotions can also lead to regressing into White superiority beliefs and serve as a barrier to continued identity development.

The current study confirmed that White fear is associated with lower levels of multicultural attitudes (supporting Hypotheses 4). Pinterits and colleagues (2009) discussed race-related fear in terms of the potential loss of benefits and power associated with being White. Pinterits and colleagues (2009) found that 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. Diversity educators and theorists have discussed race-related fear as fear of going places or having relationships across social group boundaries, saying or doing the wrong thing, being offensive, as well as more long-lasting fear of losing entitlement and privileges (Goodman, 2011).

White fear can lead to rejecting new information or entrenchment in beliefs that maintain the status quo, which then leads to avoidance of experiences and conversations related to race. Case's (2007) intervention study provides a prime example of how resistance to race-related affect can be harmful if not treated as a normal and expected part of the process of developing multicultural attitudes. Case found that participating in a diversity course increased White students' awareness of White privilege and racism, but it did not improve their attitudes toward other racial or ethnic groups. Although students reported an increase of support for affirmative action, they also expressed a higher level White fear and a higher level of White guilt. Further, prejudiced attitudes toward Latinx populations increased over the course of the semester (Case, 2007). Case posited that

increased prejudice may be a result of resistance to being confronted with information about White privilege, which provoked a strong negative affective response.

What is the Role of White Guilt in Developing Multicultural Attitudes?

Affect is involved in every aspect of social justice education (Carter, 2003) and is an essential variable in developing critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Broido and Reason (2005) highlighted the importance of attending to affect like guilt or defensiveness that accompany the recognition of one's own power and privilege and how that privilege has impacted one's experiences and relationships with others. Once White individuals understand racism abstractly, they must then learn how racism and White privilege affect them personally (Bishop, 2002). White guilt has a complex relationship with multicultural attitude development; it can either motivate a change in attitudes, or it can act as a barrier to action and growth if the individual becomes defensive and cannot work through their strong affect (Reason et al., 2005).

In the current study, correlational analyses revealed that awareness of structural racism was related to more White guilt (supporting Hypothesis 2). More White guilt was also related to more multicultural attitudes (supporting Hypothesis 5). These findings confirm previous research that White guilt is positively associated with awareness of White privilege and multicultural attitudes. Similarly, Pinterits and colleagues (2009) found that higher scores on the White guilt subscale of the PCRW were significantly associated with higher scores on all four subscales of the WPAS.

In alignment with the findings of the current study, White guilt has been found to play an important role in promoting critical awareness and antiracist attitudes and behaviors. In a cluster analysis that sought to identify patterns of race-related affect in

White students, White guilt was the factor separating the most common type (Empathic but Unaccountable, characterized by low levels of White guilt and high empathy) from the least common type (Antiracist, high levels of White guilt and high empathy; Spanierman et al., 2009). White guilt was present in two types, distinguished by their combination with either White fear (Fearful Guilt) or empathy (Antiracist). When combined with high levels of empathy and low levels of fear, White guilt was associated with multicultural education, increased racial diversity of friend group, support for affirmative action, and cultural sensitivity (Spanierman et al., 2009).

In a study of White counseling trainees, Spanierman and colleagues (2008) studied the relationship between race-related affect and multicultural counseling competence. Results indicated that higher levels of White guilt significantly predicted higher demonstrated multicultural counseling competence scores over and above self-reported multicultural knowledge (Spanierman et al., 2008). As White trainees increased in feelings of guilt, they were more likely to consider racial and cultural factors in case conceptualizations. In a series of studies about White guilt and White shame, McConnell (2015) found both constructs to be powerful positive predictors of racial justice engagement. Greater White guilt has been associated with greater racial awareness, cultural sensitivity, openness to diversity, and multicultural counseling competence (for a review, see Spanierman & Soble, 2010).

Both Helms (1995) and Bishop (2002) asserted that successful White identity development is dependent upon recognizing and managing guilt that accompanies the movement from an intellectual to an emotional understanding of racism. In the final stages of White identity development, individuals can take a more balanced view of

Whiteness and embrace White culture according to their own definition and context, but reject the power and privilege society bestows (Reason, Scales, & Roosa Millar, 2005). Guilt can also function as a roadblock that causes people to regress or turn away from cultural self-awareness (Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005). If White individuals cannot manage the guilt triggered by increased awareness of structural racism, they are not able to continue through the stages of White racial identity development (Helms, 1995) and to cultivate multicultural attitudes.

Racial identity development models (e.g., Helms, 1995) offer some insight into the affective dimensions that are associated with multicultural attitudes. However, race-related affect has not been empirically tested in connection to different statuses of identity development. For example, fear should be assessed and confirmed for its presence in relationship to status 2 (Reintegration) and guilt in relation to status 3 (Pseudo-Independence). Because White identity is context- and awareness-dependent, individuals may change the perspective and attitudes reflective of a specific identity development status from situation to situation. The degree of negative affect the individual is experiencing likely affects how they are enacting their White identity and how successfully they are developing multicultural attitudes.

What is the Role of Self-Compassion in Moderating Fear & Guilt?

The present study set out to explore self-compassion as a promising tool for managing guilt and fear. Self-compassion is defined as empathy toward oneself wherein people understand their own pain and have the desire to reduce this pain by not judging themselves harshly in the face of their own inadequacies (Neff, 2003b). The proposed

model explained a significant amount of the variability in multicultural attitudes (supporting Hypothesis 7).

Results suggested that self-compassion served as a significant moderator for the relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt. Consistent with Hypothesis 6b, the positively associated relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt was weaker for individuals high on self-compassion than for individuals low on self-compassion. Awareness of structural racism had a larger positive relationship with White guilt in individuals who endorsed lower levels of self-compassion. Previous studies have documented that guilt and self-compassion are unrelated. Barnard and Curry (2011) found that self-compassion was unrelated to guilt among a sample of Christian clergy.

In the current study, guilt performed as anticipated at the bivariate level. White guilt was negatively associated with self-compassion and positively associated with multicultural attitudes. Self-compassion then significantly moderated the positive relationship between awareness of structural racism and White guilt. However, when multicultural attitudes was included in the model, the model was no longer significant. One explanation could be that at very high or low levels, White guilt is not associated with multicultural attitudes. Unfortunately, the current participant pool was too small to test this hypothesis for the current study; a large number of participants with a wide range of guilt levels would be needed.

White fear is the mistrust of and feeling unsafe around People of Color and has been associated with lower levels of multicultural education, less exposure to people of other races, lower racial awareness, and less ethnocultural empathy (Spanierman &

Heppner, 2004). In the current study, the direction of the relationship between White fear and self-compassion was not as hypothesized and was significant at only at the most extreme values of self-compassion. Findings related to Hypothesis 6a were partially supported by the results of the current study. For individuals who endorsed high levels of self-compassion, there was a positive relationship between awareness of structural racism and White fear, rather than the negative relationship that was predicted. In other words, higher levels of awareness of structural racism were associated with more White fear in individuals with high self-compassion. Unexpectedly, higher amounts of self-compassion increased the effect of awareness of structural racism on White fear. For individuals with low levels of self-compassion, the interaction effect between the two variables was negative as expected. The results for Hypothesis 8a showed a similar trend: the direction of the relationship between study variables (awareness of structural racism on multicultural attitudes through White fear) changed at high and low levels of self-compassion. For individuals with a high level of self-compassion, increasing awareness of structural racism was associated with increasing White fear, which in turn was associated with decreasing multicultural attitudes. At low levels of self-compassion, the proposed model performed as expected: more awareness of structural racism was associated with less White fear, which in turn was associated with more multicultural attitudes.

The application of self-compassion techniques in normalizing negative affect is warranted but with attention to its possible limitations. Self-compassion refers to how we relate to ourselves in instances of perceived failure, inadequacy, or personal suffering (Neff, 2017). Realizing our common humanity, an important element of self-

compassion, involves recognizing that failure, mistakes, and imperfections are part of the shared human experience, preventing individuals from becoming isolated by failure or pain (Neff, 2017). Common humanity teaches that life is hard for all of us, which is the opposite of a self-pitying reaction to pain. Bishop (2002) emphasized focusing on the larger picture, rather than on personal pain, when educating others about oppressive systems. Self-compassion interventions could help individuals work through race-related affect and attain a broader and more connected perspective rather than become resistant. However, it is possible that status of racial identity development influences how effective self-compassion intervention can be in developing multicultural attitudes. For example, individuals in the Reintegration status may interpret common humanity principles (e.g., suffering is part of the human experience) as contributing to a deeper connection with other White individuals but may not include People of Color in their scheme of larger humanity. Individuals in the Reintegration status re-entrench into the racial reality held by the dominant culture, exhibit pride in White group membership, and experience fear and anger toward other racial groups (Helms, 1995).

Mindfulness, another component of self-compassion, involves awareness of present suffering with clarity and balance. When their privileged worldview is threatened, White individuals can resist by projecting pain, both individual and collective, onto others and then in response punish others for the negative emotions they experience (Bishop, 2002). Being mindful of the emotions that drive resistance could be helpful in slowing down the process, consistent with Helms's (1995) final status of White racial identity development. The Autonomy status is characterized by working through the negative feelings of guilt and anger so that race is no longer a threat to feeling good about

oneself. Mindfulness helps to achieve balance between helpful and unhelpful criticism so that individuals can hone in on where growth is needed, rather than allowing the awareness to threaten their worth as a person. However, in earlier statuses of White identity development, it seems plausible that mindful White individuals could remain entrenched in fear of People of Color and culturally dominant attitudes and hold a belief in a just world (Lerner, 1980). In particular, this state aligns with the Reintegration phase, in which self-compassion and mindfulness could reinforce a focus on self and a regression into Whiteness. As discussed previously, people with high BJW are likely to attribute systemic disparities based on race to a fair, socially just process based on individual choice and ability rather than situational factors and oppressive systems. It is possible that individuals in the Reintegration status could acknowledge privilege and oppression, but also endorse fear of others and BJW. Self-compassion (interpreted as a protective focus on self) would then be associated with a lack of multicultural attitudes, even when a cognitive knowledge of structural racism exists.

The final component of self-compassion, self-kindness, is offering warmth and unconditional acceptance of one's personal shortcomings. It is characterized by actively soothing oneself in times of distress rather than harshly judging oneself (Neff, 2015). Self-kindness interventions could teach White individuals to offer themselves the support necessary to make changes to act in a way that aligns with their values and contributes to their overall well-being and the well-being of others, with the caveat that if they do not always succeed, it is okay. With self-compassion, failure is not tied to your worth as a person, which can be motivating and supportive in moments of pain. Self-acceptance is knowing and accepting where you are. Harm is done by White individuals when they

reject or are not aware of their biases, when they resist awareness of racism and privilege, and when they become stuck in their own pain; self-compassion interventions have a unique potential to reduce future harm by helping people accept their current feelings.

Culturally dominant attitudes that uphold White privilege and racism are prevalent in U.S. society, in the media, and in the highest levels of government. After the election of President Trump and an increase in reports of hate crimes in the media, White individuals are becoming more aware that overt racism is present in the United States. President Trump and his supporters targeted People of Color and immigrants as criminals and abusers of social welfare programs, branded Muslims as threats to national security, and demonized social justice organizations and ideologies (Narayan & Sealey-Huggins, 2017). President Trump's election suggests continued investment in preserving rather than dismantling structural racism. The findings of the current study indicate that for some White people, self-compassion and a focus inward may contribute to entrenchment into White identity and continued fear of People of Color, rather than the desired development of multicultural attitudes. In this way, self-compassion is a construct of privilege that upholds distance from and fear of People of Color for self-preservation. Continued investigation of the ways in which race-related affect is adaptive for multicultural attitude development and how self-compassion interventions can be applied to aid in this development is necessary.

Limitations

The current study has several significant limitations. Because the current study was completed online, participant responses could have been influenced by their environment, and the participant pool was restricted to individuals who had access to a

computer. Second, the order of the questions as presented to study participants may have affected the results. Survey participants viewed the survey items in the following order: APOS-2, WPAS, PCRW, SCS, EMC/RSEE. Because the SCS was answered after dozens of questions about racism and White privilege, participants may have been primed to be self-critical or experience negative affect directed toward themselves. Another possible limitation of the current investigation is selection bias. Since survey participants voluntarily elected to participate in a study about racial attitudes, they may be more comfortable with discussing race and White privilege than those who did not choose to take the survey. Additional research is necessary to clarify findings.

A significant limitation is the study's correlational design. Because a non-experimental design was used, study variables could not be manipulated to examine how induced awareness of White privilege and structural racism links to White fear and White guilt, and the results presented should be considered preliminary. Further, results suggest that the relationship between study variables is quite complex, making research using a rigorous experimental design necessary. An experimental design could be used to test the relationship between study variables by testing the effectiveness of self-compassion interventions in moderating race-related affect. Another issue that arose in attempting to interpret study results was a potentially large suppression effect. Because awareness of structural racism was so highly correlated with multicultural attitudes, the effect of other variables could have been obscured. The high correlation with awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes could be partially explained by response styles and social desirability responding, which could have inflated their correlation (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Study results may have been impacted by social

desirability; other researchers have pointed out the difficulty in assessing race-related affect (e.g., McConnell, 2015). Completing the study online may have resulted in decreased threat in response to the question items. Future research would benefit from implicit approaches to assessing race-related affect or utilizing minor deception so that it is less obvious that race related knowledge and attitudes are being assessed.

In other studies that have used the PCRW, White guilt has consistently (Soble et al., 2011; Spanierman, Beard, & Todd, 2012; Spanierman et al., 2006) been endorsed at a lower level than White fear. Uniquely, in the current sample of White adults, White guilt ($M = 14.25$) was endorsed at a higher level than White fear ($M = 10.52$). Research supports that there may be an optimal amount of White guilt that is needed for multicultural attitudes to development. Another limitation is the study's generalizability to other populations. Over half of study participants were enrolled as students, with a majority at a graduate or professional level. Therefore, the results may not be generalizable to a community/non-student population.

Our ability to achieve larger, significant effects was likely restricted by the psychometric limitations of the SCS. Although the SCS has been used in hundreds of research studies, there have been significant questions as to its psychometric shortcomings. The unidimensional model for the SCS displayed poor global and local fit. Further, we tested a six-factor model, a bifactor model with positive and negative factors, and a unidimensional short-form version of the scale and were unsuccessful in achieving acceptable global fit. The creator of the scale addressed concerns about the psychometric properties of the scale and published instructions to utilize a unidimensional construct measured by a sum score, which is what was used in the current study (Neff, 2017).

Unfortunately, an alternative measure of self-compassion is not available. Future research is warranted to conduct measurement analyses to determine if the psychometric properties of the scale can be improved or if an entirely new measure should be constructed.

Future Directions

This is the first study to examine awareness of structural racism, White guilt, White fear, and self-compassion among White individuals in the United States; thus, additional research needs to be conducted to replicate and further clarify the relationships between these variables and multicultural attitudes. Future research is needed to establish the causal link between these variables. The present study lays the groundwork for more theoretically-driven measurement of the relationship of study variables. Future research should also be intentional in selection of measures with theory-measurement fit along with attention to strong psychometric properties.

The current study supports theoretical models that highlight navigating resistance as an integral dimension to how successfully White individuals develop awareness of racism and privilege and develop multicultural attitudes (Helms, 1995; Tatum, 2003). Interestingly, many prominent social identity development theories (Bishop, 2002; Edwards, 2006; Hardiman & Jackson, 1992; Helms, 1995; Worell & Remer, 2003) identify resistance as a naturally occurring part of the early stages of the development process. However, these models acknowledge and normalize resistance to identity development without fully operationalizing and exploring the role of resistance in developing multicultural attitudes.

In diversity education, strong affect can be difficult to recognize if it manifests as resistance to training content as opposed to an overt expression of fear or anxiety (Goodman, 2011). Goodman (2011) recommended building supportive learning environments that anticipate and utilize cognitive and affective resistance. In fact, failing to acknowledge resistance can serve as a significant barrier to development (Pitner & Sakamoto, 2005). In a sample of nearly 200 White undergraduate students, Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer (2007) studied resistance in White racial identity development. They found that White racial identification moderated the relationship between White privilege awareness and resistance, such that stronger identification with one's Whiteness resulted in higher levels of resistance to change. Confronting White privilege evoked a defensive response and actually increased scores on a modern racism scale. The authors argued that this was a result of the White individuals' acting to preserve their threatened racial identity by justifying inequities. There is a deficit of information regarding how common resistance is in developing allies, the role of resistance in those who choose not to become allies, and how educators and trainers can assist in working through resistance. When resistance is evident in diversity education, it seems likely that the individual is experiencing race-related affect.

Future research may examine other potential mediators and moderators of the relationship between awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes, such as White shame. Guilt was defined as believing one's behavior is bad, whereas shame was conceptualized as construing oneself as bad and is considered the more painful emotion because it threatens an individual's core self (Barnard & Curry, 2011). A guilt-oriented person is concerned with making amends, and a shame-oriented person is concerned with

hiding their failures to feel less vulnerable. Tangney, Stuewig, and Mashek (2007) found that guilt was positively correlated with empathy, reparation, and self-esteem, while shame was associated with anger, blaming others, and poor mental health. Future research is needed to clarify the role of guilt and shame in developing awareness of structural racism and White privilege.

Qualitative research would be useful to identify and explore the process of multicultural attitude development in terms of affective experience and self-compassion. Longitudinal research, such as a daily diary study, could examine the real-time relationship between race-related affect and self-compassion. Qualitative research could also provide evidence for the effectiveness of self-compassion at different levels of White identity development. Intervention research is needed to test the use of self-compassion techniques on emotional responses, attitudes, and racial justice engagement in multicultural education. The results of the current study suggest that self-compassion is a tool worthy of further investigation by diversity educators seeking to increase racial justice engagement among White students and for mental health practitioners who are working with White individuals experiencing race-related affect.

Implications for Professional Practice

Diversity training literature suggests that racial identity development and attitudinal change are slow processes (Harris Interactive, 2008). Counseling psychologists engage in direct, relatively brief interventions (Packard, 2009). When used intentionally, self-compassion interventions could be a resource for helping clients process race-related affect in a more efficient manner, as well as giving them skill for future use. Counseling psychologists value a focus on strengths and coping and healthy

development, which is aligned with an approach to multicultural attitude development that includes a positive construct, such as self-compassion. Counseling psychologist practitioners can help clients to identify and address various aspects of self-compassion to enhance well-being (self-kindness, mindfulness, and sense of common humanity). However, as suggested by current findings, self-compassion may have a reverse effect on White fear. We posit that this relationship may be influenced by White identity development. Clinicians, researchers, and diversity trainers are encouraged to utilize and test self-compassion as an intervention for White individuals who are becoming aware of structural racism and White privilege, with the caveat that individuals in the Reintegration status may interpret self-compassion constructs in a way that serves as a barrier to multicultural attitude development.

Promoting social justice, a core value of counseling psychology, is in direct relation to work as diversity consultants, educators, and advocates. A clearer picture of how affect plays a role in the relationship between increased awareness of racial privilege and oppression could help diversity educators reduce resistance resulting from affective reactions. Self-compassion can be cultivated through practice (Neff, 2015); therefore, it can be integrated into multicultural education efforts. Encouraging open dialogue about fear and guilt evoked by course materials and reflective activities might help privileged students acknowledge and cope with their affect as it surfaces during the training. Diversity educators agree that studying cognitive awareness of White privilege and oppression is not sufficient in understanding how multicultural attitudes develop in White individuals (Case, 2007; Kernahan & Davis, 2007). The current study supports further

investigation of self-compassion interventions as a resource for navigating resistance to diversity education in the form of race-related affect.

Conclusion

The current study sought to further clarify the role of race-related affect in the development of multicultural attitudes. This study introduced self-compassion as a potential asset for White individuals to process guilt and fear related to increasing awareness of structural racism and White privilege so that they can move toward a place of openness and acceptance rather than resistance and resentment. A complex relationship emerged between White fear, awareness of structural racism, and multicultural attitudes in the presence of self-compassion. For individuals with the most self-compassion, more awareness of structural racism was associated with higher levels of White fear, which was associated with lower levels of multicultural attitudes. Results from the current study suggest that for some White people, self-compassion and a focus inward may contribute to entrenchment into White identity and continued fear of People of Color, rather than the desired development of multicultural attitudes. However, our ability to clarify the relationship between study variables was limited by the psychometric limitations of the SCS (Neff, 2003a) as well as a potential suppression effect between awareness of structural racism and multicultural attitudes. Future research should focus on developing another measure of self-compassion as the construct is a promising target of intervention for addressing negative race-related affect and developing multicultural attitudes.

Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Confidential

Reactions to Race: Attitudes Towards Self and Others

Intro And Demographics

Record ID _____

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

REACTIONS TO RACE: ATTITUDES TOWARDS SELF AND OTHERS

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

There are countless conversations and incidents that have brought race and racism into the forefront of our lives in the United States. You are being invited to take part in a research study that seeks to understand your attitudes, feelings, and beliefs about racism and race in the United States. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 500 people to do so.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Whitney W. Black, M.S, Ed.S., of University of Kentucky Department of Counseling Psychology. Whitney is a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology and is being supervised in this project by Dr. Sharon Rostosky. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of the study is to learn about your attitudes, feelings, and beliefs about racism and race in the United States.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

You should not take part in this study if you are under the age of 18.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The online survey will take approximately 25 minutes to complete.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

You will be asked to fill out an online survey about your experiences and how you think and feel.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, completing this survey carries no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life. In addition to the risks listed above, you may experience a previously unknown risk or side effect.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, some people have experienced positive feelings and new insights when they take time to reflect and share their experiences. Your willingness to take part may also, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

This study is confidential. We do not collect any directly identifying information unless you volunteer that information. The results will be analyzed and reported based on the answers from all of the people who participate. If you do provide identifying information about yourself, we may be required to show that information to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from organizations such as the University of Kentucky. Please be aware, while we make every effort to safeguard your data once received from the online survey/data gathering company, given the nature of online surveys, as with anything involving the Internet, we can never guarantee the confidentiality of the data while still on the survey/data gathering company's servers, or while en route to either them or us. It is also possible the raw data collected for research purposes may be used for marketing or reporting purposes by the survey/data gathering company after the research is concluded, depending on the company's Terms of Service and Privacy policies.

www.projectredcap.org



CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?

If you decide to take part in the study you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

WHAT ELSE DO YOU NEED TO KNOW?

There is a possibility that the data collected from you may be shared with other investigators in the future. If that is the case the data will not contain information that can identify you unless you give your consent or the UK Institutional Review Board (IRB) approves the research. The IRB is a committee that reviews ethical issues, according to federal, state and local regulations on research with human subjects, to make sure the study complies with these before approval of a research study is issued.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Whitney Black at whitney.black@uky.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky between the business hours of 8am and 5pm EST, Mon-Fri. at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I consent to participate in this research. Furthermore, I acknowledge that I have been informed that I am free to withdraw consent at any time and to discontinue participation in the study at any time without prejudice to me. Possible benefits and risks of the study have been described.

I acknowledge that I have been given the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction.

Finally, by the act of clicking the Next button, I acknowledge that I am over the age of 18 and that I have read this consent form.

If you do not meet the criteria listed above or are not interested in continuing, please do not continue.

Please choose one:

- Acknowledge and Click Next
- Exit Survey

Appendix B: Demographics Questionnaire

Reminder: Because this survey is being conducted through the web and with all information transmitted through the web, there is the possibility that your answer could be intercepted by a third party.

Please answer the following questions so that we can understand a little better who is participating in our study.

Click in the box and type your AGE below:

Which of the following terms comes closest to how you describe your gender? Check all that apply.

- Female/Woman
- Male/Man
- Transman
- Transwoman
- Non-Binary
- Other (please share below)

How do you identify your gender?

Which of the following racial groups comes closest to how you identify yourself? Check all that apply.

- African-American/Black
- Asian
- American Indian/Native American
- Hispanic/Latino/a
- Middle Eastern/Arab
- White/European-American/Caucasian
- Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- Other (please share below)

How do you identify your racial or ethnic identity?

Which of the following terms comes closest to how you describe your sexual orientation or identity? Check all that apply.

- Gay
- Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Queer
- Questioning
- Heterosexual/Straight
- Other (please share below)

How do you identify your sexual orientation or identity? You may use as many words as necessary.

Which of the following comes closest to your current relationship status? Check all that apply.

- Single
- Dating
- In a committed relationship
- Registered domestic partnership, civil union or reciprocal beneficiary
- Married
- Divorced/Separated
- Other (please share below)

What is your relationship status?

Is the United States of America your country of origin?

- Yes
- No

In what STATE do you currently reside?

- Alabama
- Alaska
- Arizona
- Arkansas
- California
- Colorado
- Connecticut
- Delaware
- Florida
- Georgia
- Hawaii
- Idaho
- Illinois
- Indiana
- Iowa
- Kansas
- Kentucky
- Louisiana
- Maine
- Maryland
- Massachusetts
- Michigan
- Minnesota
- Mississippi
- Missouri
- Montana
- Nebraska
- Nevada
- New Hampshire
- New Jersey
- New Mexico
- New York
- North Carolina
- North Dakota
- Ohio
- Oklahoma
- Oregon
- Pennsylvania
- Rhode Island
- South Carolina
- South Dakota
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Utah
- Vermont
- Virginia
- Washington
- West Virginia
- Wisconsin
- Wyoming

How many years have you lived in the United States?

What is your country of origin?

Are you currently enrolled at a college or university?

- Yes
- No

What is your classification?

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Graduate Student
- Other

Please describe your educational classification.

Which of the following education levels comes closest to what you have achieved?

- Some High School
- High School or GED
- Some College or Current Student
- College Degree (BA, BS, or Equivalent)
- Some Graduate School or Currently Enrolled
- Graduate Degree (MA, MS, PhD, or Equivalent)

What was your parent's highest level of education completed?

- Some High School
- High School or GED
- Some College or Current Student
- College Degree (BA, BS, or Equivalent)
- Some Graduate School or Currently Enrolled
- Graduate Degree (MA, MS, PhD, or Equivalent)

Answer for one of your parents in this question and for the other in the next question.

What was your second parent's highest level of education completed?

- Not Applicable
- Some High School
- High School or GED
- Some College or Current Student
- College Degree (BA, BS, or Equivalent)
- Some Graduate School or Currently Enrolled
- Graduate Degree (MA, MS, PhD, or Equivalent)

Did you receive free or reduced lunch in high school?

- Yes
- No

Appendix C: Self-Compassion Scale

HOW I TYPICALLY ACT TOWARDS MYSELF IN DIFFICULT TIMES

Please read each statement carefully before answering. To the left of each item, indicate how often you behave in the stated manner, using the following scale:

1 2 3 4 5 6

Almost Never

Almost Always

- _____ 1. I'm disapproving and judgmental about my own flaws and inadequacies.
- _____ 2. When I'm feeling down I tend to obsess and fixate on everything that's wrong.
- _____ 3. When things are going badly for me, I see the difficulties as part of life that everyone goes through.
- _____ 4. When I think about my inadequacies, it tends to make me feel more separate and cut off from the rest of the world.
- _____ 5. I try to be loving towards myself when I'm feeling emotional pain.
- _____ 6. When I fail at something important to me I become consumed by feelings of inadequacy.
- _____ 7. When I'm down and out, I remind myself that there are lots of other people in the world feeling like I am.
- _____ 8. When times are really difficult, I tend to be tough on myself.
- _____ 9. When something upsets me I try to keep my emotions in balance.
- _____ 10. When I feel inadequate in some way, I try to remind myself that feelings of inadequacy are shared by most people.
- _____ 11. I'm intolerant and impatient towards those aspects of my personality I don't like.
- _____ 12. When I'm going through a very hard time, I give myself the caring and tenderness I need.
- _____ 13. When I'm feeling down, I tend to feel like most other people are probably happier than I am.
- _____ 14. When something painful happens I try to take a balanced view of the situation.
- _____ 15. I try to see my failings as part of the human condition.
- _____ 16. When I see aspects of myself that I don't like, I get down on myself.
- _____ 17. When I fail at something important to me I try to keep things in perspective.

- _____ 18. When I'm really struggling, I tend to feel like other people must be having an easier time of it.
- _____ 19. I'm kind to myself when I'm experiencing suffering.
- _____ 20. When something upsets me I get carried away with my feelings.
- _____ 21. I can be a bit cold-hearted towards myself when I'm experiencing suffering.
- _____ 22. When I'm feeling down I try to approach my feelings with curiosity and openness.
- _____ 23. I'm tolerant of my own flaws and inadequacies.
- _____ 24. When something painful happens I tend to blow the incident out of proportion.
- _____ 25. When I fail at something that's important to me, I tend to feel alone in my failure.
- _____ 26. I try to be understanding and patient towards those aspects of my personality I don't like.

Appendix D: White Privilege Attitudes Scale

Directions: Below is a set of descriptions of different attitudes about White privilege in the United States. Using the 6-point scale, please rate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers. Please record your response to the left of each item. Thank you!

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

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege

1. I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that Whites have.
2. I worry about what giving up some White privilege might mean for me.
3. If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends.
4. I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites.
5. If I address White privilege, I might alienate my family.
6. I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege.

White Privilege Awareness

1. Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing. (R)
2. White people have it easier than People of Color.
3. Our social structure system promotes White privilege.
4. Plenty of People of Color are more privileged than Whites. (R)

White Privilege Remorse

1. I am angry that I keep benefiting from White privilege.
2. I feel awful about White privilege.
3. I am ashamed of my White privilege.
4. I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White.
5. I am angry knowing I have White privilege.
6. White people should feel guilty about having White privilege.

Appendix E: APOS-2

Racism Subscale

1. White individuals don't have to think about educating their children on racism in order to keep them from danger.
2. African American political candidates are generally less likely to be accepted by White constituents in their districts.
3. People of Color can easily find greeting cards that represent people of their race.*
4. People of Color experience high levels of stress because of the discrimination they face.
5. People of Color can readily find mentors or role models of their race who can advise them professionally.*
6. People of Color and White people have to worry equally about their credibility when addressing a group.*
7. Racism continues to play a prominent role in society.
8. Most history books don't accurately show how People of Color helped America become the country it is.
9. African Americans with lighter skin color are more likely to be promoted within corporations than African Americans with darker skin color.
10. People of Color can ask to speak to the "person in charge" at a store and be confident that the person will also be a person of color.*
11. People of Color receive less medical information from their physicians when compared to White individuals.

Appendix F: Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale

White guilt:

1. Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.
2. I never feel ashamed about being White.*
3. Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.
4. I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.
5. I feel good about being White.*

White fear of others:

1. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.
2. I am distrustful of people of other races.
3. I have very few friends of other races.
4. I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition.*
5. I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.

Appendix G: Everyday Multicultural Competencies / Revised Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (EMC/RSEE)

Scoring instructions:

Reverse code: 6, 10, 16, 28, 30, 38, 39, 43 (6=1) (5=2) (4=3) (3=4) (2=5) (1=6)

*Recode to collapse response category for Factor 1: 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31, 36, 41, 45, 47 (1=2)

*Recode to collapse response category for Factor 2: 2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 37, 42, 46, 48 (6=5)

*Recode to collapse response category for Factor 3: 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 33, 38 (6=5)

F1: Cultural openness and desire to learn (10 items)

Mean (1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31, 36, 41, 45, 47)

F2: Resentment and cultural dominance

Mean (2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 37, 42, 46, 48)

F3: Anxiety and lack of multicultural self-efficacy (7 items)

Mean (3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 33, 38)

F4: Empathic perspective-taking (5 items)

Mean (4, 10, 16, 22, 28)

F5: Awareness of contemporary racism and privilege (8 items)

Mean (5, 11, 17, 23, 29, 34, 39, 43)

F6: Empathic feeling and acting as an ally (8 items)

Mean (6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 35, 40, 44)

Cultural Perceptions

Instructions: The statements below are opinions you may have heard expressed at one time or another. Please indicate your current level of agreement with each statement using the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

- ___ 1. I think it is important to be educated about cultures and countries other than my own.
- ___ 2. Members of minorities tend to overreact all the time.
- ___ 3. I feel uncomfortable when interacting with people from different cultures.
- ___ 4. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
- ___ 5. The U.S. has a long way to go before everyone is truly treated equally.
- ___ 6. I don't care if people make racists statements against other racial or ethnic groups.
- ___ 7. I welcome the possibility that getting to know another culture might have a deep positive influence on me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Slightly		Moderately	Strongly
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree

- ___ 8. When in America, minorities should make an effort to merge into American culture.
- ___ 9. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.
- ___ 10. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.
- ___ 11. For two babies born with the same potential in the U.S. today, in general it is still more difficult for a child of color to succeed than a White child.
- ___ 12. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic background.
- ___ 13. I admire the beauty in other cultures.
- ___ 14. I do not understand why minority people need their own TV channels.
- ___ 15. I doubt that I can have a deep or strong friendship with people who are culturally different.
- ___ 16. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.
- ___ 17. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.
- ___ 18. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
- ___ 19. I would like to work in an organization where I get to work with individuals from diverse backgrounds.
- ___ 20. I fail to understand why members from minority groups complain about being alienated.
- ___ 21. I really don't know how to go about making friends with someone from a different culture.
- ___ 22. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
- ___ 23. Today in the U.S, White people still have many important advantages compared to other ethnic groups.
- ___ 24. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
- ___ 25. I would like to have dinner at someone's house who is from a different culture.
- ___ 26. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.
- ___ 27. I am afraid that new cultural experiences might risk losing my own identity.
- ___ 28. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.
- ___ 29. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
___ 30.	I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.					
___ 31.	I am interested in participating in various cultural activities on campus.					
___ 32.	Minorities get in to school easier and some get away with minimal effort.					
___ 33.	I do not know how to find out what is going on in other countries.					
___ 34.	I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.					
___ 35.	When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.					
___ 36.	Most Americans would be better off if they knew more about the cultures of other countries.					
___ 37.	I am really worried about White people in the U.S. soon becoming a minority due to so many immigrants.					
___ 38.	I am not reluctant to work with others from different cultures in class activities or team projects.					
___ 39.	Racism is mostly a thing of the past.					
___ 40.	When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.					
___ 41.	A truly good education requires knowing how to communicate with someone from another culture.					
___ 42.	I think American culture is the best culture.					
___ 43.	In America everyone has an equal opportunity for success.					
___ 44.	When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.					
___ 45.	I welcome being strongly influenced by my contact with people from other cultures.					
___ 46.	I think members of the minority blame White people too much for their misfortunes.					
___ 47.	I believe the United States is enhanced by other cultures.					
___ 48.	People who talk with an accent should work harder to speak proper English.					

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- Parnell, K., Scheel, M., Kletzn Davis, C., & **Black, W. W.** (2018). An investigation of couples' help-seeking: A multiple case study. *Contemporary Family Therapy, 40*, 110-117. doi:10.1007/s10591-017-9427-9
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- Abreu, R. L., **Black, W. W.**, Mosley, D. V., & Fedewa, A. L. (2016). LGBTQ youth bullying experiences in schools: The role of school counselors within a system of oppression. *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health, 3-4*, 325-342. doi:10.1080/15401383.2016.1214092
- Rosenkrantz, D. E., **Black, W. W.**, Abreu, R. L., Aleshire, M. E., and Fallin-Bennett, K. L. (2016). Rural LGBT health disparities: A meta-narrative review. *Stigma and Health*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/sah0000055
- Fedewa, A. L., **Black, W. W.**, & Ahn, S. (2015). Children and adolescents with same-gender parents: A meta-analytic approach in assessing outcomes. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 11*(1), 1-34. doi:10.1080/1550428X.2013.869486
- Rostosky, S. S., **Black, W. W.**, Riggle, E. D. B., & Rosenkrantz, D. (2015). The positive aspects of being a heterosexual ally to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 85*(4), 331-338. doi:10.1037/ort0000056
- Riggle, E. D., Gonzalez, K. A., Rostosky, S. S., & **Black, W. W.** (2014). Cultivating positive LGBTQA identities: An intervention study with college students. *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling, 8*(3), 264-281. doi:10.1080/15538605.2014.933468
- Black, W. W.**, Fedewa, A. L., & Gonzalez, K. A. (2012). Effects of "Safe School" programs and policies on the social climate for sexual-minority youth: A review of the literature. *Journal of LGBT Youth, 9*(4), 321-339. doi:10.1080/19361653.2012.714343

BOOK CHAPTER

Abreu, R. L., Mosley, D. V., & **Black, W. W.** (2014). Gender expansive and sexual minority inclusive curricula: A guide for educators. In M. C. Kenny (Ed.), *Sex education: Attitude of adolescents, cultural differences and schools' challenges* (pp.243-276). Hauppauge, NY: Nova Publishers.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Black, W. W., & Rostosky, S. (2016, August). Antiracist Attitude Development: How Self-Compassion Can Mitigate Guilt and Fear in H. Neville (Chair), *Reducing Racism via Personal Strengths, Relational Assets, and an Awareness of Systemic Factors*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Denver, CO.

Fedewa, A., & **Black, W. W.** (2016, August). Children and Adolescents with Same-Gender Parents: A Meta-Analytic Approach in Assessing Outcomes in R. J. Green (Chair), *Lesbian and Gay Parents and their Children: Lessons about High Functioning and Resilience*. Symposium conducted at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Denver, CO.

Abreu, R. L., **Black, W. W.**, Mosley, D. V., & Fedewa, A. L. (2016, April). *Advocacy and Prevention of LGBTQ Youth School Bullying: The Role of Counseling Psychologists as Agents of Social Justice*. Poster presented at the Great Lakes Regional Counseling Psychology Conference, Bloomington, IN.

Black, W. W., Rosenkrantz, D., Riggle, E. D. B., & Rostosky, S. S. (2015, August). *Is Being Authentic More Important Than Being Out for LGB Identified Individuals?* Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Mosley, D. V., **Black, W. W.**, Owen, K., & Stevens-Watkins, D. (2015, August). *Journey to Allyship: Practical Skills for Black-White Dialogues*. Skill-building workshop presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Mosley, D. V., **Black, W. W.**, Ruderman, A., & Fedewa, A. L. (2015, March). *Gender Socialization Among Hip-Hop Identified Youth: Culturally and Contextually Mindful Programming*. A presentation at the annual conference of the Association for Women in Psychology, San Francisco, CA.

Abreu, R. L., Mosley, D. V., & **Black, W. W.** (2015, January). *Gender Expansive and Sexual Minority Adolescents: School Challenges, Risky Sexual Behaviors, and a Socially Just Sexuality Education*. A paper presented in symposium at the National Multicultural Conference and Summit, Atlanta, GA.

- Black, W. W.,** Mosley, D. V., Ruderman, A., Kwakye, C., & Fedewa, A. (2014, August). *#Hashtags & Hip-Hop: A Pilot Media Literacy Training for Hip-Hop Identified Youth*. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington D. C.
- Minieri, A., Leistner, C., **Black, W. W.,** & Rosencrantz, D. E. (2014, August). *Not Just a Women's Issue: Male Undergraduate Students' as Antiviolence Allies*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.
- Gonzalez, K. A., **Black, W. W.,** Riggle, E. D., & Rostosky, S. S. (2014, August). *Cultivating Positive LGBTQA Identities: An Intervention Study with College Students*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.
- Black, W. W.,** Mosley, D., & Rosencrantz, D. (2013, September). *Allies for all: Bi and trans* youth advocacy*. Skill building workshop presented at the Moving Forward: Families & Youth Conference, Lexington, KY.
- Mosley, D. V., & **Black W. W.** (2013, August). *Examining the Cycle: How Hip-Hop Lyrics Inform Youth Identities and Online Performativity*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI.
- Black, W. W.,** Fedewa, A. L., & Ahn, S. (2013, April). *Children with Same-Gender Parents: A Meta-Analytic Approach in Assessing Outcomes*. Poster presented at the Children at Risk Conference, Lexington, KY.
- Black, W. W.,** Rosenkrantz, D., Rostosky, S. S., & Riggle, E. D. B. (2013, March). *The Positive Aspects of Being a Straight Ally to LGBTQ Individuals*. A poster presentation at the annual meeting of the Kentucky Psychological Association, Louisville, KY.
- Pascale-Hague, D., **Black, W. W.,** McCants, W., Odom, R., Gonzalez, K., Aaron, A. & Russell, G. (2012, August). *Developing LGBT Allies: Ongoing Research and Intervention*. A roundtable discussion presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.
- Odom, R. D., Danner, F., **Black, W. W.,** & Rostosky, S. S. (2012, August). *Does "It Get Better" for LGB Youth in Young Adulthood?* A poster presentation at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Co-Instructor, HHS 453: Cultural Competence in Healthcare

University of Kentucky, College of Health Sciences
Semesters taught: Spring 2015, Spring 2016, Spring 2017

Instructor, CDF 232: Identity and Sexuality

Eastern Kentucky University, Department of Family & Consumer Sciences
Semester taught: Fall 2015

Graduate Teaching Assistant, EDP 642: Personality Assessment and EDP 640: Cognitive Assessment

University of Kentucky, Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology
EDP 642 semesters taught: Fall 2014, Fall 2015
EDP 640 semesters taught: Spring 2015, Spring 2016

Instructor, GCS 199: Career Exploration

Eastern Kentucky University Counseling Center
Semester taught: Spring 2015

Instructor, Hashtags and Hip-Hop

Williams Wells Brown Community Center
Semester taught: Summer 2014

Lab Instructor, HHS 443: Cultural Competence in Healthcare

University of Kentucky, College of Health Sciences
Semester taught: Spring 2013

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- 2014 – 2016 **Board Member At-Large**
GLSEN Bluegrass
- 2015 **Programming Chair**
Moving Forward Families & Youth LGBTQ Conference (sponsored by GLSEN Bluegrass)
- 2014 **Ad Hoc Reviewer**
Equity and Excellence in Education
- 2013 **Ad Hoc Reviewer**
Psychology of Men & Masculinity
- 2012 **Planning Committee Member and Co-Facilitator, Diversity and Ally Workshop**
University of Kentucky Counseling Psychology Program
- 2010 – 2011 **Telephone Crisis Counselor**
Texas Runaway and Youth Hotlines, Austin, Texas

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

- 2017 – 2018 **University of Texas at Austin, Counseling and Mental Health Center;**
Austin, TX
Psychology Intern
- 2016 – 2017 **TRANSform Health, UK Department of Family and Community Medicine;**
Lexington, KY
Mental Health Counselor

- 2015 - 2016 **Federal Medical Center, Bureau of Prisons;** Lexington, KY
Practicum Student Therapist
- 2015 **University of Kentucky;** Lexington, KY
Training Supervisor
- 2014 - 2015 **Eastern Kentucky University Counseling Center,** Richmond, KY
Part-Time Counselor
- 2013 – 2014 **Chrysalis House;** Lexington, KY
Practicum Student Therapist
- 2012 – 2013 **University of Kentucky Counseling Center;** Lexington, KY
Practicum Student Therapist