A causal-comparative study to determine differences in levels of awareness of racism among graduate counseling students

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A CAUSAL-COMPARATIVE STUDY TO DETERMINE DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF AWARENESS OF RACISM AMONG GRADUATE COUNSELING STUDENTS

A Thesis Presented to the
Department of Counseling
and the Graduate College and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Sarah C. Wiegman

December 2005
THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College,
University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree Masters of Arts,
University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my parents, James and Madylon Perley, for their words of encouragement and support as well as the donation of their time and proofreading abilities. I am appreciative of my husband, David Wiegman, for listening with understanding as well as for his moral and technical support. Finally, I am grateful to my committee for their ideas and help, Dr. Scott Harrington, Dr. David Carter, and Dr. Sarah Edwards.
A CAUSAL-COMPARATIVE STUDY TO DETERMINE DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF AWARENESS OF RACISM AMONG GRADUATE COUNSELING STUDENTS

Sarah Wiegman, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2005

Advisor: Dr. Scott Harrington

The present study examined the differences in levels of awareness of racism among graduate counseling students. The researcher examined the hypotheses that there would be a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not, as well as, there would be a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. One hundred and six participants (91 female and 15 male) ranging in age between 22 and 57 completed the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) as well as the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). At the .05 alpha level, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) yielded a significant difference between those who reported having completed the class and those who had not. At the .05 alpha level, a Pearson’s correlation coefficient yielded a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the program. These findings help to increase counselor awareness and to improve multicultural education.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Background

Multicultural counseling and the education of counselor trainees to increase their effectiveness with minority clients has been the subject of extensive research and debate as evidenced by the books and studies that exist on the topic (Hill, 2003; Sue & Sue, 2003; Anderson, MacPhee, & Govan, 2000; Davidson, Yakushka, & Sanford-Martens, 2004). Studies that attempt to uncover the counselor’s unintentional biases and attitudes toward minority clients are important because they have the effect of increasing counselor awareness of racism. In addition, studies that focus on counselor training programs and their effectiveness in training counselors skilled in multiculturalism are vital to the educational process of counselors. The present study addressed both of these issues by focusing on the levels of awareness of racism among students in a graduate counseling program at a Midwestern university. In addition, the present study attempted to gauge the extent to which progression through the graduate program as well as completing a multicultural training course affects students’ levels of awareness of racism.

Rationale

One aspect of multicultural counseling and counselor education that requires more research is that of the effects of multicultural education on counselor perceptions. Specifically, more research is needed in the area of acknowledgment of racial discrimination. Unless counselors are willing to work through intense feelings associated with race, their own biases will cause them to be ineffective with minority populations.
(Sue & Sue, 2003). Thus, without an awareness of racism, the counselor’s own biases can perpetuate racial stereotypes in the process of therapy (Burkard & Knox, 2004). The usefulness of a counselor’s judgment about a certain client depends upon the experience and knowledge that the counselor brings into the assessment process. The counselor’s knowledge and experience allow him or her to go beyond the facts of a situation and make an inference about the client. If the counselor’s knowledge and experience includes unacknowledged racial bias, it can have a lasting affect on how he or she assesses and treats a minority client (Sue & Sue). What makes the situation more difficult is that when a client situation is unclear or the facts ambiguous, the counselor is more likely to make an inference about the client (Haverkamp, 1994). Studies indicate that these initial inferences are likely to persist, even if the counselor is presented with subsequent information (Rosenthal, 2004). It is because of this that it is important to bring race and the acknowledgment of racial discrimination into the forefront as a topic of discussion and reflection in counselor training programs.

Statement of the Problem

Studies have suggested that minority populations are less likely than the majority population to seek counseling treatment (Davidson et al., 2004; Foulks, 2004) and receive a lower standard of care when treated (Schneider, Zaslavsky, & Epstein, 2002). One possible cause of this is the racial bias that exists in counseling (Abreu, 1999; Foulks). This study focused on the color-blind racial attitudes, or the denial of racial discrimination, of graduate counseling students. More specifically, the purpose of this study was to investigate the differences in the levels of awareness of racism of students
who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not, as well as to discover if there is a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program. Although little research exists examining the specific link between credit hours earned in a graduate counseling program and levels of awareness of racism, the number of credit hours earned has been selected as a means to quantify progression thorough the counseling graduate program (Brown, 1996). Because the graduate counseling department at the University of Nebraska at Omaha emphasizes multicultural training throughout the duration of the graduate counseling program, it was appropriate to focus on the relationship between progression through the graduate program and levels of awareness of racism.

Definitions

For the present study, a graduate student was defined as any student who had been accepted into the counseling department at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and was enrolled in classes during the fall semester of 2005. The graduate counseling department at the University of Nebraska at Omaha is accredited by the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP). CACREP is an independent agency that promotes the professional competence of clinicians in counseling and related fields and accredits graduate counseling and related programs (Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs, 2005).

The Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class is a three credit hour, 15 week course designed to educate graduate level counseling students about counseling
members of specific populations (Thompson, 2005). Racism refers to the belief that members of one race are intrinsically different from others. Racial discrimination is treating an individual differently based on his/her race. Color-blind racial attitudes are defined as the denial of Caucasian racial privilege, denial of institutional discrimination, and blatant racism (Burkard & Knox, 2004). The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) is a scale used to measure the awareness of Caucasian racial privilege, awareness of present institutional racism, and awareness of the current existence of blatant racism (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale is a scale of social desirability that is intended to gauge the respondent’s motivation to respond in a socially acceptable manner (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

Assumptions

The present study used only one measure to determine the level of awareness of racism as opposed to a variety of measures. A limited number of assessments exist that relate directly to color-blind racial attitudes and the awareness of racism. The CoBRAS was the chosen assessment for this study because it is the only one in existence that is specifically designed to access the multidimensional aspects of color-blind racial attitudes. It was the assumption of this study that one measure is as effective as multiple or different measures because the CoBRAS correlates moderately to strongly with other measures of racial discrimination (i.e., Quick Discrimination Index; Ponterotto, et al., 1995; Modern Racism Scale; McConahay, 1986) (Neville et al, 2000).

Research Questions and Hypothesis
The research questions answered in this study are as follows:

1. Is there a significant difference in the levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not?

2. Is there a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program?

The hypotheses of the current study are as follows:

H1 There will be a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not.

H2 There will be a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program.

Organization of the Remainder of the Study

Chapter one included a description of background and rationale of the topic in addition to the statement of the problem and definitions that will be used in the study. The remainder of this study will focus on a literature review of studies relating to this topic as well as a description of the procedures to be completed in the current study.

Chapter II reviews the literature concerning studies relating to counselor perceptions of minority clients, racial color-blindness as well as multicultural training, progression through graduate counseling programs, and possible effects on racial awareness. Chapter III provides an explanation of the research design of the present study, instrumentation, procedure as well as a description of the participants and the data collection and analysis.
methods. Chapter IV includes an analysis of the results of the study. Chapter V discusses the results and their implications, limitations, and recommendations for further research.
Chapter II

Literature Review

With the growing number of minority populations in our society, counselors skilled in dealing with multicultural issues are needed more than ever before (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000; Sue & Sue, 2003). Each day, licensed, professional counselors are confronted with the difficult task of helping an ever-increasing number of minority clients (Sue & Sue). In addition, unintentional racial biases, preconceived notions, and misinformation can influence both the way the counselor perceives a client and the way in which the counselor enters into a helping relationship with a minority client (Abreu, 1999; Sue & Sue; Gushue, 2004). The awareness of the counselor’s own racism and its effects on others is both a fundamental concept and concern in counseling minority populations (Sue & Sue; Burkard & Knox, 2004). Because multicultural counseling is a skill required by effective counselors in today’s society, it is important to study the affects graduate school can have on the multicultural attitudes of counselors.

Racial Bias in Counseling

Studies researching counseling and race have indicated that racial minorities tend to receive differential treatment compared to their Caucasian counterparts (Sohler & Bromet, 2003; Fisher, Matthews, Robinson, & Burke, 2001; Kmietowicz, 2005; Blazer & Hybels, 2000; Schneider et al., 2002; Burkard & Knox, 2004). Early studies of psychiatric patients in hospitals discovered that African Americans had higher rates of diagnosis for schizophrenia and lower rates of diagnosis for affective disorders than their white counterparts (Sohler & Bromet). A current bias in the counseling field is indicated
by evidence that, in comparison to their Caucasian counterparts, racial minority clients tend to be diagnosed with higher levels of psychopathology and to have an underestimated prognosis (Fisher et al., 2001). In addition, minorities are less likely than their majority counterparts to be prescribed counseling or psychotherapy and more likely to be prescribed drugs or electroconvulsive therapy (Kmietowicz). African Americans, in particular, are more likely than their Caucasian counterparts to be prescribed antidepressant medication for depression (Blazer & Hybels). Race has been suggested as a factor in the amount of follow-up treatment a minority receives after hospitalization for mental illness (Schneider et al.). Another sign of the differential treatment that racial minority clients face in the mental health field is that they experience higher rates of early termination from outpatient treatment in comparison to their Caucasian counterparts (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Sue, Fujino, Hu, Takeuchi, & Zane, 1991).

Several theories have been proposed to explain the discrepancies in treatment toward minority clients. According to Sohler and Bromet (2003), differences in the ways in which races are treated in the health care system are probably caused by a bias in “the clinical decision-making process” (p. 463). In other words, minority clients are being treated differently because of the biases held by clinicians. It has also been hypothesized that the mental health care services currently being provided are oppressive and discriminating toward minority clients as well as lacking in sensitivity and understanding (Sue & Sue, 2003). In many cases, the mental health services offered are inappropriate to the life experiences of the minority client (Sue & Sue). Racial minority clients can be misdiagnosed when counselors rely too heavily on assumed cultural differences and
ignore psychopathology (Fisher et al., 2001). Such cultural differences that are often overlooked by clinicians can include differences in communication styles and levels of self-disclosure (Sue & Sue). In addition, overlooking cultural explanations can result in the over diagnosis of minorities, if practitioners fail to take into consideration cultural explanations such as minority reactions to discrimination, such as feelings of hopelessness (Fisher et al.; Sue & Sue). In other words, multicultural education is important because Caucasian counselors who work from only one cultural position, in which values of the dominant culture are prominent, may view the values and behaviors of a minority individual as deviant (Sue & Sue).

It has been surmised that if counselors remain unaware of racism’s effect on the minority client, it is unlikely that they will be able to address racism appropriately in therapy and may not respond to the affects racism can have on clients (Burkard & Knox, 2004). It would seem that an investigation of the ways that counselors’ own racial biases and ignorance of racial discrimination can be influenced by graduate training is an important focus for current research that could impact the training of future counselors and the field of multicultural counseling.

Research Related to Racial Bias in Counseling

While some research into the effects of race on counselor perceptions has failed to uncover blatant racist attitudes, results have indicated that race can have an effect on counselor perceptions of client potential (Fisher et al., 2001; Sohler & Bromet, 2003; Rosenthal, Wong, Moore, & Delambo, 2004). For instance, a study conducted by Rosenthal & Berven (1999) examined the effects of client race on the perceptions of 110
Caucasian, master’s level counseling students in a rehabilitation counseling program. Participants were asked to view a client case study in which the race had been manipulated and to provide a clinical impression and an estimate of the future potential of the client. Results revealed that client race did not have an effect on the clinical impression of the graduate students. However, client race was a significant factor in the estimate of future potential, with the African American client viewed as having less potential as the Caucasian client.

In addition, a study of graduate level counseling students focused on counselors’ cultural perceptions of adolescent pregnancy. One hundred and thirty three graduate counseling students were shown a video vignette of Caucasian, Hispanic, and African American actors who portrayed pregnant adolescents. The graduate students were then asked to fill out a Likert-type questionnaire about their perceptions of the actors. Results indicated that the graduate counseling students rated the Hispanic actor lowest in potential for being a good future parent and in perceived effectiveness of therapy, while the Caucasian actor was rated the highest (Softas-Nall, Baldo, & Williams 1997).

Abreu (1999) surveyed 60 master’s degree level therapists and advanced counseling psychology graduate student participants between the ages of 24 and 60. Participants were exposed to 100 flash words, either neutral or priming (i.e. rhythm, ghetto, welfare, basketball, unemployed, etc.). It was reported that information related to membership in a specific racial group can activate stereotypes associated with African Americans, indicating that minority clients can be perceived differently based on race. Also, the more ambiguous and mixed the clinical picture, such as an intake in which little
knowledge of the client is known, the more racial attitudes have been shown to increase. It was found that even the act of using words associated with African American stereotypes can enhance the counselor’s perceptions of hostility.

*Racial Color-Blindness*

One possibility for the differential treatment of racial minorities in counseling is that racial color-blindness, or a general attitude that race is to be ignored and that discrimination does not exist, contributes to lack of empathy toward minority clients on the part of the counselor. Some counselors mistakenly assume that it is best to ignore race, deny its social significance, and treat all clients as individuals (Sue & Sue, 2003). However, not only is it nearly impossible to ignore that a client is Native American, Hispanic American, etc, but to do so could result in an obscured understanding of the client situation. In other words, to ignore the concept of race is to ignore a vital aspect of the client’s identity (Sue & Sue). Attitudes of racial color-blindness are different from racism in that they don’t necessarily imply a negative attitude toward racial minorities. Rather, racial color-blindness implies holding a distorted and inaccurate view of racial minorities as well as race relations (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). As it pertains to this study, color-blind racial attitudes relate to denial of white privilege, denial of institutional discrimination, and blatant racial issues (Burkard & Knox, 2004). Color-blind racial attitudes will be defined as holding a distorted or inaccurate view of racial minorities as well as the denial of the social significance of race and the dismissal of current racial discrimination in the United States.
Color-blind racial attitudes have been associated with higher levels of fear and anxiety toward minorities, internalization of stereotypes, and gender stereotyping (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005). In 2004, 727 Caucasian college students completed several survey measures, including the CoBRAS. Results revealed that higher levels of racial color-blindness were linked to higher levels of fear and anxiety of racial and ethnic minorities (Spanierman & Heppner). Also, in 2005, Neville, Coleman, et al. examined the impact of color-blind racial attitudes on African Americans. Two-hundred and eleven African American participants from the Midwest and West coast were surveyed using several measures, including the CoBRAS. Results revealed that higher levels of color-blind racial attitudes were linked to the internalization of racial stereotypes among African Americans. Internalized stereotypes included higher levels of victim blame, internalized oppression, and justification of social dominance (Neville, Coleman, et al.). Based on five initial studies of the CoBRAS in which 1188 participants were surveyed, scores were significantly correlated with greater levels of gender intolerance. It was also found that women as well as minorities tended to have lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes than their male and Caucasian counterparts (Neville et al., 2000).

There has been a growing area of research on racial color-blindness (Neville, Coleman, et al, 2005; Burkard & Knox, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). For example, in 2004, Burkard and Knox studied the effects of racial color-blindness on the empathy of 247 practicing psychologists. The sample included 133 females and 114 males, of which 234 were Caucasian Americans, four were African American, two were
Asian American, one was Native American, and two participants were biracial. It was found that the psychologists who exhibited lower scores on the CoBRAS (i.e., less color-blindness) showed more empathy toward clients than those who exhibited higher scores, indicating higher levels of color-blindness. In addition, findings revealed that therapists who were high in color-blindness attributed African American clients with higher responsibility for their problems than those therapists who scored lower on color-blindness, indicating that levels of color-blindness can affect counselor perceptions of minority clients. This concept was also studied by Gushue (2004), who reported that a lower level of color-blindness (i.e. greater awareness of racism), as measured by the CoBRAS, was associated with diagnosis of a lower level of symptom severity for the African American client.

A study conducted by Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink (2000) also focused on the effects of color-blind perspectives. One hundred sixty-one Caucasian undergraduate students were asked to read twenty-four case studies and make predictions about the behavior of the Caucasian and Hispanic individuals after receiving either a color-blind or a multicultural message. Results indicated that, relative to the color-blind perspective, the multicultural perspective resulted in stronger stereotypes and greater use of stereotype information to judge individuals. In a similar study, Richeson & Nussbaum (2004) asked 52 Caucasian undergraduates to read a passage that presented either a color-blind or a multicultural viewpoint and to complete an implicit racial association test. Results suggested that the color-blind perspective produced more racial bias than the multicultural perspective.
It is not difficult to comprehend why counselors might struggle with the concept of race. Counselors are often placed in a double bind when it comes to multicultural counseling. They are told not to rely on generalizations and stereotypes to access minority clients but are also told to respect and recognize cultural differences (Whaley, 2001). The article suggests that a way to avoid this double bind is to review the literature related to multicultural counseling and identify “cultural themes or issues” that can have a direct influence on the counseling of minority clients (p. 555). In other words, more knowledge about a racial minority allows the counselor to avoid the unintentional biases, racial color-blindness, and stereotypes that can have a direct result on the assessment and treatment of the minority client.

Mixed Results

Multiple studies have disputed the conclusion that counselors’ underlying biases influence the diagnosis and treatment assessment of minority clients. One such study focused on graduate counseling students and their perceptions of minority clients (Fisher et al., 2001). Participants were 58 graduate students in six beginning master’s courses at a community counseling program that was accredited by the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP). They were shown a client vignette in which the client was described as either African American, Mexican American, or European American and asked to rate the client on a Likert-type survey. While the participants were found to have significant differences in the attributes in which they ascribed to minority clients, the results showed that counselor trainees generally did not hold differential viewpoints about minority clients. Another study
found that racial bias did not contribute to the diagnosis of schizophrenia and affective disorders among patients who have been admitted to a psychiatric ward for the first time (Sohler & Bromet, 2003). However, researchers did find that African American patients were more likely than white patients to be “dismissed without a definitive diagnosis” (p. 468). These results contradict past research that has reported higher diagnosis rates of schizophrenia among the African American population (Pavkov, Lewis, & Lyons, 1989; Foulks, 2004). In 2004, Rosenthal et al. researched the effects of client and counselor race on graduate students in a rehabilitation counseling program. The results did not indicate a bias of European American, Asian American, and African American counselor trainees toward any of the three minority groups.

Providing explanation for these results is not an easy task. One theory that has been proposed to explain the mixed results of studies of counselor perception on client race is the “shifting standards model” of social judgment (Biernat, 2003, p.1019). The principle idea of this concept is that, depending on the individual’s social identity, people use different reference points when making subjective judgments. This would mean that counselors are rating minority clients more favorably, because of judgments based on lower standards that reflect stereotypes. Gushue (2004) studied 158 graduate students from counseling classes at various universities and focused on the interaction effects of color-blind attitudes and social desirability. The results revealed that participants perceived African Americans as having fewer symptoms than Caucasian clients. In addition, participants who scored lower for color-blindness (i.e. greater awareness of racism) differentiated their assessments between Caucasian and African American clients.
more than those who scored higher on the color-blindness scale. One possible explanation for these results is that a higher awareness of societal racism could result in a more positive impression of African Americans simply because of disadvantages racial minorities face (i.e. considering what this person is up against, he/she seems healthy). Another explanation for these results is that individuals with an awareness of the overpathologizing of minority clients could approach a mental health report about an African American client with skepticism (Gushue). In order to counteract the shifting standards effect, it is important for survey questions to use language that is “common-rule” (Biernat, 2003, p. 1020). Common-rule scales are units that maintain a constant meaning, such as income level or estimated grade point average (Biernat).

Another theory that was researched by Abreu (1999) discusses the possibility that participants in studies of race may control their responses in order to respond in a way that conforms to societal expectations regarding race as well as to place themselves and their profession in a more favorable light. A study is described in which 350 counselors were asked to make diagnostic judgments based on client case history. Counselors changed their initial negative responses to more positive ones once it was discovered that the client was African American. Several older studies have also reported differential diagnosis and treatment assessment toward African American clients when counselors were unaware that their judgments would be used in the study (Jones, 1982; Lloyd & Moodley, 1992). A more recent study focused on the relationship between social desirability and several self-report measures of multicultural competence (Constantine & Ladany, 2000). One hundred and thirty-five participants from doctoral, master’s, and
bachelor’s level counseling programs completed four self-report measures of multicultural competence as well as the MCSDS. It was found that higher levels of multicultural counseling competence significantly related to higher social desirability scores, indicating that the measures of multicultural counseling competence studied could be influenced by social desirability attitudes. The current study uses the CoBRAS, which has been shown not to be strongly associated with social desirability (Neville et al., 2000). In order to assure that participants are not influenced by social desirability, the current study will utilize the MCSDS to determine if the participants are attempting to respond in a socially desirable manner.

*Multicultural Training and its Effects on Awareness of Racism*

Multicultural education courses have the difficult task of educating counselors about minorities and attempting to help counselors acknowledge unintentional biases that may interfere with the counseling process. The training of mental health professionals is the major reason for therapeutic ineffectiveness with minority clients (Sue & Arrendondo, 1992; Sue & Sue, 2003). A national study, conducted in 1999, surveyed 500 professional counselors and concluded that the professional counselors, overall, had low multicultural competence pertaining to knowledge about specific cultures and that multicultural counselor training was perceived as less than adequate (Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999). Studies indicate, however, that counseling trainees can increase their multicultural competence by completing training courses in multicultural counseling (Hill, 2003; Constantine, 2001; Kiselica & Maben, 1999; Manese, Wu & Nepomuceno, 2001). Multicultural counseling can produce an internal confrontation of attitudes and
beliefs regarding race, which has the effect of changing information processing regarding racial attitudes in counseling students (Evans & Foster, 2000). Because of this, it is important to understand the process of multicultural education in graduate level counseling programs.

There are two main types of multicultural training: single course, which relies on one course to adequately train an individual on multicultural issues and infusion training, which integrates multicultural learning into an entire program (Anderson et al., 2000). Currently the most frequently used type of multicultural education is a single course approach (Tomlinson-Clarke, 2000). Two major factors contribute to the popularity of the single course approach: the practicality of one multicultural education class that effectively enhances multicultural awareness and the fact that it requires fewer departmental resources and less time commitment (Tomlinson-Clarke). The current study deals with determining if there is a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not as well as if there is a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program. The graduate counseling program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha uses a single-course as well as an infused approach to multicultural education. The course objectives from the syllabus for the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class are as follows:
A. “Students will be able to describe the implications of selected social and demographic trends related to special populations, including factors of race, gender, economic disability, the physically challenged, etc.

B. Students will be able to identify the issues involved in adapting counseling approaches to diverse populations.

C. Students will increase their awareness of and appreciation for the importance of personal beliefs, values and behaviors in relation to counseling diverse populations.

D. Students will be able to describe adaptations of major counseling approaches to selected diverse populations.

E. Students will increase their awareness of advocacy in terms of pertinent issues as they relate to diverse populations.

F. Students will be able to assess their abilities and limitations for counseling persons from diverse populations (Thompson, 2005 p. 2).”

Because the graduate counseling program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha uses a single-course as well as an infused approach, it would be meaningless to focus solely on the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Population as a primary means of multicultural education. In order to determine the influence of multicultural training as a whole on awareness of racism, the current study utilized credit hours earned in the program as a way to quantify progression through the graduate counseling program.

While few studies have directly focused on credit hours earned in a graduate counseling program, there is much evidence to show that multicultural education can
have the effect of increasing multicultural competence, increasing awareness of racism, and reducing color-blind racial attitudes (Brown, 1996; Constantine, 2001; Kiselica & Maben, 1999; Neville et al., 2000). Brown conducted a survey at the University of Nebraska at Omaha which determined that there was a change in racial attitudes of counseling students who completed the required, single, 15-week course in multicultural counseling. It was found that there was a significant difference in positive racial attitudes between counseling students who completed the multicultural counseling course and those who did not. There was a significant positive correlation between positive racial attitudes and more credit hours completed in the program. While this research is dated, it is relevant because it specifically relates to progression of students through the graduate counseling program, as quantified by number of credit hours, and because its primary focus is on graduate counseling students at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. In addition, several studies have found that a multicultural counseling training course is linked to higher empathy levels, higher multicultural case conceptualization ability, and lower levels of prejudice (Constantine; Kiselica & Maben). One study focused specifically on 39 predoctoral interns who completed a training program that utilized an infused approach. A pretest and posttest of multicultural competency were completed prior to and after completion of the infusion training and indicated that multicultural competence increased in the areas of knowledge and skills associated with working with minority populations (Manese et al., 2001). While no specific research has been conducted involving progression through a graduate counseling program and reduction of color-blind racial attitudes, research conducted by Neville et al. found that total scores on
the CoBRAS were reduced by multicultural training. The CoBRAS was used to
determine if multicultural training had a significant affect on levels of color-blind racial
attitudes. Forty five undergraduate students completed the CoBRAS prior to and after a
year-long multicultural training course. Results indicated that there was a significant
decrease in total scores on the CoBRAS, particularly in the Racial Privilege subsection,
after completion of the multicultural training course, indicating that multicultural training
was successful at decreasing levels of color-blindness and increasing levels of awareness
of racism.

Summary

The literature indicates that more research is needed in the areas of multicultural
counseling education and its effects on awareness of racism in order to gain a better
understanding of how multicultural education affects biases and perceptions of graduate
counseling students. Research suggests that there is a link between levels of color-blind
racial attitudes and perceptions of the counselor toward the racial minority client. Studies
focusing on client race and perceptions have yielded mixed results which could be caused
by a shifting standards perspective or a desire for social acceptance. In addition, it has
been shown that a positive correlation may exist between the number of credit hours
completed and positive racial attitudes as well as lower levels of color-blind racial
attitudes. The current study attempted to address both of these areas by determining if
there is a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who
completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did
not as well as that there will be a significant relationship between levels of awareness of
racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.
Chapter III

Methods and Procedures

Introduction

This chapter presents the methods and procedures used in the present study. An explanation of the research design of the study is provided. A description of the participants of the study, instrumentation used, research design, and an explanation of the study procedures is presented. Finally, this chapter outlines the method of data collection and the process of data analysis.

Research Design

The present study used a casual-comparative design with one group of 44 participants, who reported having completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations and another group that consisted of 62 participants, who reported having not completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations. The research design involved the selection of two intact groups that differed on an independent variable (completion of the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class) and compared the groups on a dependent variable (responses to the CoBRAS). Due to the nature of the research being conducted, the present study focused on quantitative research because it is objective and can be measured more precisely. Mathematically quantifying the responses yielded more precise information than open ended, qualitative methods.

Participants

The participants of the study were volunteer graduate students in the counselor education program, who were enrolled in classes at the University of Nebraska at Omaha
during the fall semester, 2005. The accessible population consisted of 138 graduate counseling students enrolled in classes during the fall semester of 2005 at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Surveys were distributed to several classes in the graduate counseling program and 120 were returned. Three surveys were thrown out because of insufficient answering of all of the questions, four were thrown out because the participants reported being currently enrolled in Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations, and seven were thrown out because the participants were not enrolled in the counseling program at the time of submitting the surveys. Ages of participants ranged from 22 to 57 with a mean age of 32 ($SD = 9.0$). The majority of the participants were female ($n = 91$), with considerably fewer males ($n = 15$). The majority of the participants classified themselves as being Caucasian ($n = 96$); however, a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds were represented, including African American ($n = 6$), Hispanic American ($n = 2$), and Asian American ($n = 1$). One participant chose not to respond ($n = 1$). The number of credit hours already completed in the graduate counseling program ranged from 0 to 52 with a mean of 24 and a standard deviation of 15.2.

*Instrumentation*

In order to determine the participant’s age, race, gender, number of credits attained and whether or not the individual had completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class, a short demographic survey was used (see Appendix A).

In order to examine levels of racial awareness, the present study utilized the CoBRAS, which was designed to measure participants’ lack of awareness of racism (see Appendix B). It was chosen for this study because it was developed as an outcome
measure to evaluate the effectiveness of multicultural training and workshops in educational and community settings. This 20-item, six-point, Likert-type instrument was developed to measure three specific aspects of racial color-blindness: (a) Racial Privilege, which refers to the degree of awareness of Caucasian racial privilege; (b) Institutional Discrimination, which refers to awareness of the present existence of discriminatory institutional practices; and (c) Blatant Racial Issues, which indicates awareness of blatant acts of discrimination and racism (Neville et al., 2000). Total scores can range from 20 to 120 with higher scores indicating higher levels of color-blindness and lower levels of awareness of racism. The reliability for the total score was determined by Cronbach’s coefficient alpha levels ranging from .86 to .91 across three development studies and a Guttman split-half reliability of .72 for this scale (Neville et al.). In addition, a two-week test-retest reliability coefficient of .68 was reported. Factor analysis provided support for construct validity and support for discriminate validity was shown by lack of correlation with the MCSDS (Neville et al.). Concurrent validity was supported by moderate to strong correlations of two measures of racial discrimination (i.e., Quick Discrimination Index (QDI); Ponterotto et al., 1995; Modern Racism Scale (MRS); McConahay, 1986) (Neville et al.). The correlation coefficient for subscales on the QDI ranged from -.25 to -.85 and the correlation coefficient for the MRS ranged from .36 to .55 (Ponterotto et al., 1995; McConahay, 1986; Neville et al.). In addition, the CoBRAS has been used in several recent studies (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Gushue, 2004; Neville, Coleman et al., 2005) which have yielded similar results.
The MCSDS, which consists of 33 true/false items related to personal attitudes and traits, was used to gauge the respondent’s motivation to respond in a socially acceptable manner (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The MCSDS is the most commonly used assessment to conceptualize an individual’s need for social approval (Leite & Beretvas, 2005). The questions on the MCSDS were designed to determine if an individual is motivated by social desirability. This assessment has shown to be a solid testing instrument for measuring social desirability. It has been critiqued by psychological literature for over 40 years. Internal consistency/reliability scores range from .72 to .96 (Andrews & Meyer, 2003). Criterion-related validity is indicated by an Area-Under-Curve (ACU) value of .83. This value represents the probability that a randomly selected survey from a “fake good” condition would have a higher score than one that was randomly selected from a non-deceiving condition (Edens, Buffington, Tomicic, & Riley, 2001).

Procedure

The number of students enrolled in classes during the fall of 2005 was obtained from the student-information-system’s database in order to determine the number of potential participants. Professors were approached with a request to use time during class to distribute surveys. Surveys were distributed to several classrooms during counselor education classes early in the fall semester of 2005. A script was followed stating the purpose of the study (racism awareness), the inclusion criteria (i.e., official acceptance into the graduate counseling program), length of time it was expected to take to complete the surveys (approximately 10 minutes), and the rights of research subjects. A flyer
stating the rights of research subjects was also distributed with the surveys. It was explained that participation was voluntary and choosing not to participate and would not affect their grade in the class or status in the counseling program. Participants were then asked to complete the CoBRAS, the MCSDS, and a short demographics questionnaire. Only participants who had been officially accepted into the graduate counseling program, who were currently enrolled in at least one credit hour, and who had not already previously completed the survey in another class were asked to participate. The researcher distributed packets containing the CoBRAS, the MCSDS, and the demographic questionnaire and then left the room. The surveys were collected in an envelope in order to preserve anonymity. Scores from participants who did not answer all questions, who were not enrolled in the counseling program, or who were currently enrolled in Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations were not included in the data analysis.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data collection consisted of responses of counselor trainees to the CoBRAS and the MCSDS. The data was divided into two groups: answers submitted by graduate counseling students who had completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and answers submitted by graduate counseling students who had not completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class. The mean and standard deviation of the scores were calculated and reported. In addition, a one-way ANOVA was used to determine if there was a difference between the groups. An alpha level of .05 was accepted for statistical significance. Data was also collected from the
MCSDS. A two-tailed Pearson’s correlation coefficient, with an accepted alpha level of .05, was used to determine if a relationship existed between higher levels of racial color blindness and a desire to respond in a socially acceptable manner.
Chapter IV

Results

This chapter includes an explanation of the data analysis and findings. Because the total score on the CoBRAS consists of the accumulation of three subsections, the results of the total score as well as the three subsections are provided. The purpose of this study was to determine if there a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not existed, as well as, if there was a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. The CoBRAS as well as the MCSDS were administered to classes during the fall semester of 2005. Scores from each of the three subsections as well as a total score were used to determine if a significant difference existed in the scores of those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who had not. After all of the surveys had been distributed and collected, the researcher hand scored all surveys and entered them into a computer database for data analysis. A one-way ANOVA with an accepted alpha level of .05 was used to compare the means of those who had not completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations and those who had. A two-tailed Pearson’s correlation coefficient, with an accepted alpha level of .05, was used to determine the relationship between the scores on the CoBRAS and the number of credit hours that participants completed in the program. A two-tailed Pearson’s
correlation coefficient with an accepted alpha level of .05 was also used to compare the relationship between scores on the CoBRAS and scores on the MCSDS.

*Research question*

Is there a significant difference in the levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not?

*Total Score.* A total score was obtained from the CoBRAS by combining the scores on each of the three subsections. There was a significant main effect, $F(1,105) = 10.52, p < .05$. Forty-four participants reported that they had completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations at the University of Nebraska at Omaha at some point in their graduate school careers; scores ranged from 28 to 105. Sixty-two participants reported that they had not completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations at the University of Nebraska scores ranged from 32 to 92. Table 1 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the total scores of both groups.

**Table 1**

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<tr>
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<th>Mean</th>
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<td>Completed Counseling</td>
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<td>16.72</td>
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<td>Multicultural and Diverse Populations</td>
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<td>Not Completed Counseling</td>
<td>63.36</td>
<td>12.68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multicultural and Diverse Populations</td>
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**Denial of Racial Privilege.** The denial of racial privilege subsection of the CoBRAS deals with the failure to acknowledge the denial of Caucasian racial privilege (Neville et al., 2000). There was a significant main effect, $F(1,105) = 9.48, p < .05$. Scores from the students who reported that they had completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations ranged from 9 to 42. Scores from the students who reported that they had not completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations ranged from 14 to 39. Table 2 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the total scores of both groups.

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations for Denial of Racial Privilege*

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<th>Completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations</th>
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<td>22.06</td>
<td>7.23</td>
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| Not Completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations | 25.89 | 5.53 |

**Denial of Institutional Discrimination.** The denial institutional discrimination subsection of the CoBRAS deals with the denial of discrimination by institutions as well as the failure to acknowledge the need for social policies that would effect change (Neville et al., 2000). There was a significant main effect, $F(1,105) = 4.68, p < .05$. Scores from the students who reported that they had completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations ranged from 9 to 40. Scores from the students who reported that they had not completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations ranged from...
14 to 39. Table 3 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the total scores of both groups.

Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations for Denial of Institutional Discrimination*

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<th>Mean</th>
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<td>20.20</td>
<td>6.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multicultural and Diverse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Populations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Completed Counseling</td>
<td>22.87</td>
<td>5.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multicultural and Diverse</td>
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<td>Populations</td>
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*Blatant Racial Issues.* The blatant racial issues subsection of the CoBRAS deals with the denial of the present existence of blatant racial discrimination (Neville et al., 2000). There was a significant main effect, $F(1,105) = 7.30, p < .05$. Scores from the students who reported that they had completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations ranged from 6 to 26. Scores from the students, who reported that they had not completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations, ranged from 6 to 76. Table 4 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the total scores of both groups.
Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Denial of Blatant Racial Issues

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<tr>
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<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taken Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Completed Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations</td>
<td>15.69</td>
<td>8.83</td>
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Social Desirability. In order to insure that the participants attempting to respond in a socially desirable manner did not skew the results, participants were asked to complete the MCSDS. Results for the total score on the CoBRAS (Neville et al.) were not significant, $r = .10$, $p > .05$. Results for the denial of racial privilege subsection were not significant, $r = .14$, $p > .05$. Results for the denial of institutional discrimination subsection were not significant, $r = .03$, $p > .05$. Results for the blatant racial issues subsection were not significant, $r = .15$, $p > .05$.

Is there a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program?

Credit Hours. Results for the total score on the CoBRAS were significant, $r = -.40$, $p < .05$, indicating that as the number of reported credit hours increased, scores on the CoBRAS decreased. Results for the denial of racial privilege subsection were significant, $r = -.40$, $p < .05$. Results for the denial of institutional discrimination subsection were significant, $r = -.34$, $p < .05$. Results for the blatant racial issues subsection were significant, $r = -.32$, $p < .05$. 
Chapter V
Discussion

This chapter discusses the results and their implications. The limitations of the present study as well as recommendations for future research are also discussed. The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of a multicultural counseling class on the awareness of racism among graduate counseling students at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. The researcher examined the hypotheses that there would be a significant difference in levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not, as well as, there would be a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. These hypotheses were based on numerous other research studies conducted that have yielded similar results (Hill, 2003; Constantine, 2001; Kiselica & Maben, 1999; Manese, et al., 2001; Brown, 1996, Neville et al., 2000). Based on analysis of the data, there was a significant difference in the levels of awareness of racism between those who completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class and those who did not. That is, participants who reported that they had completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class scored significantly lower on the CoBRAS (indicating higher levels of racial awareness), than those who reported that they had not completed the class. As well, there was a significant relationship between levels of awareness of racism and the number of credit hours completed in the counseling education program at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. It should be noted that a
significant correlation between credit hours and scores on the CoBRAS does not necessarily mean causation, but was included to serve as a measure to quantify progression through the graduate counseling program. These results, however, combined with the knowledge that participants who reported having completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class had significantly lower levels of racial color-blindness add credence to the contention that multicultural education can have the effect of increasing levels of awareness of racism.

In addition, no significant relationship was found between participants’ scores on the CoBRAS and scores on the MCSDS, indicating that participants were likely not affected by social desirability. These findings are consistent with previous research conducted that has reported no relationship between scores on the CoBRAS and scores on the MCSDS (Gushue, 2004; Burkard & Knox, 2004; Neville et al., 2000). While other studies have yielded results suggesting that self-report multicultural studies can be affected by social desirability, these results seem to indicate that this particular measure is not strongly related to social desirability (Abreu, 1999; Constantine & Ladany, 2000).

Implications

The results of this research support the contention that multicultural education can improve the awareness of racism in graduate counseling students. Results of this study are consistent with research conducted by Neville et al. (2000), who found that the CoBRAS was sensitive to multicultural educational interventions. However, the results of Neville et al. indicated that scores from the Racial Privilege subsection, alone, accounted for the difference in the total score. The current study found significant
differences in all subsections as well as the total score. Several variables could account for this discrepancy. First, the study conducted by Neville et al. used a sample size of only 45 students, which may have made it more difficult to obtain significant results. Second, the sample consisted primarily of racial and ethnic minority participants, who may have started out with higher awareness of racism. Racial and ethnic minorities, on average, have lower scores on the CoBRAS (Neville et al.). In the present study, the sample consisted of an overwhelming majority of Caucasian participants. Lower levels of awareness of racism in Caucasian participants have been linked to higher levels of fear and anxiety of racial and ethnic minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).

The results are also consistent with past research conducted by Brown (1996), who found a significant difference in positive racial attitudes between graduate counseling students who completed more credit hours in the program and those who did not. In addition, the results are consistent with the results of several studies that have found multicultural counseling training courses linked to higher empathy levels, higher multicultural case conceptualization ability, and lower levels of prejudice (Constantine, 2001; Kiselica & Maben, 1999). While this study didn't specifically focus on empathy levels, multicultural case conceptualization ability, or levels of prejudice, several studies have linked lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes with higher levels of empathy, more positive case conceptualization of minority clients, and lower levels of racial prejudice with lower levels of racial color-blindness (Neville et al., 2000; Gushue, 2004).

Results of this study have important implications for multicultural education in counseling. Because counselor education and multicultural sensitivity are important to
the field of counseling, studies that focus on the extent to which educational interventions increase the awareness of racism and discrimination are vital to the field of counseling (Sue & Sue, 2003). The results of the present study are a significant checkpoint for the counseling graduate department at the University of Nebraska at Omaha to show a relationship between the multicultural aspect of counselor education and levels of awareness of racism among its students. This is a positive indication that multicultural education is a vital aspect of counselor education programs. The results of the present study can also be used both to increase the effectiveness of multicultural education programs and to serve as a point of reference for other such programs to follow.

Limitations

The results of this study should be considered in light of potential limitations. Generalizability of the results is cautioned because participants of the study are from one university located in the Midwestern region of the United States, which is a small fraction of the total population of graduate counseling students. Furthermore, the sample consisted primarily of Caucasian, female students. In the initial validation study of the CoBRAS, it was determined that females scored lower than their male counterparts (Neville et al., 2000). Because of these limitations, the ability to generalize the results of this study to other populations may be problematic. In addition, there is an adherent danger to survey research that participants will not answer truthfully, which would affect the results as well as the ability to generalize the results.

The participants of the present study were volunteer participants. The researcher had little control over who choose to participate in the study. This could have potentially
affected the results of the study because there may have been some inherent difference in the students who volunteered for the study as opposed to those who do not. The present study used a causal-comparative research design and a convenient sample. The participants were not randomly assigned to either group, but were selected because they have either completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class or not. These limitations hinder the generalizability of the results.

**Future Research**

Multicultural education of graduate counseling students is an important area of growing research (Hill, 2003; & Sue, 2003; Anderson et al., 2000; Davidson et al., 2004). Regrettably, it was difficult to obtain a quality assessment tool designed specifically to measure awareness of racism. Because the CoBRAS is a somewhat recently developed measure, more research needs to be conducted to test the reliability and validity of the instrument. Any future research focusing on awareness of racism is limited by the validity and reliability of the assessment tool. As well, more assessment tools need to be developed that accurately measure the awareness of racial discrimination. Unfortunately, another area of research that has been neglected is the relationship between the number of credit hours obtained in graduate counseling programs and the levels of awareness of racism. Ideally, students would develop a growing understanding and awareness of racism as they progress in a graduate counseling program. However, little research has been conducted in that area (Brown 1996).

Due to constraints of resources and time, a convenient sample was used in this study. Students were not randomly assigned to complete Counseling Multicultural and
Diverse Populations and a pre and post test was not administered. Surveys were collected from only one graduate counseling program, which consisted primarily of Caucasian female students. Ideally, future research would expand and focus on multiple graduate counseling programs, increase the sample size being studied, and utilize a true experimental design. As well, few research studies have focused specifically on levels of awareness of racism among minorities, which is also an important and promising area of research (Neville, Coleman et al., 2005). In addition, further research could utilize pre and post tests to ensure that multicultural training interventions and classes were adequately preparing graduate counseling students to recognize racism and discrimination and to effectively work with diverse populations.

Overall, much more research into whether multicultural education classes are effective in increasing the awareness of racism in graduate counseling students is needed. Research needs to be conducted both into the effects of awareness of racism on Caucasian graduate counseling students as well as minority graduate counseling students. Multiple assessment measures, the use of pre and post tests, larger sample sizes, and the use of a true experimental design would aid in the expansion of the results obtained from the present study.
References


Appendix A

1. How old are you?

___ ___

2. Please circle your gender.

Male Female

3. Please circle your race.

Caucasian African American Hispanic American
Native American Asian American Other
Choose not to respond

4. Have you been officially admitted into the UNO counseling graduate program?

Yes No

5. How many credit hours have you completed in the counseling program (not including this semester)?

______________

6. Have you completed the Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations class?
(circle one)

Yes No Currently Enrolled
Appendix B

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

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1.   ____ Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.

2.   ____ Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.

3.   ____ It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.

4.   ____ Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.

5.   ____ Racism is a major problem in the U.S.

6.   ____ Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.

7.   ____ Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.

8.   ____ Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.

9.   ____ White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.

10. ____ Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

11. ____ It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society’s problems.

12. ____ White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

13. ____ Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.

14. ____ English should be the only official language in the U.S.

15. ____ White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.

16. ____ Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.

17. ____ It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

18. ____ Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

19. ____ Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

20. ____ Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.