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A brief diversity training: Raising awareness of ingroup privilege to improve attitudes towards disadvantaged outgroups

Franziska Ehrke¹, Aysan Ashoe¹, Melanie C. Steffens¹, and Eva Louvet²

¹University of Koblenz-Landau, Landau, Germany

² University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France

Diversity training is a popular strategy to reduce prejudice within educational settings. However, in practice, diversity training rarely relies on social-psychological theory, and research on its effectiveness in real-world settings is scarce. Previous research regarding diversity training has particularly neglected an important theoretical concept: privilege as the counterpart of discrimination. Therefore, we developed a diversity training aiming to increase awareness of ingroup privilege, using an intersectional approach to teach participants the complex interaction between privilege and oppression. We randomly allocated students of educational science ($N = 112$) to a repeated-measures (pre-test, post-test, follow-up) control-group design. Compared with the control group, training participants showed a significant increase in awareness of ingroup privilege 1 week after the training, whereas there was no change in awareness of discrimination. Furthermore, increased awareness of ingroup privilege 1 week after the training mediated improved outgroup attitudes (i.e., more positive outgroup feelings towards immigrants and refugees, reduced subtle prejudice towards immigrants and reduced homonegativity) 2 weeks after the training.

Keywords: Diversity training; Ingroup privilege; Outgroup attitudes; Homonegativity; Prejudice towards immigrants.

With globalisation, migration, pluralization of family forms, individualised lifestyles and a lively cultural scene, Germany has become an increasingly diverse country with even more diverse classrooms. Educating prospective teachers about diversity is key to ensure inclusive teaching (see Civitillo, Juang, & Schachner, 2018; Gay & Kirkland, 2003). Policies, educational programmes and diversity management are adequate measures to evoke positive diversity outcomes within educational settings. Aimed at improving attitudes towards disadvantaged groups, diversity training often tends to focus on raising awareness of discrimination, thereby neglecting the role of privilege. However, critical consciousness of one's privilege is essential when teaching diverse students (Gay & Kirkland, 2003). Therefore, we examined a diversity-training exercise for preservice teachers aiming to increase awareness of ingroup privilege to improve

attitudes towards several disadvantaged outgroups (e.g., ethnic and sexual minorities).

DIVERSITY TRAINING

Defined as “any discrete programme, or set of programmes, which aims to influence participants to increase their positive—or decrease their negative—intergroup behaviours, such that less prejudice or discrimination is displayed towards others perceived as different in their group affiliation(s)” (Pendry, Driscoll, & Field, 2007, p. 29), diversity training includes a wide range of different programmes used at workplaces and in educational settings (Paluck, 2006). Diversity training often focusses on raising awareness of diversity and educating about associated issues such as discrimination

Correspondence should be addressed to Franziska Ehrke, FB 8-Psychology, University of Koblenz-Landau, Fortstraße 7, 76829 Landau/Pfalz, Germany. (E-mail: ehrke@uni-landau.de)

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(awareness training); or it teaches practical skills for dealing with diversity and prejudice as well as promoting social justice (skill-building training; Ferdman & Brody, 1996). Although awareness-raising is the main goal of most diversity-training programmes, both approaches are often combined (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012; Ferdman & Brody, 1996) and, together, produce larger effects (Bezrukova, Spell, Perry, & Jehn, 2016). Similarly, diversity training can focus either on one specific diversity dimension (e.g., gender training), or it can follow an inclusive approach by addressing several diversity dimensions and dealing with fundamental mechanisms of discrimination (e.g., stereotyping, see Bezrukova et al., 2012). Diversity-training methods range from instruction-oriented to experimental (Paluck, 2006). Experience-based experimental methods like simulations, role-playing games, or discussions can ease transferring knowledge and skills to real-life situations (Ferdman & Brody, 1996). Diversity education for preservice teachers is similarly diverse and research regarding its effectiveness struggles with the same shortcomings as diversity-training research: Both are in strong need of quantitative studies with longitudinal-control-group designs that evaluate training effectiveness with adequate test power using non-elective samples, particularly from outside the USA (e.g., Civitillo et al., 2018; Paluck, 2006). Moreover, practitioners often do not base their diversity training on research or theoretical concepts, even though social-psychological theories provide a broad base for developing effective strategies to improve intergroup attitudes (see Ehrke & Steffens, 2015). Similarly, psychologists have neglected research on diversity-training effectiveness; particularly, the question *how* and *why* diversity training succeeds (see Bezrukova et al., 2016; Paluck, 2006).

Previous findings of diversity-training effectiveness showed rather mixed results: Some programmes were successful, while others were not, and a few actually increased prejudice among some participants (e.g., Hood, Muller, & Seitz, 2001). But because diversity training varies on a broad spectrum of different features (e.g., duration, setting), and researchers used a wide range of theoretical perspectives, methodologies and outcomes when designing and evaluating diversity-training programmes, it is difficult to compare them regarding their effectiveness (Bezrukova et al., 2012). Recent meta-analytic findings revealed some of these factors (e.g., *mandatory* versus *voluntary* participation, *organisational* versus *educational* settings) as less influential than previously expected, whereas other factors (e.g., bigger proportion of female participants, longer duration) predicted larger overall effect sizes (Bezrukova et al., 2016). Regarding intergroup attitudes, reviewing diversity-training programmes with college students, Engberg (2004) concluded that, although some were ineffective, diversity workshops generally reduced racial

bias. Also, sexist (Ehrke, Berthold, & Steffens, 2014) and heterosexist attitudes (Madera, King, & Hebl, 2013) were improved through diversity training. Nonetheless, past diversity training—though generally successful—has been less effective in causing attitudinal changes as compared to other outcomes (e.g., knowledge, training satisfaction, Bezrukova et al., 2016). Thus, it remains unclear which specific features make diversity training succeed in improving intergroup attitudes.

Also, until now diversity-training research has predominantly addressed the discrimination of disadvantaged groups but neglected to investigate the role of privilege of advantaged groups as the flip side of discrimination (McIntosh, 2012). However, thinking of group-based inequality as ingroup advantage rather than outgroup disadvantage could change the outcomes of diversity training. With diversity training still in need of more effective strategies to improve intergroup attitudes, this study, therefore, examines the role of *raising awareness of ingroup privilege* for improving outgroup attitudes with diversity training.

AWARENESS OF INGROUP PRIVILEGE

Psychologists have studied various issues and concepts connected to privilege, but often without analysing its effects directly: Social psychologists have examined stereotyping, implicit and explicit forms of prejudice, as well as old-fashioned and modern forms of discrimination (see Case, Iuzzini, & Hopkins, 2012). In other words, previous research has focussed particularly on discrimination and oppression of disadvantaged groups, without paying much attention to privileged groups. However, discrimination and disadvantage of one group go along with (systems of) privilege and power of others (McIntosh, 2012).

Recently, social psychologists have started investigating the role of privilege as the up-side of discrimination and its meaning for members of advantaged groups (Case et al., 2012; McIntosh, 2012). Privilege can be “defined in relational terms and in reference to social groups, and involves unearned benefits afforded to powerful social groups within systems of oppression” (Case et al., 2012, p. 3). Privilege focusses on macro-level systems that create and maintain unearned benefits for certain groups, thereby challenging beliefs in the existence of group equality and meritocracy. As social norms of dominant groups are transferred into generalised normative expectations for disadvantaged groups (see Case et al., 2012), members of powerful groups struggle to acknowledge their own privilege. Being considered the norm makes privileged identities less salient and relevant, giving members of privileged groups the option of avoiding awareness of privilege and oppression (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). However, privilege awareness is critical when teaching

diverse students: Gay and Kirkland (2003) stressed the importance of educating prospective teachers in developing critical consciousness, which involves “unpacking unequal distributions of power and privilege” (p. 181) and self-reflecting their position within the specific social context in which they teach. Self-reflective discussions in combination with experiential learning were also most promising for improving prospective teachers’ beliefs about cultural diversity (Civitillo et al., 2018).

Platt (2013) set up three goals for *teaching about privilege*: (a) increasing awareness and knowledge of privilege, (b) increasing empathy and compassion for those who do not possess privilege and (c) promoting action for initiating societal change. Therefore, it is important to use an *intersectional approach* which recognises that individuals and groups are multidimensional and that their experiences or concerns are not mutually exclusive (Ferber & O’Reilly Herrera, 2013): Only by adopting an intersectional approach one can develop successful strategies for combating discrimination and oppression in its different forms. This includes analysing how race, gender and other categories interact as part of a *matrix of privilege and oppression* within a bigger system of inequality (Ferber & O’Reilly Herrera, 2013). Such an approach prevents overlooking intersectional effects of different diversity dimensions (e.g., Zerai, 2000), helps to understand the interdependent, complex interaction between privilege and oppression, and can reduce resistance from members of advantaged groups (see Ferber & O’Reilly Herrera, 2013). In this context, McIntosh (2012) emphasised that “we all have both privilege and disadvantage” (p. 203), implying that people enjoy privilege due to some of their group memberships (e.g., White), and disadvantage due to others (e.g., woman).

Regarding the relationship between privilege awareness and intergroup attitudes, previous research predominantly focussed on White-privilege awareness to reduce racism and promote support of Blacks. When inequality was presented as ingroup privilege, Whites were attracted to privilege-reducing policies to repair the reputation of their racial ingroup (e.g., Lowery, Chow, Knowles, & Unzueta, 2012). Furthermore, privilege awareness combined with empowerment (believing in the power to promote social change) improved attitudes towards outgroups (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips, & Ted Denney, 2012). These experimental findings suggest that raising awareness of ingroup privilege could be a promising strategy to improve outgroup attitudes and support previous efforts of integrating privilege content into diversity training (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007; Case, 2007a, 2007b). Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge, there are no direct tests of this hypothesis yet. Although Case demonstrated that comprehensive 15-week diversity courses increased awareness of male privilege (Case, 2007a) and White privilege (Case, 2007b), and improved intergroup attitudes (e.g., support for affirmative action,

reduced sexism), her courses covered a wide range of gender and race-related topics. Therefore, it is still unclear to what extent the discussion of privileges contributed to the found effects. Furthermore, with the majority of her participants being women, Case (2007b) did not exclusively examine ingroup privilege but, for the most part, awareness of outgroup (male) privilege. In our study, we therefore aimed at developing a brief diversity training that specifically aimed at raising awareness of *ingroup* privilege to test whether this can cause more positive attitudes towards disadvantaged outgroups.

THE CURRENT STUDY

We had two research objectives. First, we aimed at developing a diversity-training exercise for prospective teachers, testing whether it increases awareness of ingroup privilege. Second, we tested whether raising privilege awareness is an effective strategy to improve outgroup attitudes. With previous research suggesting smaller effects of diversity training regarding affective/attitudinal outcomes (see Bezrukova et al., 2016), we aimed at providing a more comprehensive picture by including both affective and cognitive attitude measures.

As we based the development of our training on theoretical work regarding privilege (e.g., McIntosh, 2012; Platt, 2013), we hypothesised our training to increase awareness of ingroup privilege (Hypothesis 1). Based on previous research that privilege awareness (Stewart et al., 2012) as well as diversity training (Ehrke et al., 2014; Engberg, 2004; Madera et al., 2013) improved attitudes towards various disadvantaged outgroups, we expected the privilege-awareness training to improve (a) affective and (b) cognitive outgroup attitudes (Hypothesis 2a-b). In line with the expected causal order, we hypothesised that increased ingroup-privilege awareness 1 week after training mediates improved outgroup attitudes 2 weeks after training (Hypothesis 3).

H1. The privilege-awareness training increases awareness of ingroup privilege.

H2. The privilege-awareness training improves (a) affective and (b) cognitive outgroup attitudes.

H3. Increased ingroup-privilege awareness 1 week after training mediates improved outgroup attitudes 2 weeks after training.

In order to assess intra-individual changes in privilege awareness and its delayed mediating impact on attitudes, we used a longitudinal control-group design. Additionally, we tested training effects on awareness of discrimination to examine whether our training specifically affects privilege awareness and no other potentially related constructs. This also allowed us to disguise the central purpose of our study.

Procedure Timeline

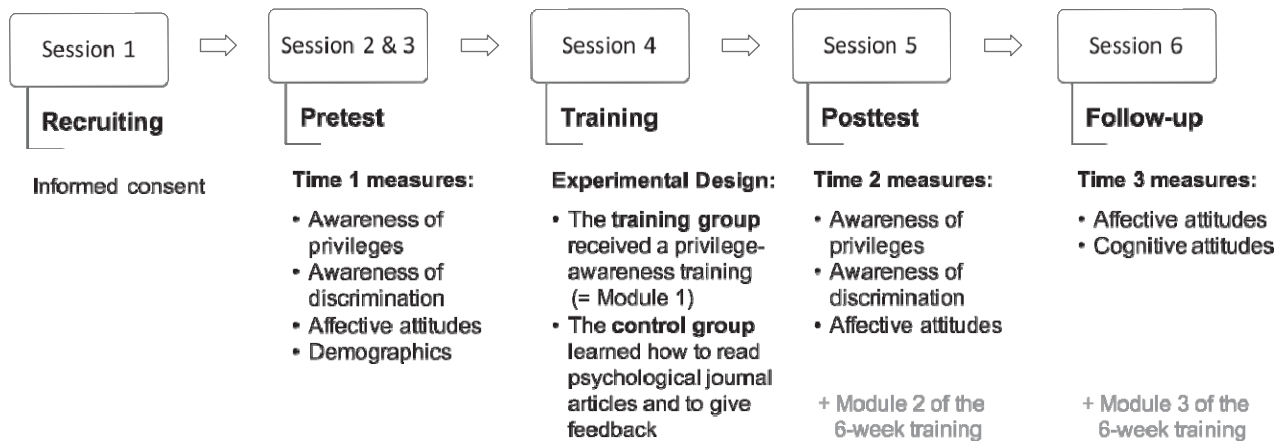


Figure 1. Schematic overview of the procedure's timeline for course sessions, measurements and training, including information which measures were obtained at each time of measurement. The privilege-awareness training is Module 1 of a 6-week diversity training with 6 modules overall. Gaps between sessions were 1 week, except for 5 weeks between Sessions 3 and 4.

METHOD

Participants

An a priori power analysis suggested a sample size of at least 84 participants to detect small-sized within-between interaction effects ($f = 0.2$) with a test power of $1 - \beta = .95$ and $\alpha = .05$ (assumed $r = .5$) with repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVAs; two groups, two measurement times). Compensating for expected drop-out, we aimed to recruit 120 participants.

We recruited participants among 122 first-year students of educational sciences who attended one of four parallel introductory social-psychology courses (elected from a pool of different psychology and social-studies courses) at a German University. Although participation in the course was mandatory for their studies, the accompanying study was voluntary. A total of 121 students consented to participate. However, some students missed either the training ($n = 4$), at least one measurement ($n = 4$), or were excluded because of low data quality ($n = 1$, i.e., ignorance of reversed items). Our final sample consisted of $N = 112$ students (81 woman, 31 men, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.72$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.34$, range: 18–35 years). Four participants indicated a non-heterosexual orientation (1 lesbian, 2 bisexuals, 1 pansexual) and 16 participants had a migrant background (i.e., parents or grandparents immigrated to Germany). All participants were compensated with extra course credit (needed for their studies).

Design

We implemented a repeated-measures randomised control-group experiment with three times of measurement (pre-test, post-test, follow-up). After registering for

the social-psychology course, we assigned participants randomly to one of four course groups (two per experimental condition), *training group*: $n = 58$ participants (16 men, 42 women, 9 with migrant background, 2 bisexuals); *control group*: $n = 54$ (15 men, 39 women, 7 with migrant background, 1 lesbian and 1 pansexual).

Procedure

Figure 1 provides an overview of the procedure's timeline and measures. The privilege-awareness training was Module 1 of a full diversity training conducted over a 6-week period (one module per week) starting in Session 4 of the social-psychology course. During Session 1, we offered the students of four courses to participate in our social-psychological study aiming to evaluate training exercises that they (training group) or students of other courses (control group) would receive. All students received written information about purpose, procedure and compensation, including clarification about their ethical rights and assuring that participation was voluntary with no disadvantages for non-participants. We asked them to not discuss study details with each other. Due to discussing potentially sensitive topics, training participants agreed to treat the sessions confidential.

Pre-training measures (Time 1) were obtained in Sessions 2–3. 5 weeks later, in Session 4, only the training group received the privilege-awareness training (details of course content in the control group, see Appendix S1). Post-training measures (Time 2) were obtained 1 week later in Session 5. Afterwards but during the same session, training participants received Module 2 (summary, see Appendix S2) of the full training. 1 week later, follow-up measures (Time 3) were collected, which allowed us to test the delayed mediations on outgroup attitudes via

privilege awareness. Working with paper-pencil questionnaires, we reduced drop-outs by providing students who missed measurement sessions with online versions of the respective questionnaires (Time 1–3: $n = 6$).

Both training courses were taught by the same experienced trainer not involved in the study. She was provided with a training manual outlining the precise procedure and received several hours of preparation. Although the aims of each training module were communicated to the trainer, the specific hypotheses and measures were not. Control courses were taught by the first author.

All procedures were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. Informed consent was obtained from all adult participants included in the study.

PRIVILEGE-AWARENESS TRAINING

The overall 90-minute privilege-awareness training (Module 1) consisted of three parts (Appendix S3: Training manual). Part 1, an *experience-based simulation*, put some participants in a privileged position and confronted others with disadvantage merely on the bases of seats chosen in the classroom. The trainer centred a paper basket in front of the students and challenged them to score a hit by throwing paper balls into the basket. Everyone had only one chance to score. Providing an incentive with real stakes, it was announced that whoever succeeded was excused from doing a time-consuming homework. Since some students (sitting directly in front of the basket) were more likely to succeed while others (sitting further away) were more likely to fail, this led some students to express concerns regarding the exercise's fairness. These concerns were used to evaluate the simulation by reflecting the ambivalent feelings associated with experiencing privilege (i.e., unearned benefits) and (undeserved) disadvantage (see Case et al., 2012). During this evaluation, everyone was excused from doing the homework.

In Part 2, participants were introduced to the *Matrix of Privilege and Oppression* (adapted from Adams et al., 2007). In line with our intersectional approach, participants collected various privileged (e.g., men) and disadvantaged groups (e.g., women) along a broad variety of diversity dimensions (e.g., gender/sexual identity, colour, nationality, ability) and reflected upon their ingroup memberships (e.g., male vs. female, cisgender vs. intersex, trans, queer, genderfluid) and associated privileges and disadvantages. In reference to McIntosh (2012), they were taught that they “all have both” (p. 203). Additionally, we demonstrated how the power positions of different

social groups interact with each other in systems of privilege and oppression (e.g., Ferber & O'Reilly Herrera, 2013).

In Part 3, participants learned that these systems can be changed and how dealing with privilege can help to maintain or improve the status quo. Building on the (3D) model of White identity management (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014), participants learned about three possible reactions to ingroup privilege: (a) denying its existence, (b) distancing one's self-concept from the privileged group, or (c) dismantling systems of privilege. *Dismantling* is the most functional and supportive reaction with regard to disadvantaged outgroups because people could embrace policies and behaviours aimed at reducing ingroup privilege and start to signal their egalitarian intentions as members of the dominant group. Therefore, participants were taught *how to deal with privilege* in a positive way by promoting social change and a variety of specific projects (e.g., *schools without racism – schools with courage*) and possibilities to support disadvantaged groups were discussed.

MEASURES

Balancing economic considerations with the need for reliable and subtle measures, we did not administer all measures at each measurement time (see Figure 1). At Time 1–2, we assessed *awareness of ingroup privilege* together with *awareness of outgroup discrimination* for two methodological reasons: (a) disguising the central purpose of our study, and (b) including a measure with similar social desirability, but not targeted by the intervention. As *affective outgroup attitudes*, we measured *outgroup feelings* towards several disadvantaged outgroups with one item per group at Time 1–3. We complemented these at Time 3 with more extensive established *cognitive outgroup attitude* scales: We chose *homonegativity* and *subtle prejudice towards immigrants* because previous diversity training successfully improved attitudes towards ethnic and sexual minorities (Engberg, 2004; Madera et al., 2013).

If not mentioned otherwise, participants rated statements on 7-point Likert-scales (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*) regarding awareness measures and on 9-point Likert-scales (1 = *strongly disagree* and 9 = *strongly agree*) regarding all attitude measures (see Appendix S4: Details of all measures; Appendix S5: Intercorrelations among measures). Respective items were averaged such that higher values indicate a higher manifestation of the measured construct.¹ Measures were obtained in the described order.

¹For the evaluation of the full diversity training (all 6 modules), we obtained several additional measures (e.g., pre-test measures of potential moderators) at all times of measurement that were not central for evaluating the exercise presented in this study.

Awareness of ingroup privilege

Adapting Iyer, Leach, and Crosby's (2003) measure of beliefs in illegitimate White privilege, we assessed privilege awareness *regarding ingroup memberships in general* at Time 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$) and Time 2 ($\alpha = .89$) with four items (e.g., "Because I belong to certain social groups I am granted unearned privileges").

Awareness of outgroup discrimination

We adapted the subscale *empathic awareness* of the *scale of ethno-cultural empathy* (Wang et al., 2003) to measure awareness of discrimination *regarding people belonging to other social groups* at Time 1 ($\alpha = .74$) and Time 2 ($\alpha = .75$) with four items (e.g., "There are institutional barriers in Germany that discriminate against people of social groups other than my own").

Outgroup feelings

As an affective measure of outgroup attitudes, we measured outgroup feelings with one item adapted from the subtle prejudice scale (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; "How often do you feel sympathy for the following groups living in Germany?"; 1 = *never* and 9 = *very often*). At all three times of measurement, we measured sympathy towards nine disadvantaged outgroups in this order: immigrants, Turks, people with disabilities, refugees, gay men, lesbians, elderly people (60+), people of dark-coloured skin and Muslims.

Homonegativity

As a cognitive attitude measure towards gay men and lesbians, we adapted 11 items of the modern homonegativity scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003; e.g., "Gay men and lesbians do not have all the rights they need") and added 5 items measuring old-fashioned homonegativity (Herek & McLemore, 2011; e.g., "I think gay men and lesbians are disgusting"), creating an overall homonegativity score at Time 3 ($\alpha = .90$).

Subtle prejudice towards immigrants

We adapted items from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) to measure subtle prejudice towards immigrants in Germany at Time 3. For this cognitive-attitude measure, we created separate scores for subtle prejudice *regarding traditional values* ($\alpha = .73$, 4 items; e.g., "If immigrants would try harder they could be as well off as Germans") and *regarding cultural differences* ($\alpha = .78$; 4 items,

e.g., "Please, indicate how you perceive similarities and differences between immigrants living here and the majority of Germans regarding the values that they teach their children"; 1 = *many similarities* and 9 = *many differences*).

RESULTS

We conducted significance tests with $\alpha \leq .05$. A preliminary multivariate analysis of variance showed no significant differences between the control and training group at Time 1 regarding awareness of privileges, awareness of discrimination and outgroup feelings towards all nine disadvantaged outgroups, $F(11,100) < 1$.

Four participants belonging to a sexual minority were excluded from analyses regarding outgroup attitudes towards sexual minorities. Similarly, outgroup feelings towards ethnic minorities and subtle prejudice towards immigrants were analysed including only participants *without* migrant background.² Also, participants' age and gender did not affect results which therefore are reported without these covariates.

Awareness of ingroup privilege and outgroup discrimination

Figure 2 shows the means for awareness of privilege and discrimination before and after the training, separately for both experimental groups (means and standard deviations of all dependent measures of both experimental groups, see Appendix S6). Preliminary *t*-tests indicated that participants were generally less aware of ingroup privilege than outgroup discrimination at Time 1, $t(111) = -6.46$, $p < .001$ and Time 2, $t(111) = -2.11$, $p = .037$.

Testing Hypothesis 1 that the privilege-awareness training increases privilege awareness, we conducted a 2 (Time 1, Time 2) \times 2 (control group, training group) ANOVA with repeated measures on the first factor. In addition to a main effect of time, $F(1,110) = 32.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$, indicating a general increase in privilege awareness 1 week after training, we found the expected Time \times Group interaction, $F(1,110) = 8.67$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Confirming Hypothesis 1, post-hoc tests of simple main effects showed training participants were significantly more aware of ingroup privilege 1 week after training than before, $F(1,110) = 38.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$, whereas control-group participants were not, all other $F_s(1,110) < 3.61$, $p_s > .059$, $\eta_p^2_s \leq .03$. In contrast, the same repeated-measures ANOVA showed that awareness of discrimination was not affected by training nor time, all $F_s(1,110) < 2.33$, $p_s > .130$, $\eta_p^2_s \leq .02$.

²All patterns of (non) significant findings were similar if including only heterosexual participants without migrant background ($n = 92$).

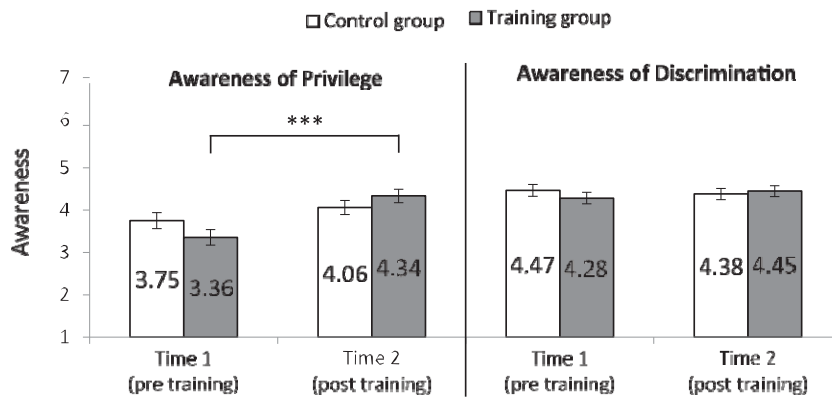


Figure 2. Means for awareness of privilege and discrimination before (Time 1) and after the privilege-awareness training (Time 2), separately for the control and training group. Error bars represent standard errors of means. *** $p < .001$.

Outgroup attitudes

Preliminary *t*-tests indicated that pre-training feelings towards all nine outgroups were rather positive (all $M_s > 5.50$, scales 1–9; details see Appendix S6), with average scores significantly above the scales midpoint of 5 (all $t_s > 3.47$, $p_s \leq .001$). Testing whether our training improved affective attitudes (Hypothesis 2a), we conducted 3 (Time 1, Time 2, Time 3) \times 2 (control group, training group) ANOVAs with repeated measures on the first factor, separately for feelings towards each of the nine outgroups. The results did not confirm our prediction: There were no significant Time \times Group interactions regarding feelings towards any of the outgroups, all $F_s < 2.75$, $p_s > .069$, $\eta_p^2_s \leq .06$. Of minor interest, a significant main effect of time regarding outgroup feelings towards *Turks*, $F(2,90) = 3.48$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$ [full sample: $F(2,108) = 3.92$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$], indicated that *all* participants showed more negative feelings towards *Turks* at Time 2 ($M_{t2} = 5.16$, $SD_{t2} = 1.35$) than Time 1 ($M_{t1} = 5.46$, $SD_{t1} = 1.48$). However, post hoc tests showed no significant reduction in outgroup feelings neither in the control nor the training group (respective means and standard deviations, see Appendix S4), both $F_s(2,90) < 1.90$, $p_s > .155$, $\eta_p^2_s \leq .04$. This unexpected main effect will not be discussed.

We tested Hypothesis 2b regarding cognitive attitudes for *homonegativity* and *subtle prejudice* with one-way ANOVAs. There were no significant differences between training and control group at Time 3 neither in *homonegativity*, $F(1,106) < 1$, nor in *subtle prejudice* regarding *traditional values* or *cultural differences*, both $F_s(1,91) < 1$.

Mediations on outgroup attitudes via awareness of ingroup privilege

Nonetheless, because direct effects are not a prerequisite for indirect effects (see Hayes, 2018) we then tested our mediation hypotheses. Examining whether the

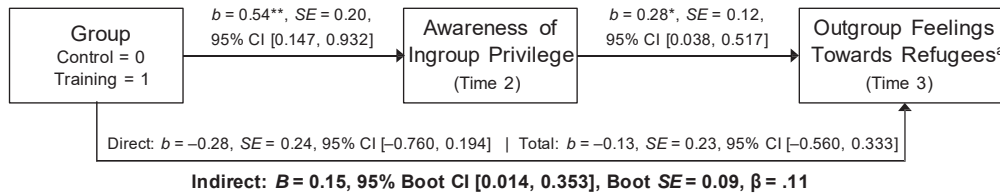
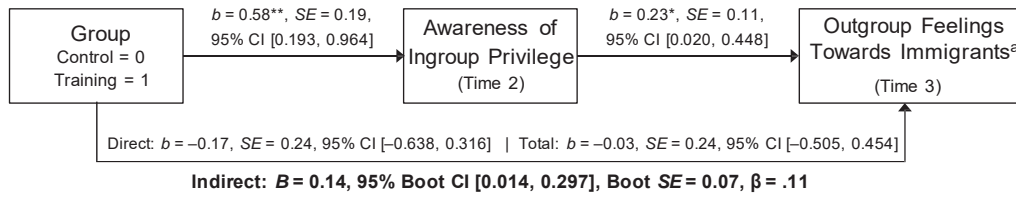
privilege-awareness training (0: control group, 1: training group) improved outgroup attitudes at Time 3 via increasing privilege awareness at Time 2, we estimated confidence intervals and heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors (HC3) of the indirect effects with 10,000 bootstraps (Model 4, PROCESS 3.0, see Hayes, 2018), including Time 1 measures of the mediator and outcome as covariates. As we did not administer Time 1 measures of homonegativity and subtle prejudice towards immigrants, we instead controlled for feelings towards the respective outgroups at Time 1.

Figure 3 presents the mediation models with the significant indirect training effects on outgroup attitudes at Time 3 via privilege awareness at Time 2. There were significant indirect training effects on affective attitudes, resulting in more positive *outgroup feelings towards immigrants* and *towards refugees* at Time 3 via increased privilege awareness at Time 2, but no mediations on outgroup feelings towards *Turks*, people of dark-coloured skin, Muslims, gay men, lesbians, disabled people, or elderly people. Furthermore, the training showed significant indirect effects on cognitive attitudes resulting in reduced *homonegativity* and reduced subtle prejudice regarding *traditional values* at Time 3 via increased privilege awareness at Time 2, but not on subtle prejudice regarding cultural differences. In sum, the data supported our mediation hypothesis that the privilege-awareness training leads to (a) more positive feelings towards immigrants and refugees and (b) reduced subtle prejudice towards immigrants and reduced homonegativity 2 weeks after training mediated via increased privilege awareness 1 week after training, while there were no significant total or direct effects on outgroup attitudes.

DISCUSSION

The current study extends previous diversity-training research by applying theoretical work on ingroup privilege (as the counterpart of outgroup discrimination) to

(a) Indirect Effects on Affective Attitudes



(b) Indirect Effects on Cognitive Attitudes

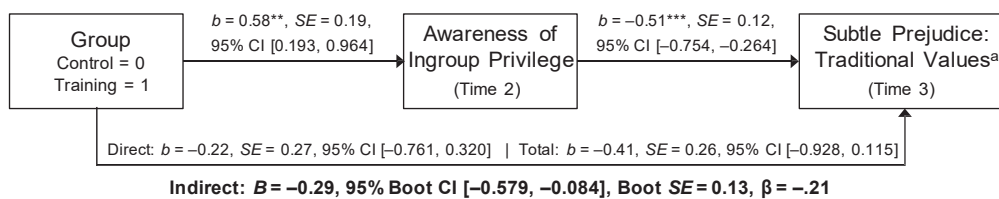
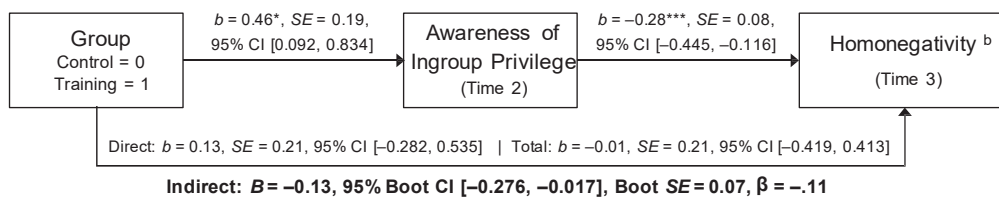


Figure 3. Mediation models with indirect, total and direct training effects on outgroup attitudes at Time 3 via ingroup-privilege awareness at Time 2 regarding (a) more positive outgroup feelings towards immigrants and refugees and (b) reduced homonegativity and subtle prejudice towards immigrants regarding traditional values. Partially standardised β s indicate effect sizes of the indirect effects. ^a $N = 94$, ^b $N = 108$. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

the development of diversity training and testing over time whether privilege-awareness training can increase awareness of ingroup privilege and improve outgroup attitudes. In line with Hypothesis 1, we showed that a brief diversity-training exercise increased awareness of privilege (not awareness of discrimination) in pre-service teachers 1 week after training, extending previous research by using a randomised control-group design instead of a within-subject design. Furthermore, going beyond previous research that focussed on privilege awareness as an outcome (Case, 2007a, 2007b), we even provided some evidence that privilege awareness could function as a working mechanism of our training. In support of Hypothesis 3, increasing privilege awareness (1 week after training) mediated more positive

attitudes towards disadvantaged outgroups (2 weeks after training). More specifically, we found indirect effects of the privilege-awareness training on (a) improved outgroup feelings towards immigrants and refugees, and (b) reduced subtle prejudice towards immigrants regarding traditional values and less homonegativity towards gay men and lesbians. Showing that increased privilege awareness mediated less homonegativity while feelings towards gay men and lesbians were not improved emphasises the need to include both affective and cognitive measures into evaluations to gain a comprehensive picture of diversity-training effects.

However, outgroup feelings towards several specific outgroups in Germany (e.g., Turks, Muslims) were not mediated via increased privilege awareness, nor did we

find support of Hypothesis 2: The privilege-awareness training showed no total effects on outgroup attitudes. There could be several reasons for this: First, in comparison with previous rather extensive diversity training (e.g., 15 weeks, Case, 2007a, 2007b), our exercise lasted only 90 minutes. Second, stand-alone training is less effective and attitudinal improvements of past diversity training have been found to be generally smaller and decay over time (Bezrukova et al., 2016). Third, our results could indicate that it is more successful to address ingroup privilege together with discussing the discrimination disadvantaged outgroups face. Furthermore, this could suggest other mediators and/or moderators hampering the positive effects of our training on outgroup attitudes. Previous research showed that framing inequality as ingroup privilege instead of undeserved disadvantage of outgroups can lead to meritocratic and group-image threat (e.g., Knowles et al., 2014). Meritocratic threat arises when people from privileged groups become aware of the possibility that their accomplishments in life were not fully earned, while group-image threat arises when they associate themselves with groups that benefit from unfair advantages. Thus, people have to manage their privilege in ways that dispel these threats. As previous research found negative effects of diversity training for the traditionally privileged group of White men (Hood et al., 2001), future research should address this limitation by including threat measures in evaluations of privilege-awareness training and apply threat-reducing strategies during training.

Whereas previous research on privilege awareness predominantly focused on awareness of White privilege to reduce racism (see McIntosh, 2012), we approached ingroup-privilege awareness more broadly (i.e., independently from specific diversity dimensions) and demonstrated its relationship with attitudes towards immigrants, refugees and sexual minorities. However, this broader operationalisation could explain why privilege awareness mediated feelings towards some—but not all—disadvantaged outgroups. Immigrants and refugees are more inclusive categories comprising a variety of different groups whereas Turks or Muslims as well as people with disabilities are more specific groups. Thus, future research could uncover mediations on feelings towards specific disadvantaged outgroups by measuring privilege awareness regarding specific ingroups (e.g., privilege awareness associated with being Christian regarding outgroup feelings towards Muslims).

Moreover, there could be further features that set immigrants and refugees apart from the other disadvantaged groups in our study. First, having successfully migrated or fled from war could signal higher agency and result in more positive intergroup evaluations. Second, group membership of being an immigrant or refugee could be therefore perceived as more permeable and less defining than more stable individual characteristics such

as skin colour, disability or age. Third, with the refugee movement on its height immigrants and refugees were the most salient disadvantaged outgroups in Germany during the time of our training in 2016. This could have led participants to think more of both of these groups during training—perhaps making the privilege of our German participants more salient in comparison to immigrants and refugees than towards other groups. Additionally, similar to previous research showing that Whites were attracted to redistributive policies to repair the reputation of the racial ingroup when inequality was presented as ingroup privilege (Lowery et al., 2012), this may also work vice versa: The welcoming atmosphere towards refugees and reports all over mainstream media about the many volunteers in Germany providing help to refugees during 2016 could have facilitated participants recognising their ingroup privilege with regard to immigrants and refugees because many ingroup members were in the (privileged) position to provide support.

We showed that our exercise specifically increased awareness of ingroup privilege, but not discrimination—thereby excluding social desirability as an alternative explanation of the training effects. Moreover, our participants were less aware of privilege than discrimination stressing the need for privilege-awareness interventions and supporting previous research suggesting blindness for privilege relative to awareness of discrimination (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). As previous research predominantly focussed on raising awareness of discrimination, future research should address cumulative and interaction effects of raising awareness of both privilege and discrimination.

Furthermore, Module 2 of our full training could have influenced outgroup attitudes at Time 3. However, we did not find total or direct effects of Module 1 on outgroup attitudes at Time 2 and no combined effects of Modules 1 and 2 at Time 3. Thus, Module 2 did not improve intergroup attitudes at Time 3. Nonetheless, Module 2 could have impaired potential (delayed) positive effects of Module 1 on outgroup attitudes at Time 3. Therefore, future research should investigate interacting effects of different diversity-training exercises, examining whether other exercises increase or hamper the effectiveness of privilege-awareness training, or vice versa. Moreover, future research should examine which specific parts of our privilege-awareness training are essential for the found effects.

Using an intersectional approach, our findings support previous research suggesting an inclusive approach of simultaneously focussing on several diversity dimensions as beneficial for diversity training (see Bezrukova et al., 2012). However, future research should also apply an intersectional approach and consider participants' multiple identities in analyses, both methodologically difficult in intervention research with small samples. Using broader operationalisations such as measuring privilege

awareness regarding social identities in general could be an economic alternative.

Finally, with its applied approach, our research adds external validity to the field of privilege-awareness research. Nevertheless, our training was conducted in a specific context with pre-service teachers. Thus, future research should examine how our findings generalise to other contexts and participants.

CONCLUSION

It is crucial to educate teachers about diversity so that students coming from different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds have equal opportunities regarding their education. This study clearly established that a brief diversity training effectively raised preservice teachers' privilege awareness and thereby affected their out-group attitudes towards ethnic and sexual minorities. Because teachers are disseminators who may pass on their knowledge, awareness and more positive attitudes to colleagues and students and promote harmonious intergroup relations among students in their diverse classrooms, a short exercise on privilege—as the flip side of discrimination—may thus have large effects in practise.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Appendix S1-S6: Supporting information

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