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Dr. Kenneth Tyler, Director of Graduate Studies

EXAMINING RACISM AND WHITE ALLYSHIP AMONG
COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGISTS

DISSERTATION

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

By
Kathryn Haynes Owen

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Danelle Stevens-Watkins, Associate Professor of Counseling Psychology

Lexington, Kentucky

2017

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

EXAMINING RACISM AND WHITE ALLYSHIP AMONG COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGISTS

Historically, research has focused on White individuals' initial responses to learning about White privilege and other indicators of early stages of racial awareness and identity development. However, the literature is relatively sparse regarding understanding the experiences of racial identity development in White individuals who are beyond initial introductions to racial awareness, such as Counseling Psychologists (CPs). The assumption is that Counseling Psychology professionals are adequately trained to provide efficacious mental health services and engage in culturally sensitive work activities; however, research indicates that Black clients, colleagues, and graduate students experience racism, such as microaggressions, when interacting with White CPs.

The current study seeks to address the overarching question: how do White Counseling Psychology faculty members understand their experiences with racism towards Black Americans? Ten White Counseling Psychologists were interviewed, and their interview data were analyzed with Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA explored the unique perspectives and meaning-making processes that White Counseling Psychologists employed when discussing their experiences with racism against Black Americans. Findings elucidated how racism and allyship manifested variably among White CPs. Participants ranged from individuals engaged in advocacy work to individuals who actively defend the academy as a White space. Findings were organized into five overarching themes, including: White Privilege to Emotionally Distance Self from the Realities of Racism, Struggles to Engaging in Allyship, Honest Self-Awareness and Reflection, Intentional Advocacy, and Perceives Racism in their Environments. Recommendations were proffered to inform imperative training and allyship opportunities for White Counseling Psychologists in academia.

KEYWORDS: Racism, White Privilege, Advocacy, Counseling Psychology, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Kathryn Haynes Owen

March 15, 2017

Date

EXAMINING RACISM AND WHITE ALLYSHIP AMONG
COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGISTS

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Chapter One: Background

Historically, research has focused on White individuals' initial responses to learning about White privilege (WP) and other indicators of early stages of White racial identity development (WRID). Various empirical studies (e.g., Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Case, 2007; Cornelius, 1998; Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1998) and books (e.g., Kendall, 2006; O'Brien, 2001; Wise, 2008) address how White individuals begin to explore and understand their own racial identities. However, the literature is relatively sparse regarding the experiences of racial identity development in White individuals, such as Counseling Psychologists (CPs), who are beyond initial introductions to racial awareness and identity development. CPs are in a professional field that promotes diversity and strives to produce multiculturally competent clinicians, scholars, and researchers (Council of Counseling Psychology Training Programs, Association of Counseling Center Training Agencies, & Society of Counseling Psychology, 2009; Packard, 2009). The assumption is that Counseling Psychology professionals are adequately trained to provide efficacious counseling services and engage in culturally sensitive work activities; however, research indicates that Black clients, colleagues, and graduate students experience racism, such as microaggressions, when interacting with White CPs (Constantine, 2007; Constantine, Smith, Redington, & Owens, 2008). Unfortunately, more investigation is needed to identify how WRID and awareness of WP manifest in CPs' interactions with Black individuals, particularly beyond graduate school and clinical settings.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the perspectives of racism and advocacy against racial injustice among White Counseling Psychology faculty. The

present study will focus specifically on racism and ally development towards Black Americans. The delineation and focus on Black Americans is due to the reality that different racial and ethnic groups evoke different responses from White Americans (Helms, 1984). Black Americans have had a unique history in the United States that is unlike any other racial or ethnic group. Black Americans' history in America is plagued by violent oppression from slavery to Reconstruction to government-sanctioned racism in the "Jim Crow" South (Omi & Winant, 2015) to present-day oppressions (e.g., police brutality, racialized poverty).

Although many White CPs desire to not perpetuate racism towards Black Americans, White CPs are unable to escape their privileged status given the embedded nature of Whiteness and WP within American society (Sue, 2004). Therefore, they are unlikely to be able to fully emancipate themselves from racist thoughts, affect, and behaviors. Though well-meaning, educated CP faculty may not engage in blatant forms of racism, more subtle forms of racism continue to exist (Dressel, Kerr, & Stevens, 2010) and could lead to important ramifications for clients, graduate students, and colleagues. Therefore, a need exists to explore how racism is understood and demonstrated among White, educated professionals in the Counseling Psychology field. Currently, literature exists by Black academicians who discuss racist experiences with White colleagues (e.g., Chambers, 2011; Constantine et al., 2008), though a gap exists regarding White academicians' perspectives on the issue. Specifically, greater exploration into racism among White CPs will help uncover unintentional, sophisticated racism and raise the awareness of White faculty members. By examining insidious racism among Counseling Psychology faculty members, such racism can be more effectively addressed and worked

through to facilitate further WRID, improve interracial faculty interactions, and provide models to White Counseling Psychology trainees.

Definition of the Problem

Racism manifests among well-meaning White people who desire to be antiracist, White allies to Black Americans. Though well-meaning individuals may be further along in their WRID than many others, their contribution to racism is particularly damaging. As members in a social-justice-oriented field, White Counseling Psychology faculty must be made aware of manifestations of their own racism, held accountable for their racist contributions, and aspire to rectify their perpetuation of racism. If they do not set a high standard of personal accountability, then White people at lower levels of racial awareness and racial identity development (e.g., graduate students and staff) are unlikely to follow.

The ubiquity of racism among White individuals is a direct consequence of White people's social indoctrination into a society that was created by and for White Americans (Sue, 2004). White individuals exist in the White habitus Bonilla-Silva (1997) defined as a "racialized socialization process that conditions and creates Whites' racial taste, perceptions, feelings, and emotions, and their views of racial matters" (p. 107). Counseling Psychology programs exist in the White habitus as well. Like air, White individuals do not sense their immersion in the White habitus or the power of its influence. The omnipresence of White supremacy in the United States envelopes both White and Black Americans. For Black Americans, White supremacy serves to create an unsafe, oppressive atmosphere that reinforces racism and subjugation. For White Americans, White supremacy blinds them to the reality of their privilege and facilitates the myth of meritocracy (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). To recognize WP and White supremacy

is to acknowledge the reality of White people's insidious and persistent racism against Black Americans and attempt to reconcile the goodness and prosperity of White people with the reality of their transgressions (Sue, 2011). Facing the reality of White supremacy and one's complicit role in White supremacy is a necessary process for well-meaning White individuals; however, the process is never-ending and requires hypervigilant self-evaluation. Unfortunately, White individuals' engagement in the process is often limited, and few scholars have examined how being fully engaged in a society saturated by WP impacts White CPs who aspire to be White allies.

Key Constructs

When exploring the development of a non-racist, White ally identity in White Counseling Psychology faculty members, comprehension of various constructs is necessitated, such as racism, antiracism, reverse racism, colorblind racism, White privilege, and ally development.

Racism. Thompson and Neville (1999) acknowledged the difficulty in defining racism due to the construct's complexity. However, Thompson and Neville (1999) delineated three tenets of racism. First, racism consists of structural and ideological components. Structural components include the way the United States is organized, which perpetuates and maintains White supremacy and discriminates against racial and ethnic minorities. Such structural components include greater access to graduate school for White individuals. Ideological components refer to the ideas about race and race relations that serve to maintain the status quo (i.e., White hegemony) by manifesting and perpetuating "false representations of racial minorities" (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165). Harmful ideologies may manifest in Counseling Psychology through devaluing

race-related research (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Weems, 2003) and viewing Black colleagues and graduate students as unintelligent when they are not speaking in a White dialect (Constantine et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2008).

The second tenet of racism contends that racism consists of four main themes: individual, institutional, cultural, and environmental (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Individual racism refers to personal situations in which discrimination occurs based on the perceived minority status of a Black American. Individual racism can only be perpetuated by White individuals because only White individuals have racial privilege (Jones, 2000; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978; Thompson & Neville, 1999). Institutional racism propagates the policies, practices, and norms that perpetuate inequality and restrict access of Black Americans thus limiting their presence in graduate school or academia overall. Moreover, the general culture of academia rejects change and attempts to force Black academicians to conform to the White habitus of academia (Ivey & Collins, 2003). Cultural racism is the practice of embracing White norms as typical and superior to the cultural practices or norms of non-White individuals, such as the engrained Whiteness in Counseling Psychology (Ivey & Collins, 2003; Sue, 1978).

Environmental racism refers to the racial discrimination embedded in the enforcement of ecological regulations and laws, particularly involving harmful pollutants in communities of color (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Thompson and Neville's (1999) final tenet of racism is that racism evolves over generations and across geographical regions. That is, racism is not static but changes with context to best promote White hegemony. For instance, overt racism would not be condoned by present-day White CPs, but portraying a

Black female faculty member as an “angry Black woman” is a common example of covert, individual racism (Hill Collins, 2000).

Though Thompson and Neville (1999) provided a comprehensive overview of racism, various other scholars have defined racism as well. Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, and Hodson (2002) delineated several aspects of contemporary racism against Black individuals. First, subtle, contemporary racism is evident in college admissions and hiring decisions and results in the discriminatory, disproportionate opportunities for White individuals. Secondly, unconscious racial bias leads to subtle racism (Dovidio et al., 2002; Guzman, Trevino, Lubugion, & Aryan, 2010). For instance, White individuals are often unaware that they are admitting and hiring White graduate students and faculty because they are prejudice and hold negative bias towards Black applicants. Implicit, unconscious bias also differentially influences perceptions of interracial interactions (Dovidio et al., 2002). For example, praising or touching a Black woman’s natural hair or Black man’s dreadlocks may convey exoticism or otherness, rather than a compliment.

Aversive racism. Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) coined the term aversive racism to capture the presumed support and advocacy for Black Americans while actually harboring (potentially unconscious) negative feelings and beliefs. They propose that aversive racism is now more common than overt racism (Henry & Sears, 2002; Omi & Winant, 2015) and often presents in ambiguous situations, such as decisions made by academic search committees and graduate school admissions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Aversive racism often reinforces the belief that old racism is the only type of racism and perpetuates racism based on sympathy and superiority, not hate (Dovidio &

Gaertner, 1986). CPs' participation in aversive racism is particularly harmful in that CPs are supposed to represent White allies against racism.

Silent racism. As one demonstration of aversive racism, Trepagnier (2010) explored how well-meaning, White individuals contributed to systemic racism using focus groups of White women who described themselves as non-racist. Trepagnier (2010) coined the term "silent racism" to describe the specific patterns of racism that emerged during the focus group discussions in relation to racist thoughts and actions towards Black Americans. Silent racism is characterized by paternalistic assumptions and racist stereotypes that pervade conversation without conscious awareness. Moreover, the capacity for racism, particularly silent racism, does not just arise in the face of prejudice or intentionality. Out of 25 participants, 24 women demonstrated silent racism while simultaneously identifying as non-racist. Trepagnier (2010) demonstrated that identifying as well-meaning or sympathetic to racism does not eliminate one's own racism.

Trepagnier (2010) stated that silent racism was in the minds of all White people. No White person can fully eradicate their capacity for racism, but White people can be 'more or less' racist (Trepagnier, 2010). Trepagnier (2010) argued that the focus of the race conversation should shift from if you are racist to degrees of race awareness. Race awareness consists of knowledge of history, current recognition of Whites' advantages to Blacks, and insight to one's own silent racism (Trepagnier, 2010). Importantly, one can be high or low in race awareness and be well-meaning; however, greater racial awareness was characterized by a clearer realization of one's own capacity for racism. Many well-

meaning, White CP faculty who are low in racial awareness may widely perpetuate silent, aversive racism towards Black students and colleagues.

Feminism and racism. Trepagneir's study (2010) with White women is an important study that demonstrates how well-meaning (even feminist) White women can unknowingly perpetuate racism. The feminist movement has been widely critiqued as perpetuating WP due to the lack of attention to varying needs of Black women (e.g., Adleman & Enguidanos-Clark, 1995; Frankenberg, 1993; Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1991). From its inception, White feminist leadership failed to acknowledge or include Black women's experiences of racism in their agenda. The mainstream feminist movement has opposed Black women's equality and full participation in the movement through consistent, yet often unintentional, gendered racism (hooks, 1991). The dangerous use of the sexism-racism analogy has led to the erroneous assumptions by many White women that they can understand African American's experience of racism because they experience oppression through sexism (Adleman & Enguidanos-Clark, 1995; hooks, 1991). Due to the wide acceptance of feminism in the Counseling Psychology field, feminist-identifying CPs need to be intentional in addressing their own racism. Feminism should not beget racism.

Antiracism. In direct contrast to racism, the construct of antiracism emerged. O'Brien (2001) defined antiracists as "people who have committed themselves in thought, action, and practices to dismantling racism" (p. 4). Antiracism includes a daily and vigilant opposition to racism (O'Brien, 2001). Trepagnier (2010) further defined antiracism as a moral stance of "acting against racism" as juxtaposed to a passive ideology. Furthermore, Trepagnier (2010) distinguished antiracist from non-racist.

White individuals can strive towards antiracism but identifying as non-racist only separates Whites from their own racism and forces a passive stance (Trepagnier, 2010). Identifying as non-racist is a way for White CPs to deny that they contribute to racism on any level instead of trying to address how they may perpetuate racism. White allies should aspire to be antiracist, not non-racist.

Reverse racism. The myth of reverse racism must also be debunked. Reverse racism refers to “the notion that Whites have replaced Blacks as the primary victims of discrimination” (Norton & Sommers, 2011). According to reverse racism, White people are discriminated against, so that Black Americans can reap benefits not accessible to their White counterparts (Norton & Sommers, 2011). For instance, many White individuals decry affirmative action based on the argument that special opportunities should not be given to Black Americans and denied to White Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Guzman et al., 2010). For instance, a White CP may erroneously believe that a less qualified Black CP received a faculty position just because the university needed to fulfill affirmative action quotas (Guzman et al., 2010). Ironically, the entire premise of reverse racism denies the racial privileges for White Americans, which are clearly demonstrated through myriad advantages to White people, including greater wealth, political representation, and access to healthcare (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). In academia, benefits of Whiteness include higher rank (Gregory, 2001; Thomas, Mack, Williams, & Perkins, 1999), higher salaries (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000; Guzman et al., 2010; Singh, Robinson, & Williams-Green, 1995), and positive teaching evaluations (Guzman et al., 2010; Reid, 2010; Smith & Johnson-Baily, 2011).

Colorblind racism. Related to WP and aversive racism, colorblind racism has emerged as a specific form of modern, subtle racism that is instantiated by WP. Neville, Spanierman, and Doan (2006) defined colorblind racism as the “denial, distortion, and/or minimization of race and racism” (p. 276). More specifically, “colorblind racial ideology is a dominant race-based framework that individuals, groups, and systems consciously or unconsciously use to justify the racial status quo or to explain away racial inequalities in the United States” (Neville et al., 2006, p. 276). Colorblind racial ideologies and rhetoric permit White individuals to mitigate the impact of discrimination and racism while blaming Black Americans for cultural deficits (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Using colorblind racism, Whiteness mimics fairness, justice and equality by obscuring difference (Sue, 2004). Many well-meaning White CPs were raised to be colorblind and believe that their avoidance of talking about color is a good thing. However, colorblind racism is associated with less empathy among CPs (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008). A colorblind stance further promotes microaggressive behaviors towards Black graduate students (Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2008; Sue, 2010; Watkins, LaBarrie, & Appio, 2010) and Black faculty members (Constantine et al., 2008) within Counseling Psychology programs.

White privilege. White privilege is a response to, derivative of, and cause of racism. WP is the ability to define reality and maintain power (Kivel, 1995; Rothenberg, 2002). Sue (2003) defined WP as “unearned benefits of power, wealth, and status” (p. 65) given to Whites based on a system that is created and normed based on the preferences of White individuals. McIntosh’s (1988) seminal work on WP delineated a list of 26 unearned, unquestioned, and accepted White advantages and benefits based on

skin color that she noticed in her daily life compared to her Black American colleagues and friends. Her list of 26 privileges based on solely being a White person is not intended to be exhaustive but rather indicative of the insidious, prevalent, and unnoticed nature of WP for White Americans (McIntosh, 1988). In Counseling Psychology programs, privileges such as being in a work environment with mostly other White people (McIntosh, 1988), having your research topic valued (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Weems, 2003), and presumptions of competence (Chambers, 2011) are examples of WP. Moreover, WP in the academy should be considered as omnipresent and not just an isolated list of specific advantages.

Ally development. Despite the presence of WP and colorblind racism in the academy, many CPs identify as White allies and work towards ending racial oppression. Allies are “members of the dominant population who advocate against oppression” (Munin & Speight, 2010, p. 249). Allies recognize that the victimizer must become the target of change, not the victim (Katz, 1978). White allyship is an intentional process that is facilitated through accruing historical and present-day knowledge of oppression and engaging in active learning (Nagda, Gurin, & Lopez, 2005). The process also involves combatting one’s own defensiveness (Kivel, 1995) and finding hope that racism can be combatted (Tatum, 1994). As racial allies, White people are called to speak out against racism and break their privileged silence (Rothenberg, 2002). Moreover, allies are summoned to take action against oppression (McAdams, 1988).

Rothenberg (2002) proposed several basic tactics for White allies. White allies must assume racism is everywhere, even in the academy, and notice who is the center of attention versus center of power (Rothenberg, 2002). For instance, who are the majority

of Provosts, Deans, Department Chairs, and Full Professors? Are they White? White allies should notice how racism is denied, minimized, and justified and learn from the history of WP and racism. They must understand connections between racism, classism, sexism, and other “isms” and support leadership among people of color. White allies must take a stand and take risks but not confuse a battle with the war. White allyship is a life-long endeavor and will undoubtedly include interactions with individuals that are frustrating, anger-provoking, and disheartening; however, it is important that the allies do not stop advocating. Lastly, White allies should not undertake allyship alone. Supports are integral as well as talking with children and other young people about racism, including graduate students.

O’Brien (2001) provided three additional strategies for White allies. First, White allies should interrupt racism (O’Brien, 2001). Specifically, White allies should confront racist remarks on the individual level and speak out against institutional racist practices as well. Second, White allies should strategically confront racism and racists (O’Brien, 2001) and be articulate, clear, and unapologetic. However, White allies should understand that strategy does not mean their confrontations will be accepted. Lastly, White allies should use their privilege to advocate with Black colleagues and students (O’Brien, 2001). Often White voices are heard when Black voices are discredited or ignored.

However, White allies should be careful to not become a spokesperson or savior for Black individuals (O’Brien, 2001). The purpose of White allyship is not to take attention further away from Black individuals (Clark & O’Donnell, 1999). For instance, the feminist movement has been synonymous with White women (Hill Collins, 2000;

hooks, 1991) and, historically, had attempted to speak for Black women (in many cases without obtaining their input; hook, 1991). Moreover, given the close link between feminism, social justice, and Counseling Psychology, CPs must be vigilant to avoid filling the role of spokesman or “White savior.” WP makes the journey from White ally to White savior an easy one, particularly when White allies are not collaborating with Black individuals. White CPs who act as White saviors continue to perpetuate White supremacy and hegemony, despite good intentions.

Counseling Psychology Competencies and Values

Given that the present study focuses exclusively on Counseling Psychology professionals, identifying the profession’s alignment between their values, the deconstruction of racism, and White ally development is necessary. In 2009, Packard delineated nine core values of Counseling Psychology. The values included altruism, positive relationships, integration of science and practice, holistic frameworks, celebration of cultural and individual diversity, social justice, collaborative and multidisciplinary practice, and strengths-based focus (Packard, 2009). Counseling Psychology’s training values further articulate the field’s commitment to multicultural, diversity-infused, and socially just practice (CCPTP, ACCTA, & SCP, 2009).

“Respect for diversity and for values different from one’s own is a central value of counseling psychology training programs.... More recently, there has been a call for counseling psychologists to actively work and advocate for social justice and prevent further oppression in society. Counseling psychologists provide services, teach, and/or engage in research with or pertaining to members of social

groups that have often been devalued, viewed as deficient, or otherwise marginalized in the larger society” (p. 641).

As a response to the ubiquity of racism, WP, and colorblind racism, multicultural counseling competencies (MCCs) emerged with the 1982 *Position Paper* drafted by Sue and colleagues (1982) that delineated 11 multicultural competencies. In 1992, with an appointment from the current president of the Society for Counseling Psychology (Ivey & Collins, 2003), Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis refined the previous list and included 31 multicultural competencies to further facilitate a movement of multicultural counseling as the field’s fourth force (D’Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). However, despite the participation of many prominent CPs in the MCC movement, Counseling Psychology did not openly endorse MCCs for many years (Ivey & Collins, 2003). Moreover, the American Psychological Association did not endorse any multicultural guidelines until 20 years after their initial publication (2002; Arredondo & Perez, 2003). The slow progress of multiculturalism and social justice within Counseling Psychology has been noted as a key disappointment to many CPs (Ivey & Collins, 2003; Vera & Speight, 2003). In 2003, Ivey and Collins expressed hope that CPs would engage in more action and less rhetoric around social justice activism. In 2015, little progress has emerged in Counseling Psychology, as evidenced by the continued white-washed nature of the field’s flagship journal – *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.

Though a call for social justice and multiculturalism is heard in Counseling Psychology, action is elusive (Ivey & Collins, 2003). Multicultural guidelines are easy to find; however, guidelines are useless without intentional implementation. Multiculturalism and social justice should be infused throughout training (Vera &

Speight, 2003). Unfortunately, previous studies indicate current trainings have not clearly translated into reductions of WP, colorblind racism, or racism among therapists and counseling trainees (see Fuertes, Stracuzzi, Bennett, Scheinholtz, & Mislouack, 2006; Neville et al., 1996; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Moreover, social justice talk peppers the literature of Counseling Psychology but does little to inform Counseling Psychology training programs (Ivey & Collins, 2003). The 2009 *Value Statement* was a positive step and continued efforts in implementation are desperately needed. Clearly, Counseling Psychology espouses a value for diversity, which reconciles with a call for Counseling Psychology faculty members to be truly and deeply committed to antiracism. Given the theoretical reconciliation between socially just antiracism and Counseling Psychology, the present study seeks to explore the actual practice of White allyship among Counseling Psychology professionals.

Literature Review

Though key constructs were briefly defined previously, the concepts of racism, WP, colorblind racism, ally development, and multicultural counseling competencies will be explored in greater detail and within the context of Counseling Psychology.

Racism in the Academy

“To be White is to benefit from racism” (Sue, 2003, p. 127). Distancing ourselves from Whiteness in order to ignore it does not reduce racism (Hurtado & Stewart, 2004). “Artificial image[s] of progress” continue to hinder addressing racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 12), such as advertising a focus on social justice in Counseling Psychology training programs, yet ignoring racism. Racism is self-perpetuating, not self-correcting (Kivel, 1995). Moreover, ignoring racism and remaining silent is inconsistent with social

justice values. Aiding in the perpetuation of racism is the increase in aversive racism that obscures White individuals from their racist beliefs (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). For example, Czopp and Monteith (2006) found White individuals accepted their own hostile, racist beliefs when they also held positive stereotypes about Black Americans. Though positive attitudes towards Black Americans do not negate negative stereotypes (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011) that are often unconsciously pervasive, acknowledging the presence of positive attitudes towards Black Americans is necessary to work through racism (Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009). However, the presence of positive attitudes alone will never overshadow the racism underneath. For example, White CP faculty members may perceive that they are being complementary by commenting on a Black colleagues' professional dress; however, the Black colleague likely perceives a microaggression based on the presumption that Black individuals are typically unprofessional in appearance. White CPs need to recognize that their favorable attitudes towards their Black colleagues and graduate students do not absolve them of racism.

Particularly important is the increasingly covert nature of racism, including its embeddedness in institutions, avoidance of direct racial terminology, and invisibility of racism to Whites (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). To challenge such a pervasive problem, Whiteness must be "denaturalized" to make it visible to the White masses (Hurtado & Stewart, 2004). The silent solidarity of Whiteness must be broken (Hurtado & Stewart, 2004; Kincheloe, Steinburg, Rodriguez, & Chennault, 1998; Sue, 2005). For White CPs, breaking the silence means understanding how traditional Counseling Psychology paradigms are Eurocentric (Sue, 1978), increasing the complexity and efficaciousness of

multicultural training, and confronting one's own racism as well as the racism in one's program.

White hegemony in the academy. Foundationally, White Americans must break the silence of the history of racism against Black Americans (Sue, 2005). White Americans must forsake their WP to define history and in the process reclaim their own "historical integrity" (Pewewardy, 2008, p. 60). Suppressed American history must emerge and replace the White history that has previously been taught as American history (Hill, 1997; Katz, 1978), and CPs should be educated on the true history of America. "The minimization of the horrors of the past contributes to our denial of present injustices" (Kivel, 1995, p. 129). For example, I was in my fourth and fifth years of graduate school before I encountered Black feminism and learned about the role of the federal government in sanctioning discrimination and racism towards Black Americans. Both of these experiences were as the result of a Black female faculty member.

In academia, scientific racism has plagued research (Farber, 2011; Greene, 1985). Research conducted with faulty premises and methodological errors has been published despite evidence to the contrary (Farber, 2011). For instance, the eugenics movement and "research" that supported keeping races separate were not based on scientific evidence, but rather societal prejudice (Farber, 2011). Moreover, academic journals that focus on ethnic minorities continue to be ranked as lower than whitewashed, top tier journals that neglect the consideration race as a factor (Guzman et al., 2010). One primary manner of neglecting race in research is to use primarily White samples. For instance, in a recent issue of *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (2015, January), regular manuscript articles that did not explicitly focus on one specific ethnic group utilized

samples that contained 16% Black Americans (compared with 78% White Americans; Worthington et al., 2015), 9.3% Black Americans (compared with 50.5% White Americans; Niesenbaum & Lopez, 2015), Black Americans combined in “other” category at 9% (Osilla et al., 2015), or provided no racial information about participants (Kivlighan, Coco, & Gullo, 2015; Lilliengren, Falkenstrom, Sandell, Mothander, & Werbart, 2015; Meyers, van Woerkom, de Reuver, Bakk, & Oberski, 2015). By contrast, in the January 2015 issue of *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, articles that did not delineate a specific focus on one specific ethnic minority group utilized representative samples including 31% Black participants (Cheref, Lane, Polanco-Roman, Gadol, & Miranda, 2015) and 27% Black participants (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). Moreover, the impact factor of *Journal of Counseling Psychology* is 2.955, while the impact factor for *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* is 1.755. The discrepancies between inclusion of Black American participants and impact factor ratings highlight the systemic perpetuation of racism that particularly targets Black faculty research via lower ratings in evaluation, promotion, and tenure practices due to only being able to publish in journals that accept their research (Guzman et al., 2010; Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011).

Moreover, it is a common practice that the only faculty member of color teaches multicultural courses, speaks as an expert for their cultural group, or advises large numbers of students of color (Guzman et al., 2010; Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011). Therefore, while this practice benefits students, it creates a system of oppression for the Black faculty members solely carrying these responsibilities while simultaneously having to negotiate their own daily lived experiences of racism within and outside the

department. Furthermore, extra responsibilities impede research productivity and may hinder promotion (Chambers, 2011; Constantine et al., 2008; Guzman et al., 2010). In addition, inequities in work distribution perpetuate racism by allowing the White faculty to remain ignorant to these diverse, multicultural experiences (Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011).

Instantiation of racism. When faced with the litany of oppressive acts discussed above, racism appears clearly evident. Interventions to correct such discrimination may even seem easily identifiable. However, if that were the case, how does racism remain prevalent? More specifically, how can CPs be engaged in racism? Ridley (2005) identified how a variety of cognitive judgmental errors can hold racism in place, particularly among well-meaning, White CPs. The fundamental attribution error (Jones & Harris, 1967) causes individuals to attribute their own misfortune to bad luck but others' misfortune to personal deficits (e.g., Black Americans are underrepresented in graduate school because they struggle to handle the stress of the academic requirements). Confirmatory bias causes individuals to pay attention to the evidence that supports their preconceived ideas and ignore new information. For instance, having Black colleagues is evidence that any Black individual can make it to the academy. Being judgmental (e.g., stereotyping), errors in memory and recollection, and overconfidence in assumptions also perpetuate negative, racist stereotypes and attitudes (Ridley, 2005). While avoiding colorblindness, color-consciousness can plague CPs who presume that Black colleagues' and students' concerns are all derived from being Black. Other defensive racial dynamics include ambivalence about cultural differences, pseudotransference (pathologizing anger about racism), avoidance of race, over-identification with Black Americans, and over-

identification with oppressors (Ridley, 2005). Finally, Ridley (2005) delineated factors that contribute specifically to racism in therapy relationships: good intentions/bad interventions, traditional training (little or no multicultural training), cultural tunnel vision, blaming the victim, and either/or thinking. White CPs may also enact defense mechanisms such as victim-blaming, intellectualization, or introjection to maintain their veil of WP (i.e., acting Black; Thompson & Neville, 1999). These reactions occur outside of conscious awareness and, therefore, are difficult to identify and rectify.

White Privilege in the Academy

Recognition of WP is the acknowledgement of the other half of the “dialectic of racism” (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001, p. 260). Oppression is the lack of checking privilege (Black, Stone, Hutchinson, & Suarez, 2007); however, many individuals may struggle to connect the interplay of privilege and oppression (Croteau, Talbot, Lance, & Evans, 2002). Though oppression is often discussed, WP is frequently absent in discussions of racism (Neville et al., 2001), which serves to disconnect CPs from racism instead of “assigning everyone a place” in relation to racism (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 6).

In general, people love to accept gifts they did not earn (e.g., inheritance; Wise, 2008). WP follows the same pattern, particularly given that White people do not initially even recognize their gift (and are taught not to recognize their gift; Rothenberg, 2002). WP is kept invisible from White individuals (Dressel et al., 2010), which relegates White individuals to live in “dysconsciousness” (King, 1991). Dysconsciousness is “an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given”

(King, 1991, p. 135). Dysconsciousness is impaired consciousness, not a lack of consciousness, and has evolved drastically in the post-civil rights era of aversive racism (King, 1991). Unfortunately, dysconsciousness manifests in a variety of ways. For instance, White individuals may employ sly, aversive racism when considering and explaining their advantages (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhaur, 2007), such as believing their hard work is solely responsible for their promotion to professor rank. Many White individuals may also claim that they are not racist due to having Black friends, graduate students, or colleagues (Dressel et al., 2010). However, aversive racism is prevalent and salient to Black graduate students and faculty members (Constantine et al., 2008; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2008; Watkins et al., 2010).

WP may also manifest paternally as White CPs assume that Black students, colleagues, or clients need guidance and direction instead of needing to be empowered (Greene, 1985; Hill Collins, 2000; Utsey, Bolden, & Brown, 2001). Although, many White CPs may be unaware of their exhibition of WP, their Black colleagues, students, and clients will likely be adept in perceiving their WP and microaggressive acts (Sue, 2010; Watkins et al., 2010). White individuals must realize that WP is oppressive regardless of intentionality (McIntosh, 1998; Watkins et al., 2010). Because WP often operates unconsciously (LeBlanc, Wilson, & Juchau, 2008), privilege likely pervades White CPs' research, mentorship, and practice.

Responses to white privilege and racism. White CPs often do not recognize their perpetuation of racism and instantiation of WP (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). D'Andrea and Daniels (1999a) found that in their sample of 600 mental health professionals, most participants were categorized by perpetuation of WP and avoidance

of talking about racism. Moreover, when D'Andrea and Daniels (1999b) reevaluated their data, they found that the three most common reactions from White mental health professionals when faced with their own racism were overt anger, generalized apathy, and intellectualization. Even White mental health professionals resist facing their own capacity for racism and utilization of WP, which is similar to student responses.

In another qualitative study regarding White individuals' responses to racism, twelve White undergraduate and graduate students were individually interviewed about how they were impacted by racism (Spanierman, Oh et al., 2008). Affective, social, and cognitive responses to racism were identified. Empathy; guilt, shame and embarrassment; powerlessness; anger; and shock or surprise were affective common responses. Typical social responses included limited exposure to people of other races; tension, avoidance or fear in relationships with Black Americans; disapproval of racist attitudes or behaviors from other Whites; and disconnection from their own cultural group and heritage. Most participants endorsed discomfort discussing racial issues. Cognitive responses were nearly unanimous across all participants: distortion or denial of racism and WP, acknowledgment of racism and WP, and perceived disadvantages of being White in the United States (Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008). In all three categories, White students provided seemingly contradictory responses (e.g., empathy and anger, denial of racism and acknowledgement of racism) that indicate the ambivalence of facing WP and racism. Because of the discomfort, White students and faculty members often discourage race talk in a variety of ways, including a) by remaining silent and not participating, (b) by diverting the conversation to safer topics, (c) by minimizing or dismissing the importance of the topic, (d) by creating restrictive rules for how the

dialogue should proceed, (e) by speaking about race from a global, passive perspective and not an active participant, or (f) by tabling the discussion (Sue, 2013).

Further complicating White CPs' understanding of their demonstration of WP is the unintentional activation of negative stereotypes of Black Americans (Abreu, 1999). Abreu (1999) found that White therapists (from a variety of professional fields) could be unknowingly primed to over-pathologize a client by being exposed to negative stereotypes of Black Americans before conceptualizing the client's distress. Given that White therapists can be unknowingly primed, a high level of vigilance is needed for White therapists to counter the wide-spread negative stereotypes of Black Americans (Abreu, 1999). Through prevalent, negative priming via the media, discussions among colleagues with lower levels of racial awareness, and myopic focus on one's own research or courses that are often absent of race awareness, it is likely that White CPs are heavily and unconsciously influenced resulting in often hurtful and damaging interactions with Black colleagues and graduate students.

Colorblind Racism in the Academy

White CPs often struggle to confront their WP; therefore, other avenues to relieve the tension and guilt associated with WP and racism were identified (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Neville et al., 2006). Color-blind racial attitudes (CoBRAs) have developed as one such manner of justifying WP (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014) and denying racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999). CoBRAs "aid in the minimization of WP without fanfare" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 3). Stated alternatively, CoBRAs utilize Whiteness to define normalcy and attempt to disguise difference (Sue, 2004). Bonilla-Silva (2003) categorized four defensive frames for dealing with racism.

Abstract liberalism is a detached justification and intellectualization of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Given the intellectual nature of academia, CPs may be particularly apt to engage in intellectualization. Naturalization identifies racism as a natural occurrences in society that cannot be addressed (e.g., White people just prefer to be with White people and Black people prefer to be with Black people; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). CPs may defend their preferences for and selections of White students and colleagues as ‘normal’ preferences, may hold resentment toward their Black colleagues for going to lunch together, or fail to understand the importance of having the opportunity to receive mentoring by a Black faculty member and react in defensive or punitive ways toward their Black students (Guzman et al., 2010). Cultural racism refers to the identification of biological deficits of particular groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). By categorizing race as only a quantitative variable in analyses, many White CPs decontextualize race and promote cultural racism through science. A critique of journal editors is to reject a manuscript on the basis of the manuscript not having a ‘comparison group’ when the sample is all Black, but perpetuating what is considered the ‘norm’ by accepting manuscripts with all White samples (Warner, 2008). Minimization of racism denies the reality of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). CPs who minimize race may ignore or trivialize concerns raised by Black colleagues or students (Watkins et al., 2010). For example, if a senior White faculty member does or says something offensive toward a Black student or Black faculty member, other White faculty members often dismiss this behavior and minimize the damage and hurt that resulted by emphasizing the person’s esteemed status or making excuses for them. The four frames often overlap and serve to further disconnect White individuals from the realities of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

CoBRAs are complex (Neville et al., 2001) and allow White CPs to live in denial of the distortions that CoBRAs facilitate (Thompson & Neville, 1999). In addition to being harmful, CoBRAs are sophisticated and strategic (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) explored the strategic use of CoBRAs by White undergraduate students. Students' acknowledgment of race varied based on whether or not a peer broached the topic of race and whether or not participants were speaking with White or Black peers. Researchers also found that higher rates of CoBRAs led to less friendly interactions with Black confederates, and White individuals were rated as more fake in their interactions (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). Black colleagues and students likely perceive White colleagues and instructors who engage in the strategic use of CoBRAs as disingenuous and inauthentic.

Bonilla-Silva (2002) conducted a large scale qualitative study with 774 White individuals to explore how colorblind racism manifests. In 2003, Bonilla-Silva conducted another qualitative study with 125 White individuals to further explore how CoBRAs emerge among White individuals. Bonilla-Silva (2002, 2003) concluded that colorblind racism is slippery and indirect, thus elusive to identify. Participants in both of Bonilla-Silva's studies utilized several defenses and strategies that demonstrated CoBRAs. Defensive measures including using diminutives to describe racist events, such as "a little racist," and rhetorical incoherence (e.g., stuttering) when discussing racism. White participants also used projection to judge Black Americans, such as insisting that Black Americans segregate themselves (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2003). Patterns in specific stylistic and semantic buffers were prevalent among all interviews. Common phrases included "I'm not prejudice but," "some of my best friends are [Black, Asian, etc.]..."

“I’m not Black so I don’t know” (followed by racial opinion), and “yes and no, but.” Finding other social factors to blame, such as poverty, was also a common way to avoid race. Overall, White participants found clever ways to be racist without racist epithets (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; 2003). In addition to semantic buffers, collective storylines of colorblind racism emerged. “The past is the past,” “I didn’t own any slaves,” “if Jews, Italians, and Irish have made it, how come Black have not?” and “I did not get a job or promotion [because of a person of color]” were frequent storylines utilized by White participants. Participants also provided testimonials that were either isolated personal interactions or someone else’s story (such as a friend of a friend; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Though untested among CPs, similar rhetorical strategies and storylines are likely present in Counseling Psychology programs given the presence of ethnocentric monoculturalism. Moreover, they are likely to go unchallenged unless White CPs heighten their own awareness and help challenge other White CPs.

One way that CoBRAs may manifest in CPs is the presence of microaggressions (Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2007; Watkins et al., 2010) and misinterpreting colleagues’ and students’ reactions to microaggressions (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Moreover, White CPs may not correctly perceive their own microaggressive behaviors, such as implying subtle indicators of intellectual inferiority, second-class citizenship, criminality, and substandard communication styles (Guzman et al., 2010; Sue et al., 2007; Watkins et al., 2010). In a small sample of Black graduate students in a mental health field ($n = 13$; 9 Counseling Psychology students), Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) explored how microaggressions perceived by Black graduate students may or may not be similar to microaggressive themes identified in Sue and colleagues study (2007). Results indicated

that four overlapping themes from the two studies existed, and two new themes emerged. Similar to Sue and colleagues (2007), assumption of intellectual inferiority, second-class citizenship, assumption of criminality, and assumed superiority of White cultural values and communication styles emerged as common microaggressions towards Black graduate students. Assumption of inferior status (e.g., being unsophisticated) and assumed universality of the Black American (e.g., asked to speak for all Black Americans) were two new microaggressions reported. Graduate students of color have also reported discouragement from their advisors and low expectations and common occurrences in academia (Guzman et al., 2010). Overall, students reported that a sense of inferiority was inflicted by co-workers, classmates, or authority figures indicating that Counseling Psychology programs are not immune from the oppressive forces of racism (Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008).

Among White counseling and psychology trainees, various levels of CoBRAs have been endorsed. In a sample of second-year counseling trainees ($n = 34$, 91% women), students were exposed to McIntosh's (1988) list of 26 White privileges and asked to write down their responses (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). Thirty percent of students denied WP and demonstrated a lack of awareness of WP in their own lives (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). Another 30% reported that they were now aware of WP but were unwilling to relinquish any of their privileges (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). Positively, 40% of students demonstrated an awareness of WP and a desire to make changes to mitigate the effects (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). White Counseling Psychology faculty members must be ready to train students from all three groups, which

implores White CP faculty to be at higher levels of WRID, understand their personal biases, and demonstrate vulnerability in sharing their struggles with bias and privilege.

Similarly, among a sample of eight White counseling and psychology graduate students, several qualitative themes emerged when discussing how WRID, WP, and CoBRAs impacted them as White graduate students (Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). Within focus groups, White racial consciousness was a salient theme. Graduate students were aware of themselves as racial beings and expressed racial consciousness most when the group was relaxed. However, graduate students struggled overall to reconcile their intellectual understanding with a visceral reaction to racism. They often tended to minimize race as an issue through intellectualization and relocating responsibility of racism. In addition to their racial awareness, participants appeared uncomfortable during most racial discussions (Utsey et al., 2005).

Though much of the evidence regarding CoBRAs involves graduate students and/or therapeutic contexts (see Burkard & Knox, 2004; Gushue, 2004; Neville et al., 2006; Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008), such research suggests that Counseling Psychologists may struggle to recognize their own perpetuation of racism through CoBRAs. Seemingly, the proclivity to demonstrate CoBRAs and instantiate WP would not be evident only in a therapeutic context and absent in work or school contexts.

Ally Development

The deconstruction of WP and racism must be an intentional, life-long process of White ally development. Unfortunately, models of White ally development are scarce, and notable White allies are often hard to identify (Tatum, 1994). However, White allies have existed since slavery (Aptheker, 1992; Brown, 2002). Moreover, White allies were

pivotal in gaining national attention during the Civil Rights Movement because Black voices were being ignored (Braden, 1999; McAdams, 1988). White allyship is not a new idea (Brown, 2002), but it is critically under-researched. Though Counseling Psychology values social justice, a paucity of research exists about White ally development. Most often ally development is presented as either a global process (Bishop, 2002) or in reference to straight allies who fight oppression for LGBT individuals (e.g., Finnerty, Goodrich, Brace, & Pope, 2014). Most research on allies focuses broadly on social justice allies. Broido (2000) determined that access to social justice information and knowledge, engagement in meaning-making process about social justice advocacy, recruitment in social justice advocacy, and self-confidence were integral pieces of entry into social justice work. Literature has also identified characteristics of social justice allies, such as extroversion, empathy, sense of self, faith, and family influence (Munin & Speight, 2010). Bishop (2002) identified connections with people, an understanding of social structures, and a sense of self as facilitators to global ally development.

However, a dearth of literature addresses White ally development specifically. Just as all oppressions cannot be presumed to be equal, ally development for various groups should be conceptualized separately. Reason, Scales, and Miller (2005) asserted three components of White ally development. White allies must learn to understand racism, power, and privilege both intellectually and affectively. A new “White consciousness” must be developed (Reason, Scales, & Miller, 2005), and White individuals must learn that a positive model of Whiteness exists (e.g., White ally) beyond negative models defined by white supremacy, ignorance of Whiteness, or guilt (Tatum,

1994). Lastly, racial justice action must be encouraged. White ally development is both a self-reflective and action-oriented process.

Tim Wise (2008) captured both self-reflective and action-oriented characteristics of his White ally development in his description of his journey to White allyship.

Michael D'Andrea (1999) acknowledged the pain of addressing his own racism juxtaposed with the necessity of facing his own capacity for racism in order to grow.

Self-reflection and openness to being challenged were key facets of White ally development for him. D'Andrea (1999) also prized his interactions with non-White peers in helping facilitate his development. Examination of the White participants in the 1964 Freedom Summer in Mississippi uncovered the importance of internal drive (via religion, idealism, liberalism) coupled with activism in civil rights groups to facilitate White ally development (McAdams, 1988).

Participation in advocacy, development of empathy through interactions with Black individuals, and a general ally-oriented disposition have all been posited as possible entry points for White ally development (O'Brien, 2001). However, research is limited regarding the initiation of White ally development, though White ally development in collegiate environments has been examined by some researchers. Among a sample of 365 White undergraduate students, participation in an intergroup contact intervention (e.g., interacting with students of color in meaningful conversations and activities) led to more White ally behaviors than participants in a control group (Alimo, 2012). With a separate sample of undergraduate students ($n = 203$, 74% White), multicultural coursework that included a combination of lectures, in-class activities, and engagement outside the classroom led to an increased understanding of socio-historical

contexts and greater recognition of structural oppression for people of color (Nagda et al., 2005). Reason, Roosa Miller, and Scales (2005) examined how global college experiences impact White ally development among a small sample of 25 undergraduate students. Pre-college diversity experiences, college coursework about race, and diverse student organizations all predicted higher levels of ally development and more action as a White ally.

Two small qualitative studies have also examined how White allies developed among White women. Arvold (2011) interviewed 11 White women who identified as White allies. She found that their journeys of ally development began a) at birth (to parents who were White allies), b) through being drawn to people of color, c) as they crusaded in other social justice efforts, d) through immersion in school or work environments, or e) after falling into a relationship with a person of color. Throughout their White ally development journeys, mentoring was integral. They described their development as progressing similar to WRID. Development began with wanting to be a hero and had to traverse through defensiveness to lead to an increased awareness of their own racist beliefs and actions. They passed into a place of hope for racial equality and transformation into an ally. However, all women noted that their White ally development was a life-long journey, and they would never be free of their racism (Arvold, 2011). CPs in particular must recognize this maxim of White ally development.

In a study of 21 White women involved with a White Women Against Racism group, Case (2012) investigated how antiracist, allied identities emerged. Unequivocally, women discussed the importance of the group in helping them develop their identities through discussion, support, and challenge. Recognizing WP and their own capacity for

racism further perpetuated their development. Many women also noticed that their own experiences being oppressed helped them recognize and empathize with oppression against people of color. Racism was viewed as impacting all of their lives. However, participants were also honest about the struggles of being a White ally. Speaking up instead of shirking in silence was a pervasive struggle. All participants resonated with the experience of witnessing racism but struggle to intervene. They also acknowledged feeling distanced from other White people when they intervened (Case, 2012).

Developing as a White ally in the academy may mean being unpopular and making decisions not supported by colleagues.

Unfortunately, many White allies often make excuses for their stagnation or resistance in the next phases of their development (Kivel, 1995; Rothenberg, 2002). Though the struggles are real, they must not incapacitate White allies. Some specific defenses to White ally development are blaming people of color for a) being too emotional and demanding, b) ignoring your individual differences, c) not listening to White hardships, d) lumping all Whites together, or e) expecting the government to do too much (Rothenberg, 2002). Such excuses are racist and dangerous to Black individuals and aspiring White allies. The danger is exponential in the academy where academicians and researchers have the elite opportunity to conduct research to enact change. Allowing stagnation in White ally development of CPs may further perpetuate racism through racist training of graduate students, non-promotion of Black faculty, and flight of Black faculty to other universities. Moreover, a lack of data on what best creates and perpetuates White allyship among Counseling Psychology trainees leaves many current and future CPs without adequate development in White allyship.

Training Multiculturally Competent Practitioners

Some scholars acknowledge that the deconstructing of WP and racism needs to begin in the academy (e.g., Kincheloe et al., 1998; Sue, 2013). In Counseling Psychology, the concept of multicultural counseling competencies emerged as a training paradigm to conceptualize teaching practitioners to provide competent services to varied, diverse clients. Given that White Counseling Psychology trainees may experience guilt and shame regarding WP, they need supportive environments to help alleviate excessive guilt and shame and help them productively channel their emotional responses (Adleman & Enguidanos-Clark, 1995; Parker & Schwartz, 2002). Ideally, multicultural counseling training could provide such an environment; however, training in MCC must be intentional.

Without intentionality, White Counseling Psychology trainees (who become future Counseling Psychology faculty members) may not engage in training for MCCs. For instance, in a sample of 14 White students in a graduate-level Counseling Psychology course, students evidenced difficulties in classroom dialogues about race (Sue et al., 2010). Students were intellectually detached from racism and denied WP. They reacted as anxious, helpless, and misunderstood. Based on these experiences, Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, and Torino (2010) concluded that White students may struggle with identifying racism and may confuse productive race dialogues with feeling uncomfortable when other people discuss race. Sue and colleagues (2010) noted the importance of CP faculty in being able to facilitate such conversations. However, facilitation of difficult race dialogues requires CPs to first engage in self-exploration and their own difficult race dialogues.

Regarding multicultural counseling competencies, multicultural training has demonstrated effectiveness of increasing counseling competencies among White graduate students and practitioners (D'Andrea et al., 1991; Parker et al., 1998). In a sample of 96 White graduate counselor education trainees enrolled in a 15-week multicultural course, students at the end of the course reported a greater appreciation of Black American and White culture and more interracial comfort than a control group of students who did not participate in the course (Parker et al., 1998). Moreover, nine White psychologists (8 CPs) reported the importance of multicultural competencies, knowledge of racism, and history of Black Americans in the United States from working with Black American clients (Fuertes, Mueller, Chauhan, Walker, & Ladany, 2002). Constantine, Juby, and Liang (2001) found that marriage and family therapy trainees demonstrated greater multicultural competency knowledge after taking a multicultural course. In Neville and colleagues' (1996) study, multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills increased across time after the one semester multicultural course. Neville, Poteat, Lewis, and Spanierman (2014) even found that higher levels of reported diversity trainings lowered CoBRAs in White undergraduate students.

Unfortunately, exposure to multicultural training does not necessarily translate to efficacious multicultural counseling competencies. Again, considering Neville and colleagues' (1996) study with a semester-long diversity course, individuals at higher levels of WRID increased their multicultural skills, knowledge, and awareness over the semester. However, students who were at lower stages of WRID did not report gains in multicultural skills, knowledge, or awareness. The results suggest that the course was impactful for students who already had some level of awareness of racial diversity and

racial identity but did not facilitate entry into personal self-exploration for students at lower levels of WRID. Given diverse levels of WRID in Counseling Psychology trainees, a clear method for the most efficacious training for CPs is difficult to identify.

Although the extant multicultural counseling competency research may be applicable to CPs, the majority of the research is specific to a therapeutic context and focused on client-therapist interactions as opposed to faculty-student interactions, faculty-faculty interactions, or training graduate students. Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) found that White therapists self-endorsed high levels of multicultural competencies overall, though White clinicians acknowledge less-than-perfect multicultural skills. In a sample of 52 graduate trainees (60% White), more multicultural training predicted higher objective ratings of multicultural competence (Constantine, 2001). Fuertes and colleagues (2006) found that higher levels of client-rated therapist multicultural competence were associated with greater levels of therapist empathy and stronger working alliances. Furthermore, Spanierman, Poteat et al. (2008) found that more empathy towards clients of color was associated with higher levels of multicultural knowledge, which subsequently predicted higher supervisory ratings of multicultural counseling and greater demonstrations of multicultural counseling on clinical exercises (Spanierman, Poteat, et al., 2008). Unfortunately, studies that explore MCCs focus almost exclusively on graduate trainees, and graduate training consists almost exclusively of one-time multicultural courses. Moreover, research does not often focus exclusively on professional CPs, which limits the external validity of the findings.

Only one study considered the impact of MCCs outside of a strictly therapeutic context. With a sample of 105 graduate counseling trainees ($n = 53$ Counseling

Psychology students; 83% White), Boysen and Vogel (2008) found that multicultural training yielded higher self-reported multicultural competencies among graduate students in counseling. However, implicit bias towards Black individuals did not differ across levels of training or multicultural competencies. Despite multicultural training, the implicit bias against various oppressed groups did not disappear (Boysen & Vogel, 2008). Seemingly, implicit bias likely enhances colorblind approaches and demonstration of WP among CPs. Therefore, multicultural training should help students become more aware of their biases and better counter them, not espouse an ability to eradicate racial bias.

Counseling Psychology Programs

Unfortunately, since the surge for MCC did not start until 1982 or gather (White) support until the 1990s, numerous Counseling Psychology faculty members may have lacked formal multicultural counseling training in graduate school. However, mental health practitioners and faculty members must examine what was missing from their own formal education (Pewewardy, 2008) and actively seek to increase their professional development. Despite a call for Counseling Psychology programs to more intentionally and effectively infuse social justice and diversity maxims throughout their training programs (Goodman et al., 2004; Ivey & Collins, 2003; Vera & Speight, 2003), White Counseling Psychology faculty members may need continued training and support to effectively combat their racism and become White allies in academic settings.

For instance, Counseling Psychology faculty members of color report experiencing racial microaggressions in work environments (Constantine et al., 2008). Twelve Black Counseling Psychology faculty members were individually interviewed about their perceptions of racial microaggressions in work environments, and seven

primary themes were identified. Alternating feelings of invisibility/marginalization and hyper-visibility were cited by 10 participants who referenced the discretion of the White majority to decide if they were currently important or ignorable. For example, one participant shared:

Most of the White faculty in my department don't like or respect my work. They see it as too personal, as about me and my life. I'm a scholar who publishes in top-tier empirical journals using large community samples, but they don't see the value in my work because it's about [the mental health issues of] Black folks. So, they end up not acknowledging it or saying it's not rigorous work. It's pitiful that they don't feel we can do good quality work that focuses on racial [issues]...At the same time, those same [faculty members] think they can "use" me and my work when it suits them, like when it's time for [an accreditation body] to visit us to see if we're training students the way we say we do...It's very hard to feel ignored most of the time, but then occasionally feel like the spotlight is on you because you have expertise in an area that's valued for the moment, [yet] not often enough (p. 351).

Eight of the Black faculty reported having their qualifications or credentials questioned or challenged by other faculty colleagues, staff members, or students. Other themes described by the Black counseling faculty include: receiving inadequate mentoring in the workplace and organizational expectations to serve in service-oriented roles with low-perceived value by administrators or other faculty colleagues; difficulties determining whether subtle discrimination was race or gender based was cited by several women; and self-consciousness regarding choice of clothing, hairstyle, or manner of speech was salient. Lastly, coping strategies to address racial microaggressions were cited by all faculty members. The most common coping strategies included a) seeking support, b) choosing battles carefully, c) prayer and spiritual coping, d) interpersonal or emotional withdrawal, and e) resignation that subtle racist treatment will always occur in academia (Constantine et al., 2008). Constantine and colleagues (2008) called for the counseling and Counseling Psychology fields to improve their commitment to

multiculturalism and, specifically, to increase professional development, training, and dialogue around the microaggressive experiences of Black faculty members.

Given the lack of training and disappointing interactions with students, clients, and colleagues of color, White CPs must acknowledge their struggle to effectively facilitate difficult racial dialogues and tackle racial issues (Miller, Hyde, & Ruth, 2004; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009). In a small qualitative study with eight White faculty members, experiences of navigating difficult racial dialogues in classroom settings were explored (Sue et al., 2009). Reactions to difficult dialogues included anxiety, anger, defensiveness, withdrawal and sadness from students combined with professors' anxiety, disappointment, and uncertainty. Study participants cited a lack of education or training in facilitating difficult dialogues and small efforts to seek out continuing education. Faculty participants also focused on their lack of experience with racism and disconnection from students of color. Notably, participants did not directly discuss their privilege though acknowledged that they often may not recognize racial dialogues when they arise. When considering the facilitation of past difficult dialogues, ineffective strategies included passive approaches and ignoring comments. Effective approaches noted in the article included acknowledging emotions, creating a safe place, and admitting own biases and struggles (Sue et al., 2009). Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, and Rivera (2009) provided suggestions for other White instructors including, acknowledging students' emotions and feelings, acknowledging and self-disclosing personal challenges and fears, actively engaging the dialogue, and creating a safe space for racial dialogues. Furthermore, Miller, Hyde, and Ruth (2004) argued that the most important factor in helping White instructors facilitate coursework about race is internal,

introspective work, including building a critical consciousness (Vera & Speight, 2003). Sue and colleagues (2010) acknowledged the importance of White faculty members setting the tone for White students in their willingness to discuss race.

Clearly, White CPs may struggle to tackle their own WP. However, White CPs may be uniquely situated to begin deeply exploring their own WP and capacity for racism in order to further their own White ally development and become better instructors, researchers, clinicians, and colleagues. When acting as White allies, acknowledging and addressing WP and racism creates a safer, healthier environment for both White and non-White individuals.

Research Question

In light of the research summarized above, the purpose of the current study is to understand: How do White Counseling Psychology faculty members understand their experiences with racism towards Black Americans?

Chapter Two: Methodology

The study utilized interpretive phenomenological analysis (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) to understand White Counseling Psychology faculty members' personal meaning of experiences with racism. Qualitative methods are well suited for the Counseling Psychology field due to the focus on understanding lived experiences (Betz & Fassinger, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Morrow, 2007; Polkinghorne, 2005; Wertz, 2005) within context (Haverkamp & Young, 2007). Moreover, qualitative, phenomenological methods are appropriate during initial states of exploration in a research area because the method provides a rich description of an unexplored phenomenon (Creswell, Hanson, Plano Clark, & Morales, 2007; Haverkamp & Young, 2007). The present study explores the primary research question: How do White Counseling Psychology faculty members understand their experiences with racism towards Black Americans?

When conducting research about racism, the identity of the researcher becomes particularly salient (Morrow, 2007). The present study was conceptualized by a White, heterosexual, American woman who identifies as a White ally to Black Americans and all people of color. However, my perspective and indoctrination as a White woman in the United States cannot be assumed to be disconnected from the present research. As a White woman entering a Counseling Psychology program that prioritizes social justice, sexism was my initial area of interest for my research. However, during my second year of doctoral training, I transitioned to a Black female advisor who encouraged me to read Black feminist literature. I immersed myself in Black feminist literature and was left disillusioned with mainstream (i.e., White) feminism. My interest in racism burgeoned, and my own White racial identity development progressed through my extensive reading

and the mentorship with my advisor. I considered researching Black women's experiences of therapy for my dissertation; however, feedback from my dissertation committee (consisting of a Black female advisor, a Black male faculty member, and two White female faculty members) shifted my focus. As a White woman, they encouraged me to research White individuals, not Black individuals.

The progression of my own development that led up to this project cannot be removed from the larger societal context that helped facilitate my development and research. The inception of this project occurred during the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement and in the wake of the police murders of Black men and children, including Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, and Philando Castile. Structural racism became a salient focus on my Counseling Psychology program as well as the role of White allies in dismantling structural racism. Therefore, I began to consider how my dissertation research could address structural racism. Furthermore, my dissertation committee and I were not the only individuals impacted by the changing societal context. My population of study (e.g., White Counseling Psychologists) was also impacted by this shift in national landscape, which likely influenced the participation (or lack thereof) among my sample pool.

An additional layer of context includes the manner in which White individuals, me included, discuss racism differently than people of color (Sue, 2015). Moreover, we discuss racism differently when we are in the presence of other White people compared to when we are around people of color (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). Positively, the similarity of Whiteness between the researcher and participants promotes an empathic understanding of the data (Smith et al., 2009). However, the present research should be

understood within the context of White individuals' understanding of racism, which is from a privileged status (Rothenberg, 2002). Therefore, my understanding of the data and my interpretation of the data is wholly informed by my individual context and the larger societal context.

Participants

A purposeful, homogenous sample (Morrow, 2005; Smith et al., 2009) of White, American, Counseling Psychologists who are faculty members in psychology and counseling programs at Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) was recruited to best investigate the personal meaning of experiences with racism among White Counseling Psychologists in academia (Polkinghorne, 2005; Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, & Mattis, 2007). A purposeful sample was recruited as dictated by Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, the data analytic plan utilized in this study (discussed more thoroughly below). The target sample size of 10 to 15 participants was derived based on the concept of saturation, which means that the 10 to 15 participants are hypothesized to provide enough data to capture the full breadth and depth of the topic being investigated (Smith et al., 2009).

Target participants were White, American, Counseling Psychologists who had faculty appointments in counseling or psychology graduate programs. The target sample was further refined geographically to include Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia. Geographical restrictions were imposed due to the desire to conduct in-person interviews and limited travel funding. First, individually-mailed letters requested faculty members' participation in the study. Letters were mailed to potential participants' university addresses listed on institution

websites. Letters indicated that White Counseling Psychology faculty members were being asked to participate in qualitative interview about their experiences regarding racism and their own White ally development. The recruitment letter is included as Appendix A. Follow-up emails were made to potential participants one to two weeks after letters were sent to forge personal connections and enhance willingness to participate. The text of the follow up email is included as Appendix B. A total of 72 recruitment letters were sent to potential participants. Two letters were returned to sender. Three potential participants communicated that they were not Counseling Psychologists, and one potential participant indicated that she did not identify as White. Therefore, the participant pool included 66 potential participants. Of these 66 Counseling Psychologists, 5 potential participants responded to decline participation. Lastly, 2 potential participants attempted to schedule in-person interviews; however, scheduling conflicts prevented the interviews. Ten participants successfully scheduled interviews and were subsequently interviewed, which yields a participation rate of 15%. The final sample included 10 participants and is within the recommended number of participants for an interpretive phenomenological study (Smith et al., 2009). Of note, I did not have pre-existing personal relationships with any of the participants.

Protocol

For faculty members who consented to participate, interviews were scheduled at their institutions or private office space. At the beginning of the interview, participants orally completed a brief demographic questionnaire (e.g., age, ethnicity, and gender; see Appendix C). See Table 2.1 for self-reported participant demographic information. All participant IDs are pseudonyms.

Table 2.1

Participant Demographic Information

Participant ID	Age	Gender	Ethnicity
Meredith	32	Woman	Caucasian
Christopher	41	Male	Caucasian: Appalachian
Faith	44	Female	Mixed: Hebrew & Caucasian
Richard	63	Male	White
Debra	43	Female	White: European-American
Kelly	44	Female	White: Italian American
Susan	52	Female	White
Kevin	70	Male	Caucasian
Rachel	35	Female Woman	White
Heather	50	Cisgender Female	White

The interviews were semi-structured to allow for flexibility and a conversational style (Creswell, 2007; Smith et al., 2009; Suzuki et al., 2007). In-person interviews were utilized (instead of phone interviews) in order to best facilitate meaningful conversations and attend to verbal and non-verbal data (Creswell, 2007). Interviews lasted 46 - 89 minutes. Interview questions focused on personal and professional experiences with racism and advocacy, and follow-up questions and probes were also utilized. The interview protocol is attached as Appendix D. Before data collection began, the interview protocol was piloted with three White Counseling Psychology faculty members to identify any necessary alterations to the protocol. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and de-identified for data analysis (Creswell, 2007; Smith et al., 2009; Suzuki et al., 2007). The study was approved by the University of Kentucky IRB.

Data Analysis

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) methods were employed to systematically analyze data. The purpose of an interpretive phenomenological study is to glean understanding of the personal meaning and sense-making for people with a particular experience (e.g., experience with racism towards Black individuals; Smith et al., 2009). The core tenant of IPA is that people are constantly interpreting the events that happen to them (Smith & Eatough, 2008). In turn, the researcher interprets how the participants understand their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). IPA provides an explanation of how people make sense of and reflect on the significance of major life experiences. IPA is particularly well-suited to explore self and identity and focuses on idiographic and general descriptions of data, which allows for the simultaneous generation of both generic and unique themes (Smith & Eatough, 2008). Moreover,

given that the proposed study is qualitative in nature, hypotheses are not derived in order to fully explore and discover the phenomena (Creswell, 2007).

The final product of an interpretive phenomenological analysis study is rich analysis that provides a synthesis of description and interpretation (Smith & Eatough, 2008). In the present study, the results will elucidate participants' understandings and perspectives of racism against Black individuals.

All audio recordings were transcribed by a third-party transcription service. Transcriptions were first transcribed and then checked for accuracy against the audio recording. Once all interview data were transcribed, the data analysis process was initiated. IPA is broken down into six steps. Steps 1 – 5 focused on individual transcripts. Step 6 involved analyzing data across all cases, or participants (Smith et al., 2009).

In Step 1, I read and re-read a transcript to thoroughly immerse myself in the original data (Smith et al., 2009). During the first read-through of the transcript, I listened to the audio recording concurrently to maximize my understanding of the participants' perspectives. Step 2 involved making notes throughout the transcript (in the left margin). Notes in Step 2 were not focused on any specific domain. Instead, initial notes captured any intriguing content (e.g., key words, phrases, or explanations), linguistic patterns (e.g., pauses, laughter, tone), or conceptual comments (e.g., questions, deeper meaning, reflections; Smith et al., 2009). The purpose of the notes in Step 2 was to allow any and all ideas to emerge in an exploratory manner and create a detailed set of notes. (Additionally, Steps 1 and 2 overlapped during subsequent read-throughs of a transcript in Step 1.)

During Step 3, emergent themes were delineated in an attempt to condense initial notes into concise, psychologically-meaningful phrases (Smith et al., 2009). Step 3 shifted the analytic focus from working with the original data to the initial notes. Emergent themes reduced the volume of detail while maintaining and highlighting the complexity of the case. Emergent themes articulated the “psychological essence of the [case]” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 92) and captured a balance of description and interpretation. Emergent themes were noted in the right margin of the transcript.

Step 4 involved the process of searching for connections across emergent themes (Smith et al., 2009). Emergent themes from a transcript were typed into a Word document, organized into broader categories, and labeled (a process in IPA known as abstraction). The organization of emergent themes included looking for complementary themes, attending to opposite relationships in data, and identifying the interpersonal function of data (Smith et al., 2009).

Step 5 is simply repeating Steps 1 – 4 with the subsequent case until all individual transcripts have been analyzed through Steps 1 – 4 (Smith et al., 2009). When analyzing subsequent cases, bracketing ideas from the previous cases is encouraged in order to capture an idiographic account of the individual case (Smith et al., 2009). Once all transcripts were individually analyzed, I looked for patterns across cases (Step 6). All themes from all transcripts were compiled and organized (similar to Step 4). Some themes were refigured or relabeled in order to best capture the essence of the data. Both similarities and idiosyncratic differences among cases were highlighted.

Assessing trustworthiness of data was achieved through four main criteria (Yardley, 2000). First, *sensitivity to context* (Yardley, 2000) was achieved through

continuous recognition of the socio-cultural milieu (e.g., Whiteness, academia) and generous use of specific quotes in the results section. *Commitment to rigor* (Yardley, 2000) was completed by a lengthy, detailed analysis process and intentionality of sampling to best answer the research question. Third, *transparency and coherence* (Yardley, 2000) were attained through a clear and thorough delineation of methods and creation of a coherent set of themes in the analysis. Finally, *impact and importance* (Yardley, 2000) was accomplished through the focus of the study being of interest and imperativeness to the field of Counseling Psychology.

The final product of data analysis is an attempt to describe the White Counseling Psychology faculty members' personal meaning and perspectives of racism towards Black Americans through the identified themes (Smith et al., 2009). Again, both similarities and divergent perspectives were noted in order to capture both general and idiosyncratic trends in data (Smith et al., 2009). Importantly, the final product can be used to inform interventions to address racism against Black faculty and graduate students in the academy (Arminio, 2001; Morrow, 2007; Wertz, 2005).

Chapter Three: Results

Utilizing IPA to analyze the data, five primary themes emerged: White Privilege (WP) to Emotionally Distance Self from the Realities of Racism, Struggles to Engaging in Allyship, Honest Self-Awareness and Reflection, Intentional Advocacy, and Perceive Racism in their Environments (see Table 3.1). Themes were further delineated into subthemes, and some subthemes were further delineated into categories. The themes, subthemes, and categories reflect a complex dialectic of both positive and negative perspectives and behaviors related to racism against Black Americans. Themes that capture self-awareness, advocacy, and recognition of racism affirm the realities of racism for Black Americans. In contrast, themes that demonstrate the distancing impact of WP and the struggles to engage in allyship enhance understanding of how participants ignored, neglected, or minimized racism. Eight (out of 10) participants had responses that fell into both positive and negative themes, which highlights the dialectic of both working for and against racism as White Counseling Psychologists. Unfortunately, the other two participants only had responses in the negative themes (WP to Emotionally Distance Self from the Realities of Racism and Struggles to Engaging in Allyship). Though some frequencies will be utilized to demonstrate the salience of themes, frequencies are less of a focus in IPA than capturing the participants' understanding in both common and unique ways.

Emotionally Distance Self from Realities of Racism

All ten participants demonstrated the use of WP in order to actively or passively distance themselves from the realities of White supremacy and racism.

Table 3.1

Themes, Subthemes, and Categories of Participant Responses

Themes, Subthemes, and Categories	Frequency (Number of Participants)
White Privilege to Emotionally Distance Self from Realities of Racism	10
<i>Deflection from Discussing Race and Racism</i>	
<i>Off-Topic Conversation</i>	
<i>Non-Race Focused Advocacy or Examples</i>	
<i>Non-Black Examples</i>	
<i>Harmful Cognitive Schemas that Use White Privilege to Define “Reality”</i>	
<i>Rationalizing Racism with Logic, Not Irrational Emotion</i>	
Explaining Racism with Classism	
Rationalizing Racism through Positivistic Research Paradigms	
<i>Defensive Justifications for Not Being Racist</i>	
Positive Thoughts and Actions Related to Black Folks Proves I am Not Racist	
Victim Blaming and Vilification	
Sense of Superiority/Self-Importance: Too Good to Be Racist	
<i>Lack of Awareness of Insidious and Systemic Paradigms of Racism</i>	
Older Generations are Racist, Not Newer Generations	
Perpetuation of Racism Through Colorblind Rhetoric	
Trouble Perceiving Racism or Determining if Something is Racist	
No Sense of Social Justice, Privilege, or Oppression	
Diversity Initiatives are Unnecessary and Problematic	
Struggles to Engaging in Allyship	9
<i>Advocacy as Inherently Difficult</i>	
<i>Unsure of Impact of Advocacy</i>	
<i>Race Dialogues as Difficult</i>	
<i>Segregation from Black Americans as Designed and Normal</i>	

Table 3.1 (continued)

Themes, Subthemes, and Categories of Participant Responses

Themes, Subthemes, and Categories	Frequency (Number of Participants)
<i>Being an Imperfect Ally</i>	
<i>Not a Racist, But Not Prioritizing Engagement in Advocacy</i>	
<i>White Privilege Obscures Racism or Supports Inaction</i>	
<i>Harmful Actions in Interracial Dialogues</i>	
Honest Self-Awareness and Reflection	8
<i>Awareness of Personal Privilege</i>	
<i>Openness to Reflect on Progression of Own Racial Awareness</i>	
<i>Recognize Own Capacity for Racism</i>	
Intentional Advocacy	7
<i>Advocacy Efforts with Individuals in Early States of Awareness</i>	
<i>Advocacy in Academia</i>	
<i>Advocacy with Family</i>	
<i>Determining the Best Way to Advocate and Promote Racial Awareness</i>	
<i>Advocacy as an Active Lifestyle</i>	
<i>Positive Uses of Privilege</i>	
<i>Processing and Repairing Racism</i>	
<i>Pursuing Understanding and Dialogue with Black Individuals</i>	
Perceive Racism in Their Environments	6
<i>Recognizes Insidious and Systemic Racism</i>	
<i>Emotional Reactions to Witnessing Racism</i>	
<i>Intellectualized Knowledge</i>	
<i>Awareness of Displays of Privilege</i>	

Responses ranged from denial of racism and oppression to more insidious forms of racism, such as deflection and minimization. Susan reported not noticing racism at her institution, and she lacked understanding of the concept of microaggressions. For her, racism was conceptualized as blatant, bigoted behavior. Faith clearly discussed her difficulties with comprehending Black perspectives of American history and the ramifications on present-day society.

Some things culturally about me make it tremendously difficult for me to understand some American history. I'm a third-generation American...my family came from Italy and Poland, and they came at the turn of the 1900s. So I have very little understanding of slavery, no family heritage or understanding except for what I read in books...people get tremendously outraged at me because I'm not sympathetic about slavery or the effects of it on Black Americans today; it's honestly because I'm not a history major... the interactions I've had where people get tremendously upset really comes from my ignorance of not understanding their history...it's generally just when it comes to history that I don't understand, except for textbooks...I don't have the experience, so it's really difficult for me to relate to people, therefore to hear them.

Moreover, her distancing techniques included lack of recognition of the benefits of WP either through a rejection of WP or an incomplete understanding. For instance, Faith stated, "I don't know what advantages it's [WP] given me... [maybe] people don't look at me like I've stolen stuff or... I'm menacing." Subthemes within this theme include: Deflection from Discussing Race and Racism and Harmful Cognitive Schemas that Use WP to Define "Reality."

Deflection from Discussing Race and Racism

Participants demonstrated several mechanisms by which they deflected from honest, difficult discussions about race and racism (even within the context of active agreement to participate in an interview about race and racism). Susan focused intently on the growth of her students in lieu of discussing herself. She framed herself as a leader

in helping her students become enlightened, but neglected to address her own process of racial awareness and growth. For instance, “[I’m] just trying to get *them* to integrate their everyday experience with the stuff... but you want to help *them* make some of those connections.” Moreover, Susan most often discussed race as a side topic to gender. “We have a lot of discussions about race. I teach a psychology of gender class... we’ve talked about different gender related concepts like beauty.” Though the intersection of race and gender is important to discuss, only discussing race as a side-topic to gender (particularly as a White woman) may dismiss and/or mitigate the necessity of conceptualizing race and racism as important, intersecting constructs of identity.

Participants also engaged in deflection within the data collection interviews. Participants deflected by utilizing off-topic conversation, discussing non-race related advocacy examples, and providing non-Black examples of microaggressions (when explicitly asked for examples with Black individuals). Off-topic conversations ranged widely, including the graduate school application process, my future career options, institutional history, previous employment, and various other non-race related topics. One participant (Richard) routinely deflected the conversation via heterosexist, classist, and sizeist comments or pontification.

Non-raced focused advocacy examples focused primarily on LGBT advocacy.

I worked with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students, and I did a lot of outreach. (Kelly)

I marched on Washington for gay rights in college. (Debra)

[We] identified a certification you could get that was related to the LGBT community in terms of how sensitive or accepting the hospital climate was. (Christopher)

I go to a transgender support group probably three times a year as an ally. (Faith)

Combatting sexism (Christopher) and ableism (Kevin) were also discussed when asked about racial advocacy efforts.

Non-Black (yet race-related) examples of microaggressions included several references to individuals of Asian or Latin American heritage.

I have probably done this more with Asian and Latino American folks...like changing names in my head. Like someone's name is Jose, except I say Juan. (Kelly)

There was a period of time where somebody would be going slow or driving stupidly, and I would like pass them and I would catch myself thinking, "Oh, they're Asian." (Kelly)

She was Indian, but [I was] disregarding her experience because I think she had money and you know, education was part of her family. (Faith)

By ignoring this [Asian] student who has a degree in [English] and only talking to this other White male, like I am actually engaging in a microaggression. (Rachel)

Again, when explicitly asked for examples of microaggressions towards Black individuals, participants provided non-Black examples and deflected the conversation from focusing on Black Americans, possibly due to discomfort or guilt.

Harmful Cognitive Schemas that Use WP to Define "Reality"

Downplaying, rationalizing, and mitigating racism was evident in participant interviews through personal stories and thoughts that served to lessen the conviction of being racist. For instance, Kelly described a "knee jerk" reaction when her son spoke in Black vernacular and neglected to use "proper English." Susan could not remember a racist incident occurring during her time in academia and declared that racism was not a problem (thus claiming a post-racial academic climate). Harmful cognitions were particularly salient regarding relationships and interactions with Black individuals. Interpersonally-themed comments included defensiveness about few relationships with

Black individuals (“I’m kind of introverted, so it’s not rare [to have] just a few folks that I do stuff with outside of school” [Kelly]), lack of recognition about the salience of race in interracial relationships (“I don’t actually think [race] would have affected the relationship too much” [Kelly]), and judgment with White standards of professionalism (“[I have had] issues around classroom management ... [they] seeming[ly] didn’t have any experience about how to act... [they were] socially incompetent in that milieu... in my experience it was primarily, almost exclusively Black students” [Susan]). Categories within this subtheme included: Rationalizing Racism with Logic, Not Irrational Emotion; Defensive Justifications for Not Being Racist; and Lack of Awareness of Insidious and Systemic Paradigms of Racism – Racism as Only Blatant.

Rationalizing racism with logic, not irrational emotion. “People don’t make decisions with facts. They make decisions with the emotional mind, and then they ask the emotional mind to go over here to the rational mind, and give some logic to back my emotionally based decision” (Richard). One key mechanism of mitigating and dismissing racism was to rely on positivistic perspectives to disprove racism. Positivistic paradigms assume a fixed reality that can be measured and dismiss competing perspectives as untrue or unfounded (Glesne, 2011). Richard was particularly verbose about the necessity of logic and the dangers of “data be damned arguments” that ignore the “facts.” For Richard, emotion was devalued and synonymous with irrationality. For instance,

There was no White lives matter protest. And that’s all garbage, that’s all emotional mind reaction. And emotional mind reaction as far as I’m concerned is a bunch of crap. And it is fueled by bull shit, by people inciting it.

Though less flagrant, Kelly also participated in emotional distancing to dismiss racism as she flatly discussed taunts from strangers targeted at her and her Black male romantic partner and neglected to recognize any emotional facet or outcome of such comments.

Susan discussed a racially-divided, current issue in her community regarding the potential demolition of a school in a historically Black neighborhood. “[The school] is falling down and really just needs to be torn down and rebuilt.” Many White individuals in the community do not understand the significance of the school, and turned to positivistic logic to solve this dilemma.

Somebody was finally smart enough to say well, let’s look at the numbers... it wasn’t even 10% of the people within two miles attended that school... so it’s almost like the school is symbolic in some way...there is a contingent of people who live in that area who see it as something being taken away from them.

The White reality of an old, decrepit school did not reconcile with the Black reality of a symbolic community icon. Moreover, the use of positivistic logic utilized facts to dismiss the predominately Black perspective.

Another common cognitive strategy was to appeal to a “middle ground” where people were not too “extreme” or emotional. “[My graduate program] was an extreme bandwagon like they are now... we’re ridiculously over the top to the point that we’re neglecting counseling techniques for diversity issues.” Richard’s response to racial strife was to have the extremes (e.g., Black Lives Matter movement, academia, KKK) talk and find “common ground.” He blamed the media for being “too inciteful [sic], inciting people and enticing them to argue... because you can’t get people to watch people if you don’t arouse them.” Kevin further expressed an active search for the middle ground.

So my biggest struggle is to find some ground where it makes sense, and the biggest problem I think I have is well, I want it to make sense, but I don’t want

anybody to think I'm being racist or a fool in another direction or that kind of thing.

Both men rejected the extremism of current racial justice movements yet agreed that overt racism (i.e., blatant racism as expressed in the 1950s) was unacceptable. Another example of discussions that encompassed the logical middle ground was to articulate that racism is not *that* bad. Rachel gave White students the benefit of the doubt about being racist and tried not to “generaliz[e] too much” and exacerbate the scope of the problem. Kevin reflected that segregation and racism in the military was not as bad as he has been forewarned: “I actually thought, and quite contrary to what I frequently heard, that the proportion of people in my unit, which was a combat unit, was I thought sort of representative of the national population.” Racism was mitigated by comparing the racism they witnessed with more extreme, overt racism.

Another common mitigation strategy was to locate a culprit other than racism to explain discrepancies in behaviors and attitudes. Neurology (“we’re human and our brains categorize” [Rachel]), basic social tendencies (“I don’t think it had to do with Black/White, it had to do with in-group, out-group kind of thing” [Kevin]), and positivistic statistical paradigms (“this dissertation is a moderation study and so a bunch of these other variables might moderate the relationship between those two things” [Kevin]) were used as logical, scientific scapegoats to mitigate the impact of racism. Context was also used to support racism through claiming that the current situation supported their actions and meant race was not a factor. Rachel provided a justification for *my* racism when I shared an anecdote about racist thoughts about a Black man who approached me in a parking garage. “I, probably, at 10 o’clock would be anxious about anybody approaching me in a public garage” (Rachel). Non-support for affirmative

action policies was also conceptualized as care for the Black academicians and their families.

The university is bending over backwards to bring in minorities and they get here and some stay and some don't... and they said we are not going to stay in this community because there is no Black community for my kids to be raised in.... If they're really sharp and they look at the community; many times they'll move.
(Richard)

Such rationalizations served to dismiss racism with a clear conscience through careful, reasoned justifications.

Explaining racism with classism. A common scapegoat for racism was classism. Classism was used as a deflection by citing socioeconomic status, not race, as the primary cause of difference without any meaningful understanding of the intersectionality of race and class. Kelly explained differences in disciplinary issues among elementary school children as “more about class [because] some of [those] kids hadn't been in preschool.” Susan further explained differences in discipline problems among college students with class, not race:

It wasn't just about the skin color of the students coming in. They were coming from an entirely different area of town... students who really weren't college material and probably would find another avenue at some point... it really didn't seem to matter what their racial background was in terms of their achievement level.

Those who were more likely to come from homes where parents were not only not college educated but hadn't finished high school and maybe even hadn't finished middle school... I guess it's economic circumstances that at least here in this area result in those primarily people of color... that's not always along a racial divide, but I would say that there are more people of color who have that experience.

Faith also disguised racism as classism by not recognizing gentrification as harmful to people of color but a win-win for all parties (particularly for property-owners like herself).

Rationalizing racism through positivistic research paradigms. An additional rationalization was to heavily rely on positivistic, quantitative research paradigms that easily lend themselves to negating the nuances of insidious and systemic forms of racism. The comfort of such a paradigm was that participants could only rely on information that is provable, testable, and objective. Without unequivocal research support, ideas could be rejected as untrue, erroneous, or fallacious. Regarding diversity training, Richard stated “show me some evidence... there’s no evidence... they’re spouting out stuff off the top of their head.” He asked “where is the research? And is it good research?” “Good research” was further clarified as “the outcome research, the real research.” Therefore, if an existing outcome-based study did not show that client outcomes improved when therapists engaged in diversity training, then diversity training was unnecessary. Per Richard, counselor training programs are “pissing away time on an issue that makes no difference.”

“You can’t show me one outcome research [study] that says people that are trained in diversity are better therapists than people that haven’t... anecdotal evidence is not evidence unless there is documents to back up what anecdotally happened.” When only client outcomes were viewed as “actual impact,” other research that revealed racism was ignored, and, thus, only data from people willing to participate in therapy was considered. Moreover, potential difficulties around assessing racism were ignored. Richard and Kevin both shared examples of research that they believed were not racially relevant because they anecdotally thought the data would be the same for White participants (Richard) or did not understand the paradigm of internalized racism (Kevin).

Now let me give you an example. The American Mental Health Counseling Association Journal published a study where they interviewed Black professors in

the department and said “do you feel like these things are a problem in your department or not?” And Black professors all said, “yes. These things are happening to me. The chair doesn’t pay enough attention; I’m not getting the recognition of the other faculty and everything.” And what was wrong with the study? Where’s the control group? If you would have given that same survey to White professors, they would have said the same thing. (Richard)

One study showed that counselors, particularly Caucasian counselors gave... more negative, more extremely negative ratings and all that kind of thing to the minority client... then so these same people followed up with a group of African American students... and the means across the two studies were almost identical. (Kevin)

Richard proclaimed, “That type of research is not worth a dime. I couldn’t even believe they would publish it...this proves nothing... in fact it increases biases and prejudices and gives a false impression that something is going on that is not.” Richard indicated, “We know the number one [thing] to combat racism is interaction, pure one-on-one interaction. One-on-one interaction fixes all the extreme crap.” Rationalizations were deeply cemented among some participants and served as logical mechanisms to dismiss racism and define reality based on their notions of facts, logic, and truth.

Defensive justification for not being racist. In addition to rational explanations for dismissing or mitigating racism, participants further demonstrated other defensive mechanisms to prove they were not racist. Proximity to Black individuals and living in a town with a “high Black population” were cited as reasons why Richard was not inherently racist. “I went in Black households as a child very, very much” (Richard). Richard also cited his closeted liberalism and lack of victimization by Black folks as reasons he is not racist (additionally indicating a lack of understanding of privilege or oppression). Kelly also minimized racism by ubiquitously claiming that her family unequivocally had no issue with her romantic relationship with a Black man and categorically denying that race or racism may have influenced her attraction to her Black

partner. Categories within this subtheme include Positive Thoughts or Actions Related to Black Folks Prove I am Not Racist, Victim-Blaming and Vilification, and Sense of Superiority/Self-Importance: Too Good to be Racist.

Positive thoughts or actions related to Black folks prove I am not racist. The present category captured responses that used logic to dichotomize the world into racists and non-racists and, thus, dismissed that racism coexists with antiracism, politeness, and verbalized expressions for equality. Relationships with Black individuals were the primary evidence for a personal lack of racism. Kelly cited her son's positive relationships with a non-White best friend and a Black babysitter as reasons she and her family were not racist. Faith further corroborated that her decision to attend a graduate school in "the most diverse county in the country" with a racially and ethnically diverse cohort indicated her lack of racism. Reflecting on his experience in the military, Kevin mused, "I think an African American person who happened to be assigned to our unit... would have integrated in nicely." He shared that he was more comfortable with "African American guys from the inner city than... all the [White] guys from West Virginia" due to growing up in a Northern city with a high proportion of Black people (similar to Richard). Kevin described his experience with these Black men as an indisputably, "very positive experience." In addition to his early experiences growing up near Black people, Richard cited other life experiences with Black individuals that demonstrated his lack of racism, including becoming "very liberal" about integration in high school, having "Black bass players" and "Black singers" in his band, having dinner with Black couples, and working in a state penitentiary with mostly Black inmates.

Many positive experiences with Black individuals occurred in academia, as either students or faculty members. Kevin remembered “a really cool African American faculty member” when he was a graduate student. He also shared that a Black female faculty member who left the university due to being treated “unfairly” told him that he was always fair with her. These two relationships served to mitigate his sense of personal racism. Moreover, Kevin spoke as an advocate for Affirmative Action; however, he lacked understanding of why Black faculty members may not accept offers of employment from his institutions and tokenized African American applicants.

I wanted desperately to make this southern university more equitable or something in terms of distribution of faculty, but I could not. I could interview African American faculty, but I couldn't hire them... I think because they in such great demand.

Richard shared some praise for the “wonderful Black professors here and there” at his institution. He indicated that he tried to “mentor” a new Black female faculty member “over and over” because “she was a horrible teacher.” After she ultimately left the university, Richard stated that he was the “only faculty that wrote her” in order to follow up with her. Richard shared that he was not that upset by his university for “bend[ing] over backwards to help the minority [students]” because “the vast, vast majority of the time, they [the students] have not been extreme.” Because Richard engaged in formal niceties with a former Black colleague and verbalized his consent to recruit racial minority students, he perceived himself as non-racist (despite the palpable racism in his statements). Overall, participants viewed their (subjectively) positive experiences with Black folks as evidence of a non-racist identity and neglected to consider their own capacities for racism.

Victim-blaming and vilification. As the counterpart to positive actions and thoughts disproving one's own racism, participants also vilified and blamed Black individuals for negative outcomes they faced. Therefore, not only were White participants not racist, but Black folks were at fault for the many of the inequities they experienced. Richard showed blatant contempt and victim-blaming towards Black individuals. "I'm sorry, you can't play the Black card... not everything happens because you're Black. There's tons of White people that don't care you're Black. It is happening because of your behavior." Regarding the murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, he stated, "Missouri was the worst case you can pick. This guy was obviously a bully; he just dropped the minute market." Richard also strongly vilified the Black inmates as "super-duper killers," "cream of the crap," and "radical Black Muslims" when referring to his work at "a Black prison." Moreover, he did not articulate an understanding of inequity in law enforcement and prison sentencing. Kevin was less contemptuous, though still exhibited victim-blaming. For instance, he blamed the Black soldiers on the military base for a lack of community because they were being "exclusive" and leaving out the White soldiers.

Victim-blaming and vilification also occurred in the academy. Richard accused a Black female applicant of lying on her application when she indicated experience teaching courses, but he described her as a "teacher's aide." He also (anecdotally) reported that a former Black faculty member "bypassed the entire hiring process" and three months later they "caught him in his office looking at kiddy porn... and he had his pants down." These rumors served to vilify Black faculty members when Richard himself could not know the truth in these instances - despite claiming to know the full

reality of the situation. Regarding students, Kevin critiqued his only Black colleague as “stiff and formal” and failed to recognize the context of his Black peer’s reality as the token Black academic. Richard described one Black male graduate student as a faculty member’s “pet project,” which imbued the student with an easier graduate school experience. Kevin also critiqued a Black female student for her use of litigation against universities and cited her repeated litigation “when things haven’t worked out” as a last resort to get better grades.

Similarly, Susan initially attributed characterological flaws to a Black female student:

She was doing great up until a certain point and now it’s like she just doesn’t care; she doesn’t show up, you know, and when I talked to her about maybe doing a makeup or whatever, she just kind of blows me off.

Susan later found out that the student was sharing one car with her mother who was routinely called into work (outside of her scheduled work shifts) during the student’s classes and, subsequently, needed the family vehicle. When Susan learned this new information, she again victim-blamed the student by stating:

You make assumptions if there’s no communication on it... because to me the worst thing that can happen is for people to just close themselves off and withdraw... and then unless you bother to ask and sometimes do more than just ask, really actively encourage some kind of communication to get to the bottom of it... and so if they don’t tell us that, it’s very, very hard to help... it’s that learned helplessness.

Susan concluded the story with a self-congratulations and hoping that she had “made an impact in [the student’s] life.”

Sense of superiority/self-importance: Too good to be racist. Beyond difficulties with recognizing personal racism and victim-blaming, Richard further engaged in a defensive rationalization to protect his self-image as a non-racist. Richard indicated that

he was so knowledgeable and intelligent that he was most assuredly not racist. When decrying diversity training for therapists, he stated that he saw what was “happening on the front lines of mental health” unlike “the academic world.” Therefore, he could make the claims he espoused. When speaking of finding a middle ground to end racism, Richard claimed that the extremes “can’t even see the other side” like he can, which perpetuates the problem. Richard described himself as “not a divisionistic person,” which imbued him with the faculties to eradicate racism (and certainly not commit it).

Lack of awareness of insidious and systemic paradigms of racism – racism as only blatant. Because of the pervasive nature of racism, many participants who recognized insidious or systemic racism in some cases also failed to identify racism in other instances. Other participants conceptualized racism as blatant acts of racist discrimination synonymous to racism in the 1950s, such as Jim Crow laws, disparaging language, and openly acknowledged white supremacy. Kevin viewed racism as “less likely to happen amongst [a] highly educated group of faculty.” Susan corroborated his perspective by indicating that she “hasn’t experienced any overt stuff in class with students,” which indicated a lack of racism. Faith shared that she was “not around people who are really saying racist things,” and Susan proclaimed that her parents were free of negative racial stereotypes.

Many participants reflected on experiences earlier in life that demonstrated a lack of awareness of systemic or insidious racism. Two participants cited their Northern births as reasons why they had not witnessed true racism until they moved to the South and were more immune to committing racism. Debra stated that she still harbored confusion about the accusation of racism from a Black classmate. The insidiousness of

her racism was difficult for her to identify – though she acknowledged that she must have done something racist. Faith was oblivious when she tried to “use the same language” as her Black peers and addressed them as “nigger.”

I realized like oh, I couldn't say “oh hey, nigger.” You know. I was part of the group, but I wasn't Black... they got to explain it to me... I didn't really offend them.

Not only did she glibly laugh away her error, but she did not see how her attempt at Black appropriation was racist and potentially harmful to her friends.

Lack of awareness of systemic and insidious racism permeated the educational system as well. Richard stated, “We hired a Black professor because she was Black.” Kevin criticized a Black male applicant's job talk as “terrible for considering how advanced a guy he was” (Kevin actually received an article on unconscious racism from a Black female university administrator after this occurred). Faith stated that White students and students of color were “all treated equal” in her graduate program and stated that she did not have any “different privileges” from her peers of color. Susan did not acknowledge the scarcity of faculty of color in her department. Furthermore, she framed segregated education as unquestionably normal, including her “foreign experience” going to an integrated high school, the natural segregation of Black students in community college and White students at the university, and her children attending a private high school with no Black students. These education experiences were discussed as ordinary facts with no sense of systemic inequity or injustice.

Further supporting systemically racist paradigms, Richard referenced the 1960s and stated that “back then schools were segregated and communities were segregated,” and did not acknowledge current segregation. Relatedly, Faith shared that she was

unsure “if people of color struggle” against racism when trying to get loans for vehicles or homes. For them, the paradigms of insidious or systemic racism were not considered. Moreover, Richard and Faith lacked understanding of racism as an act against only people of color and referenced a) being thankful for not having been a victim of significant racism (Richard) and b) committing racial microaggressions against White individuals (Faith). Additionally, Richard and Faith recommended taking each case “individually.” For Richard, this meant “get[ting] above playing the Black card” and not turning “things into issues that shouldn’t be made into an issue.” Richard asserted that Black individuals claim that racism occurs to get out of trouble, which is not fair to White individuals who cannot play the “White card.” Faith shared that her father (a retired police officer):

Did not like Black people, but he also made a good point... I could understand why my Dad did not like Black people... I tried to advocate by letting him know he didn’t know those people and he shouldn’t talk about those people... And that if he knew the person specifically; he could say whatever he wanted.

The concept of taking cases individually served to ignore systemic patterns of racism.

Some more specific categories of ignorance of systemic and insidious racism include:

Older Generations are Racist, Not Newer Generations; Perpetuation of Racism through Colorblind Rhetoric; Trouble Perceiving Racism or Determining if Something is Racist; and No Sense of Social Justice, Privilege, or Oppression.

Older generations are racist, not newer generations. The ability to perceive insidious and systemic racism was severely impaired by the belief that racism is dying out, and thus, decreasing as a social problem. Richard and Susan ardently held to the belief that racism was being eradicated by the passage of time.

If you look at the prejudice variable, we have the first generation that's come along that is probably truly colorblind... but we have a generation that is two generations down from mine that haven't been taught to be prejudiced... the most colorblind generation that's ever been. (Richard)

He stated that the upcoming generation is the "best generation that's ever been" because they "don't really care that much" about race, and "it's not an issue." To Richard, this generation is not like their parents, and not like him. Susan articulated a similar perspective and viewed her college students as "willing to talk about these kinds of issues" and "not coming into it with any kind of attitude on any front." Susan further discussed the idea of racism dying out by using her family as an example: "We have a lot of conversations about maybe this is one of those things that just has to die out generationally. We can't imagine being able to change Granddaddy's mind." Likewise, Richard admitted, "I am prejudiced against Blacks who play the race card when I don't think it's a fact of the case." However, he tries to "slow down with the person" and "not show [his] prejudice... I'm aware of it... but I don't tell them." For Richard, silence equaled eradication.

In addition to acknowledging that the generation below them is becoming less racist, Susan also discussed how she and her parents are less racist than her grandparents as further proof of the natural eradication of racism. Ironically, Susan demonstrated her own discomfort with race by using vague, cryptic language, instead of using terms, such as "race" and "racism." In addition to Granddaddy being blatantly racist, Susan discussed her "sweetest little grandmother you could ever imagine, do anything for anybody"; however, Susan shared that "some of the words that came out of her mouth horrified me. And they were just words that she used because that was the way she'd been raised." Susan asserted:

She would have treated those people the same way and she did, the same way that she treated all of my other friends... [she] loved having me and my brother and sister and all our friends over and we'd spend the night. And she'd cook for us, and we would do things. And it did not matter one iota what color people were or where they came from or whatever.

Richard made a similar assertion about his father:

He was a guy [that] when he got with his brothers would speak prejudicially about Blacks. But when he ran his business and we went into a Black household he was as straight ahead and called people by their nature, not by whether they were Black or not.

Not only did both Susan and Richard use their older family members as evidence for the eradication of racism, they defended their personal racism with claims of colorblind treatment.

Perpetuation of racism through colorblind rhetoric. Colorblind rhetoric was utilized to dismiss racism by proverbially supporting the idea of a melting pot of diversity. Richard and Susan looked to science to support colorblindness since “nothing that science has ever said... separates the races period” (Richard) and “race doesn't exist as a concept genetically” (Susan). They both spoke of the need to treat everyone equally and not “break it down” by various social identities. Kevin agreed that his approach to working with students and faculty was to treat everyone the same. Faith also spoke of carefulness to not make “sweeping generalizations” and if people “have a similar worldview, then color is not problematic... because it's not a difference of color, it's just experience.” For instance, Faith reported that she did not notice that she was the only White person at a church picnic seemingly because noticing race is akin to overgeneralizing. Richard also noted that his interactions with a former Black band member were only impacted by the man's alcoholism, not his race. These participants wisely avoided many gross overgeneralizations about Black people in their lives;

however, when “sweeping generalizations” included ignoring cultural preferences or neglecting to acknowledge cultural history, racism was perpetuated. For instance, Richard shared an anecdote involving other White males in the profession during which was told that preparing to be culturally sensitive while visiting a foreign, Asian country was “bullshit” and “none of that stuff applies” as long as he is just acting like “himself.” Susan was in favor of removing race from the conversation around closing the old school since she viewed race as an uninvolved factor:

Everything seems to be drawn according to racial lines when it comes to conflicts about what schools should we keep open and how should we allocate our monies and so forth... why are we bringing around race every time someone mentions the school or the school system?... When I hear them talking around school board issues, it always seems to come down to race... so it's like we hear the race issue all the time.

By ignoring cultural differences in favor of treating everybody exactly the same, participants belittled the experiences of Black Americans. Susan spoke of school integration as “just as intimidating for them [Black students] as it was for us [White students].” Faith shared that she thought police would confront her if she was “sneaking around” no matter her color and spoke of police enforcement as a ubiquitously, equitable endeavor. Richard summed up this perspective by stating that: “Well, I think Black Lives Matter is stupid. It should be All Lives Matter... we have shit like Black Lives Matter, which is a stupid expression because it is like saying no other lives matter.”

Trouble perceiving racism or determining if something is racist. “And that’s kind of where I struggle now is to say well, is it never race? It is always race? Where is the middle ground? I don’t know. I can’t really understand” (Kevin). When participants lacked understanding of systemic and insidious racism yet heard Black voices speak of racism, they were often left uncertain and confused about how to determine when racism

occurred. Heather verbally expressed this tension as “a sense of... confronting your own racism and this discomfort there, and trying to disentangle it from the general discomfort that the situation might bring on as well.” Moreover, this disentangling was influenced by personal experiences that shaped personal perspectives of what is and is not considered racist.

Several examples highlighted this confusion. Kevin shared three different anecdotes involving faculty members. First, when his department failed to hire a Black male applicant, a superior at the university (a Black woman) challenged the committee and asserted that unconscious racism influenced the applicant’s poor reception. Reflecting on this incident, Kevin expressed, “Now was their unconscious racism or whatever going on? I guess. I don’t know.” He remains unsure of how racism could have been unwittingly committed. Second, Kevin suspects that a Black female colleague left due to racism (based on her discussion of a lack of fairness), but he is confused because “she didn’t explicitly say race.” Third, several students of color (including Black students) filed complaints about a professor’s racist behaviors. Kevin reported:

I never was able to figure out in that circumstance whether or not this faculty member [was racist]... my feeling was the faculty member was not [racist], she was just tough... so I couldn’t figure out whether it was being unfair or the students were in part attributing their inability to succeed to some racist behavior on the part of the faculty member.

Heather shared that she was unable to determine how much racism impacted admissions into the Counseling Psychology program at her school (a Predominately White Institution) as opposed to “shifting criteria” that made applications competitive. Lastly, Kelly spoke about a work conflict with a Black female colleague and her struggle to recognize if and how racism was a part of the conflict.

I would do things to try to keep her in the loop and keep her updated. And then I would get these crazy emails back... and the [Black] director and my [Black] friend don't see it at all... I mean maybe there is something we're doing to trigger this.

No sense of social justice, privilege, or oppression. One participant seemed to not simply slip up and have moments of neglecting insidious or systemic paradigms, but he rejected those notions and found social justice as wholly unnecessary. Richard's understanding of diversity was devoid of understanding WP, oppression, or social justice.

You're all for diversity until somebody is diverse and different than your diversity and then diversity goes out the window... there's no respecting of diversity of faculty opinion... [academia is] full of pseudo liberals. They're not liberal; they're just prejudiced in a different way... they say they are for diversity; they accept one group and kick out another. I'm going to have to bring in the... gays and Blacks and kick out the Whites and Christians.

His colorblind perspective of diversity would result in the status quo remaining unchallenged.

"I think there's reverse prejudice. In fact, absolutely. In our program, we've bent over backwards to have a minority program... clearly, absolutely unequivocally reverse discrimination occurring all over the place" (Richard). Richard believes that in his program there is "more reverse discrimination and no [standard] discrimination." He described himself and other faculty members not on the "diversity bandwagon" as "second class citizens." Richard spoke of political correctness preventing fairness and the easiness of being non-White.

Fighting political correctness was perceived as a barrier to fair treatment in academia and something he "can't get around." Political correctness supported "the power of the Black person whether they're qualified or not" and gave Black individuals an advantage when applying for academic jobs. Richard viewed himself as a martyr for

political correctness who spoke against reverse racism, such as the Black Lives Matter movement. Because of the advantages in environments that support political correctness (like academia), Richard asserted that life is easier as a Black American. “The Black person gets the breaks; the White person doesn’t.” Examples of Black advantages include the lack of a “White card,” getting “more slack,” leniency from punishment, having other people play the Black card for you, and permission to be the exception to the rule.

Augmenting his claims of reverse racism and the dangers of political correctness, Richard demonstrated a severe lack of recognition of his own capacity for racism. “I don’t really have a lot of Black prejudices.” He asserted that he was racist as a child and teenager, but he is not racist currently. In addition to his belief that he is not “prejudiced,” he could not recollect any instances in which he behaved in a racist or microaggressive manner.

Diversity initiatives are unnecessary and problematic. Because of the belief in reverse racism and harmful political correctness, Richard asserted that diversity trainings “neglect counseling techniques for diversity issues” and viewed the two concepts as irreconcilable. He did not support students being “sold this line of thinking” and viewed the “diversity bandwagon” as detrimental to the department due to the “neglect” of other issues. Richard critiqued diversity trainings that “teach in generalities and universalities that don’t exist in the real world.” However, his solution was to banish diversity training unequivocally instead of further refining diversity trainings. Richard told a student at one point: “Forget all that crap you were taught in the diversity class... you were oversold....

Just forget everything they taught you and go in there and see what you've got in there with your client.”

Struggles to Engaging in Allyship

Nine participants identified struggles to promoting racial justice or allyship towards Black Americans. Working with individuals in early stages of awareness was described as “frustrating” by Meredith, and she also described the pressure to “constantly” be an advocate as overwhelming. Moreover, Meredith spoke of how allyship often served to create distance between self and friends (or even family).

The belonging... I think it gets challenged in that moment I think that piece of belonging... is hard. And it's in fear of what will happen as a result of standing up for, you know, social justice and things that are important and people that you know, and care about and have relationships with.

Responses in this theme were organized into two subthemes: Advocacy as Inherently Difficult and Being an Imperfect Ally.

Advocacy as Inherently Difficult

Participants spoke of advocacy as arduous work that (despite rewards and progress) was laden with tribulations and barriers. Heather captured the dialectical tension of advocacy work.

So the love-hate relationship is I love it when I see people change, and then I feel like defensive about the whole thing when I get, you know, like negative feedback about the process of being challenged and the devaluing of the program.

Within the subtheme, specific categories further elucidated inherent difficulties of allyship: Unsure of Impact of Advocacy, Race Dialogues are Difficult, and Segregation from Black Americans as Designed and Normal.

Unsure of impact of advocacy. Despite the effort expended by participants involved in advocacy work, they often wondered if and how their efforts were helpful in

facilitating racial justice. Heather wondered if her social media posts made a difference. When working with students, Meredith speculated on how much her students really heard her message: “I mean it’s hard to know... I think to some degree it got in... I could tell that they were kind of thinking about it, but I don’t know to what degree the message really got home.” She reflected on her first time teaching a multicultural course for graduate students and wondered “I don’t know how well it worked.” Christopher agreed that teaching amounts to “planting seeds” and being unsure of what unfolds after the course ends. Thinking of conversations with her children, Debra also used the analogy of “planting seeds” and said, “I’ve no idea if we’re doing it right, but I think we’re not doing it wrong.” She shared her struggle to “have age appropriate conversations that acknowledge inequity.” Debra stated:

I think I worry about... either perpetuating stereotypes or like in trying to make things simple for them, and like talking about social inequities somehow perpetuating the idea that *all* brown people have access to fewer resources than White people. So that’s something I still struggle with.

The uncertainty of progress was a disappointing reality for participants engaged in ally work.

Race dialogues are difficult. Related to the uncertainty of one’s impact factor as an ally, race dialogues were discussed as “risky,” “uncomfortable,” “challenging,” or “harmful.” Kelly reflected, “There is some uneasiness; I think... it’s a really risky process for people... I think if it doesn’t have an environment where you can call each other out, there can actually be damage... I think it’s tricky.” Heather discussed the lack of “power and security” as an untenured faculty member that made race discussions “challenging conversations.” Debra and Heather reflected on having to confront the idea that they could be racist or harm an existing relationship when discussing race.

Moreover, Debra acknowledged her own discomfort in addressing another White person who was being racist. Christopher shared that his greatest struggle was engaging in race dialogues with his family.

Probably one of the most challenging [conversations] is the home one where I'm around family members and my family of origin... it's hard to get through a family outing where those issues don't come up. And I think the challenge of trying to be a social justice advocate while also being able to stay in the room with some of those individuals, and I challenge, I certainly put it out there... I think the struggle is easier to do, I think, with people that I don't know or that I can put myself out there and withstand the criticism.

Debra also found race dialogues with family difficult, such as explaining the race-motivated murder of nine Black church attendees in Charleston, SC to her children. Whether talking to family, children, superiors, or colleagues, conversations about race elicited discomfort, uncertainty, and confusion. Moreover, a lack of racial dialogue and interracial communication was maintained by societal separation of White and Black individuals.

Segregation from Black Americans as designed and normal. Participants' personal experiences of segregation from Black Americans demonstrated the common nature of separate worlds for White and Black Americans. The worlds were so distinct that separation was expected: "I really thought that there would be a division down racial lines" (Kevin). Moreover, the academy remained a White space that punctuated this separation. Kevin stated that "none of the students" in his graduate program were African American, but later remembered one Black male graduate student. Christopher similarly shared that there was little racial diversity on his current campus. Other participants echoed the salience of Whiteness in higher education and spoke of segregation's strong roots that commenced before college.

Kelly reflected on the segregated suburb she grew up in and her segregated education: “I went to a Catholic school, and it was predominately White... I actually went here for university, which is also predominately White.” For Kelly, the pattern of segregated education continued: “I’m kind of watching it happen with my son too.” Rachel and Kevin attended high schools with “two people of color in a cohort of 300” (Rachel) and not “even one African American student until my last year” (Kevin). Both described college as having a “little bit” more racial diversity. As Kevin joined the military, segregated spaces continued: “Blacks tended to hang out with Blacks; Whites tended to hang out with Whites.” Christopher was raised in a rural area where the “KKK had some sort of influence in the community and the high school in the town.” Because of this indoctrination, Christopher reported that from an early age:

I learned the n-word, and I learned how to use it. And I didn’t think there was anything in the world wrong with it. And it was a part of my language, my vocabulary; it was part of who I was.

As a direct result of such segregation, participants had few Black friends, mostly just Black acquaintances. Christopher reflected, “I certainly had friends that were African American. I think by and large more of my friends were White...but in the end [Black friends] were more of acquaintances because we lived in different parts of town.” In addition to a lack of close Black friends, Christopher also remembered tension between himself and Black teammates and shared that he was able to “earn some respect” in the end, but not become friends necessarily. Kelly had a similar reflection about a Black teammate:

My friend in track was really fun, and we were in study hall together. We had lots and lots of fun. And actually, things drifted. I didn’t know it at the time, but she got pregnant in high school. I mean I knew later when she had the baby; and so I

always wondered if she felt like she couldn't talk to me about it... we didn't get together outside of like track or school, so I guess there was sort of that distance.

Both Christopher and Kelly recognized the distance in these relationships and were saddened by it as well. Rachel also noted that a working relationship with a Black female colleague was “driven by external circumstances” and largely focused on a course they taught, not personal matters. After being raised and educated in predominately White spaces, a paucity of Black friends appeared to be a natural consequence of segregation. Therefore, even racial allies and advocates found themselves in White spaces that perpetuated segregation and White supremacy.

Being an Imperfect Ally

Lastly, participants recognized that despite efforts and engagement in allyship, they were prone to mistakes and imperfection. Several participants articulated that because of “underpinnings” of racism and white supremacy, a perfect ally did not exist. Meredith articulated, “[I'm] not perfect all the time, but I think just striving for that sends a message.” She also discussed learning to “diffuse the perfectionism around” being an ally and accept that she is not going to “catch every single [mistake].” Categories within the sub-theme include: Not a Racist, But Not Prioritizing Engagement in Advocacy; White Privilege Obscures Racism or Inaction; and Harmful Actions in Interracial Dialogues.

Not a racist, but not prioritizing engagement in advocacy. Participants shared reactions of not being involved enough in advocacy and subsequent rationalizations of why they were not actively involved in ally work. Responses in this category reflected the discrepancy in verbalizing allyship and actually prioritizing participation in advocacy efforts. Kelly talked about not being able to be “involved in everything,” and she

vaguely discussed her racial advocacy as “supporting causes when I can by attending things.” Kevin and Debra both openly admitted that they are not actively involved in much racial advocacy work. Debra further reflected, “I used to march for things, and I, you know, protested everything, and I don’t know if it is because I’m old and busy; I don’t do that anymore.” For Rachel, busyness and school rules created barriers to advocacy that led to inaction.

A couple of students expressed interest in doing more, and I don’t know, it sort of fizzled out. I tried to get a class this summer... I thought maybe we could develop some kind of program similar to Safe Zone... My idea is like I’m busy; I don’t have a lot of time. What if like we did it as a class?... I had two students that expressed interest, so I can’t offer this class with two students unfortunately.

Kevin focused on finding the “middle ground.” For instance, he discussed how he personally met the Black neighbors who moved into his predominately White neighborhood and got on a “first name basis” with them. However, when his White neighbors discussed the “racial makeup of the neighborhood” he would tell them he was “not a part of this at all” and leave the conversation (instead of advocating from a privileged position). Kevin also made reference to trying to “educate them” in some instances.

White privilege obscures racism or supports inaction. In some cases, WP directly impaired advocacy work. Like other participants discussed previously, Rachel shared that being from the North meant there “wasn’t as much opportunity to see racism normalized” and allowed WP to block her acknowledgement of the pervasiveness of insidious and systemic racism. Rachel admitted that she was guilty of “wondering around in [her] own privilege and not attending to how that affects other people,” but she did not connect this WP with the “benefits of the doubt” she gave to White students.

Debra witnessed a microaggression from another White faculty member in a meeting and did not confront the faculty member. At a later time, several students approached Debra with complaints about another faculty member who was committing microaggressions in the classroom.

I just said has anyone talked to the faculty member about this?... And the response was like “no, no, there’s a power differential”... so there’s a colleague of mine who is basically kind of getting tarred... I don’t think he has any idea.

Debra did not use her privileges of Whiteness and education status to intervene and, through inaction, expected the oppressed to manage their own oppression.

Kelly expressed conflict and ambivalence about her son’s formal education. She wanted to protect him and help him as much as she could; however, her commitment to her son being in public (integrated) schools conflicted with her desire to put him in private school to help better manage his Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder. She shared, “I feel like I have to advocate for him on that end while also realizing the privileges he has.” Kelly addressed a pervasive issue in racial advocacy – how much WP are allies willing to give up? These participants identified as allies; however, the power and pervasiveness of WP was a barrier to the demonstration of effective allyship.

Harmful actions in interracial dialogues. Beyond the inherent strain when engaging in race dialogues, participants also erred by either avoiding profound, meaningful race dialogues or using interracial dialogues as a space to be educated. Susan made several references to “good conversations” about race that seemed to lack depth or promote true allyship. Kelly mused over her family’s potential racism and her Black male partner’s experiences, but she did not deeply engage them in conversations to truly find out their perspectives and beliefs. She relied on assumptions and omissions of

blatantly racist comments or actions. Rachel defended her lack of discussion about race with former clients as unnecessary given their status in a psychiatric unit because those “barriers disappear in some ways that wouldn’t happen in maybe other settings.”

Debra reflected on the balance of learning from Black individuals and relying on them to educate White individuals. Considering an event in high school, she stated, “I was probably inviting her to educate me, ‘hey, Black friend, educate me.’” Further, she expressed her struggle to understand how to navigate such situations.

And that’s something that I find myself struggling with even to this day that I totally get this idea of why it’s problematic to ask, to put in this case, African Americans in the position of educating me and – I get that. Sort of at the big level. But when I think about two people in relationship with each other, you know; that’s where it gets tricky.

The correct answer felt elusive. Contrastingly, Faith felt no internal conflict on asking her Black peers to “educate [her] about what it’s like to be who they are in the world.”

Honest Self-Awareness and Reflection

Eight participants reflected on their own progression regarding awareness of racial injustice, personal privilege, and their own capacity for racism. In contrast to recognizing racism in their environments, they were intra-personally aware of their own thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Kelly acknowledged her own personal growth, and discussed a time when she had to “dig really deep” to evaluate her own potential racism. Rachel strove to “continue to recognize [that she] always will have work to do on [her]self” as she interacts with students, clients, and strangers that pull out her biases. Moreover, she shared that she does not feel as if she is being “attacked” when racial oppression is recognized. This allows her to openly reflect on as well as accept and correct her mistakes. Participants also considered interpersonal interactions that had

occurred in the past, such as wondering if they had committed a microaggression, noting a lack of inter-racial relationships, and being honest with themselves about the superficiality of relationships with Black individuals.

In retrospect actually I had a really close [Black] friend in track, and we sort of grew apart (Kelly)

I don't know if we would have talked as much if it wasn't like we're comparing notes on our frustrations from teaching a class and trying to get students to move a little bit... I mean so it will be interesting going forward to see like [if] what we talk about will change as we move away from teaching that class. (Rachel)

Subthemes within this theme include: Awareness of Personal Privilege, Openness to Reflect on Progression of Own Racial Awareness, and Recognize Own Capacity for Racism.

Awareness of Personal Privilege

As a stealth counterpart to racism, personal WP was recognized by some participants. Debra and Rachel discussed how they named their privilege with their students to normalize the presence of WP

I would talk about my other cultural identities and would sum them up by saying that if I were a man, I'd be *the man*. (Debra)

I don't pick being White as an important aspect of identity because I don't have to because I'm privileged... Because I am white instead, like, I focus on my gender, my degree, and my job. (Rachel)

Rachel reflected that she does not have to worry about another blonde, White woman committing a crime that she would be blamed for because she looks similar. Kelly shared about her privilege to remain oblivious to many racial dynamics and a startling realization that occurred when she was with a dark-skinned man of color who was accused of theft: "I realized 1) that this happened to him all the time; 2) that I was

shocked and he wasn't... I was kind of embarrassed actually when looking back on it that I was shocked and he wasn't." In that moment, she recognized the protection of her WP.

Debra acknowledged how her WP gave her choices to ignore painful issues and shield her children from them. After several instances of police violence against Black men, she struggled with if and how to tell her children about the violence. "Like the fact that we're even talking about should we tell them; how do we tell them, like that is privilege." Moreover, she recognized her privilege "to choose to be angry" about racial injustice. Another layer of the experience of privilege for Debra was the guilt of receiving privilege and wanting to both keep her privilege and provide it for others.

Openness to Reflect on Progression of Own Racial Awareness

"I'm going to back up a little just because I think this impacts my understanding of racism" (Kelly). Responses in this subtheme were reflective of participants' own growth and awareness of recognizing race and racial inequities. For many participants, early experiences in life were important markers in understanding race (whether positively or negatively) and impacted their subsequent development. Debra shared three key moments that occurred during childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. As a child, a Black male friend was spanked by his mother after he commented on Debra's Whiteness, which reinforced her silence around race (she never told anyone that this happened). In high school, she shared:

I personally had never noticed that the Black [students] all ate lunch in one place and the White students ate lunch in another... I was struck by the fact that I'd never noticed... I'd never noticed the segregation at lunch.

For Debra, this recognition was a key moment in beginning to rebuke the colorblind rhetoric she internalized as a child. Lastly, as a college student studying abroad, she

commented that she and her fellow students were all having similar experiences abroad as Americans, and a Black male peer challenged her on the assumption that his experience abroad was similar to her experience. Again, she was struck by the fact that their divergent identities would be a source of difference. Debra continued to reflect on the salience of these experiences and their impact on her understanding of race.

Faith remembered moving out of an ethnically diverse neighborhood to a predominately White area and recognizing “what it was like to be part of a majority,” which she found “troubling.” Though Heather had an early and young history of learning about racial injustice (through parents and teachers), she acknowledged: “If someone had said to me, you know, in 5th grade or in 11th grade that I was racist I would have clearly [said] like, ‘oh no, I’m not racist. I think everybody is equal.’” Heather shared that:

I went through my own identity development with respect to looking at sexual orientation... so I think that part of that process of negotiating that identity development allowed me to see things a little more complexly with respect to race.

Like Debra, Heather was able to track her own progression of awareness with key events and experiences throughout her life.

Christopher shared a particularly poignant early experience with a teacher in elementary school.

I remember going into second grade. I had this teacher named Mrs. Green and one day the bell rang for recess. So we run out to the field, my class does, and this African American student beat me to the swing set... And I remember I threw out the N-word. I don’t remember what all I said to him, but I recall the next thing that I felt was this sort of hand grab the back of my collar, and I couldn’t tell who it was or what it was, but I was suddenly jerked backwards. And I was being drug across the playground through the mulch, through the grass and then around the back of the school building. And my teacher Mrs. Green, I still don’t remember what all she said to me, but it was pretty clear that she thought my view of the world was crap, and that what I had been learning at home wasn’t appropriate and it wasn’t a good thing. It was the first time I’d ever heard anybody in my life who

had a different viewpoint than what I had at home. And from that point on I became very skeptical about my family.

Christopher shared that “I am a different person and a lot of it has to do with - really I credit Mrs. Green.” This experience led to Christopher being “curious about learning about different people and about other people’s opinions,” and encouraged his decision to attend a diverse high school instead of the 99% White high school he was zoned for. Moreover, he developed a mentality that he wanted and needed to educate himself on other opinions and perspectives, which fuels his current passion for cultural competency training.

In addition to pivotal encounter experiences early in life, participants admitted their ignorance of recognizing racism or lack of promotion of allyship towards Black Americans. Participants shared embarrassing, unflattering, and awkward instances when they were dismissive or ignorant of racism that spawned further thought and reflection. When asked about his advocacy work, Kevin said, “Well, I probably haven’t done that much now that you mention it.” He seemed both surprised by his admission and curious as to why he had never participated in such advocacy. Faith shared that “initially trying to understand White privilege... I minimized.” She credits a woman of color for being “gracious” and “help[ing] her along [her] journey instead of... shaming.” She shared, “It was really helpful because I had no idea that I just kind of lumped her in with the rest of White people.”

Kevin exhibited great reflection over interactions with his Black female advisees. When the concept of stereotype threat was introduced to him, he shared, “I was a little disappointed in myself...[stereotype threat] wasn’t something that I was thinking about and thought wow; it makes sense.” Moreover, a Black female advisee shared with him

that she felt as if their advising relationship was lacking compared to other (White) students, which he struggled to reconcile since he attempted to treat all of his students the same. Furthermore, Kevin shared that he was surprised when a Black female colleague left the university and cited racism a primary factor in her resignation. He wondered, “Why wasn’t I more sensitive to that in the beginning?” These realizations were novel to participants and served as uncomfortable learning opportunities to facilitate their growth and stimulate their racial awareness.

Recognize Own Capacity for Racism

Finally, participants not only reflected on their privilege and development, but they openly recognized their own capacity for racism. Several participants spoke of the inevitability of committing a microaggression.

Well I certainly am not going to be defensive and say, “Oh my gosh, I would never do that” because I know that I do that. The question is in terms of my own awareness about when that happens. (Christopher)

I mean it happens and it’s something you work to not do, but it’s right there. (Heather)

I am sure I act on stereotypes at times. (Kelly)

I think there’s something wrong if someone assumes they never engage in a microaggression... it’s not going to go away... it’s just to continue to recognize like I always will have work to do on myself. Like I can’t make all of my reactions stop. (Rachel)

Participants also provided specific examples of microaggressions they committed.

Rachel recognized that the very way oppressed groups are discussed can often be microaggressions. Kelly shared, “I’ll have trouble remembering names that are more Black.” Debra recognized the insidious racism in mistakenly calling her new Hispanic co-worker Maria (the name of her former Hispanic co-worker). “It’s probably pretty

understandable why I called her Maria, and her experience in that moment was that it was a microaggression... both are true” Rachel and Christopher shared about the experience of committing verbal microaggressions and their immediate reactions to their racist comments.

Wow, that sounds really awful that I said that. (Rachel)

After it came out of my mouth, I sat there a minute, and I got kind of quiet... and so I talked about where that came from, and anyway, so I catch myself.
(Christopher)

Kevin also shared an example of catching himself after a microaggressive cognition about the success of a Black graduate student.

I had an African American student... I said, “Wow.” I read about her coming from our Master’s program. I guess in part maybe because she was African American, just kind of coming into our doctoral program, and I was surprised at how well she did. That really, not hugely surprised, but I was astonished that she sort of stood out amongst everybody else. And I thought wow...so obviously I went in with some slight, I guess there was some slight bias to say. And it wasn’t that I didn’t want her to do well, or anything like that, but I was so impressed over the semester, and I think probably I was more surprised by how good she was than by how good somebody else might have been.

Lastly, racism by omission was discussed. Instead of catching a thought or statement that was racist, Rachel and Meredith acknowledged the racism in their lack of action or speech in some instances. Rachel articulated a realization that she “should have done something” in the face of witnessing racism. Meredith was in tune with how her silence likely impacted her peers of color and created distance between them.

And so I remember thinking “Oh, my gosh, I didn’t say anything.” I was completely quiet, and I didn’t directly say anything, but the silence part of that; I think [that] kind of communicated to my friends of color in the class that I was probably saying that what they were saying wasn’t important to me or I wasn’t connecting to it.

Intentional Advocacy

Seven participants described formal and informal advocacy measures they engaged in to further racial justice in personal and professional milieus. Recognizing the unique role of White allies in racial justice work, Heather shared that “using that privilege as a White person in terms of social influence is very powerful.” Subthemes within Intentional Advocacy include: Advocacy Efforts with Individuals in Early Stages of Awareness, Determining the Best Way to Advocate and Promote Racial Justice, and Advocacy as an Active Lifestyle.

Advocacy Efforts with Individuals in Early Stages of Awareness

Participating in advocacy work with students, children, and even other professionals focused largely on how to arouse awareness in individuals with nascent levels of racial awareness, particularly when faced with high levels of resistance.

They had a really hard time thinking about themselves as... perpetuating racism... honestly, I think people don't want to look at the history of Black people because it brings up all kinds of shame for White people... and of course we don't want to look at it because it's painful thinking about what we have done to different people. (Meredith)

Advocacy with students. Advocacy efforts with students largely consisted of teaching, but some participants also engaged in campus-wide activities. Meredith viewed her role as a teacher as a key advocate position: “I very much consider it advocacy – especially in our program where we have a lot of varying – not a whole lot of awareness in terms of racial diversity.” Heather and Rachel both viewed training graduate students as an advocacy opportunity, and Christopher stated, “In my own classes, I try to look at everything with a social justice framework.”

While teaching, specific advocacy efforts varied. Showing documentaries (Rachel), discussing current events (e.g., Ferguson; Debra), and introducing psychological concepts, such as prejudice and oppression (Debra), were utilized. Christopher's midterm exam focused on the "cultural competency piece and [how] to apply some of the principles" discussed in his class. On a larger scale, Heather shared:

I'm always intentional, as I build the syllabi, to include cases that are related to people of color and intersecting identities... [such as] incorporating the culturally sensitive adaptations of evidence based practice[s] and empirically supported treatment[s], including the discourse in like each week's discussion, so that it's not just a one week or two week kind of thing.

Outside of the classroom, Rachel helped organize a program meeting for Counseling Psychology students to share reactions and emotions about police violence against the African American community. Christopher was actively involved in a variety of campus-wide advocacy efforts, including confronting students about Confederate flags and coordinating a special campus program on racial and ethnic stereotypes.

There were people that would put Confederate flags or KKK emblems up in the windows of some of the residence halls in very visible locations... It was all, you know, knocking on doors, asking them about the signs, let them know look, you're probably entitled to have that; we're not here to take it down, but we want to start a conversation with you about what that means and what the impact is on other people.

The program [Nigger, Wetback, Chink] starts out with... each of the individuals talking or playing up the stereotypes that are pretty prominent in their communities. And then shifted the focus to really who they actually are and then the end point being how damaging some of those stereotypes can be when you're trying to be the person that you are... I think we had 500 students show up.

Advocacy with professionals. Though less salient or common than advocacy efforts with students, three participants also shared how they collaborated and advocated with individuals in their professional communities. Kelly promoted collaboration between the LGBT Center on campus and the African American Cultural Center to better

serve queer students of color. Christopher initiated a diversity committee in his department to “look at issues anywhere from... department policies to procedures to how [the department] handled... racial incidents or incidents where culture could play a role.” Christopher also became involved with a training committee in residence life and added diversity and cultural competency segments to each training with fellow staff members. Similarly, Heather co-facilitated a Continuing Education session on microaggressions with counselors, psychologists, and social workers.

Advocacy with family. Outside of the academy, participants discussed how they advocated with family members, including families of origin, extended family, partners, and children. Heather indicated that she utilized social media as “mostly political activism” to reach family members. Meredith and Rachel shared about talking to their more conservative family members. For Meredith, she reported that she would gently challenge family by “bringing in pieces... like ‘this can be considered racist or this could be considered unsafe for someone of color.’ I think just even saying something is wrong has been helpful and hard at the same time.” Rachel described conversations with her husband as “debates” to the point that “there are times when we sort of stop talking because it can get pretty heated.” Though she can see the impact of her sustained advocacy efforts:

So in [the Society for the Psychology of Women’s] recent newsletter there’s a reprint of a blog post. And so I started reading it out loud at home, and it was well written, you know by an African American male about racism with white people and especially my white relatives. And so I’m reading it out loud and my husband’s like “that’s actually, like that would be really helpful for me to have to share with people that work with me.”...so I’m like “great,” like I’m making some headway. (Rachel)

In addition to the adults in their lives, discussing racism with young children was salient for two participants with young children under the age of 10. Kelly described her goal with her son as helping him understand context and develop empathy for the Black students in his class (at a predominately Black elementary school).

And you know he would come home and say things like you know all the Black kids are trouble makers. He would say that... then it was sort of [about] talking with him. "Why you think that?" and "Well, you know, your friend, Kareem is not"... And I think I talked with him about "You know some of the kids, not all of them, but they didn't get to go to preschool like you," so trying to talk with him about some of those things and without totally shutting him down. Like I think like telling a kid like "No, don't say that" just perpetuates the don't-talk-about-race thing. (Kelly)

Debra discussed how she and her husband debated and ultimately decided to discuss racialized instances of violence (e.g., Ferguson, Baltimore, Charleston) with their two children and not let them "continue with their blissful ignorance." "We need to talk with them because 6 and 8 year old Black children know about this." Moreover, Debra shared her struggle of allowing her children to acknowledge race, which was in direct violation of colorblind rhetoric.

I have to let them acknowledge race, and it was hard... Like I can remember there was one time... it was both of my daughters; so it was like an infant and a 3 year old, and I'm getting the oil changed. So they're in the car and they're sitting there, and the windows are rolled down. And my 3 year old says, "Mommy, that man has really brown skin,"... And the windows are down, and I'm [thinking] don't do this right now. "Yes, that's right he does." And so I said, "That's right he does and look and what color is your skin and what color are your eyes." ... At that time she and her sister had different color [eyes], and that was really a salient difference. "Yeah, what color are your eyes and what color are Elizabeth's eyes?" And I said, "Is it better to have blue eyes? Is it better to have brown eyes? No." But so it was really uncomfortable to do that, like with an audience, particularly an audience of color. They pretended they weren't hearing any of this, but I just thought, you know, the two things I thought are it has to be o.k. to notice race... and does race tell us anything about a person? And so doing that explicitly.

Often, participants' discussion of advocacy with family was described as more difficult and draining than advocacy with students or colleagues, such as Christopher's discussion of difficult racial dialogues with his family members and Meredith's discussion of losing a sense of "belonging" with her family when she broached racial topics.

Determining the Best Way to Advocate and Promote Racial Justice

In addition to specific advocacy efforts, participants discussed how to determine the best way to approach advocacy. Most often, they mused about how to enhance their efforts to be more effective. "But again that tension of how do we hold people accountable for the pain they cause, but still give people room to learn and recover? How do we have that space?" (Debra). Participants' tactics included normalizing, gentleness, empathy, all-White racial dialogues, and research. Debra normalized racism for White students in her courses by acknowledging her own capacity for racism:

I'm going to say things that reveal my biases and my blind spots, and we're all going to do it and... my hope is that when we do it, we can call each other on it; you know sort of hold a mirror up to each other, but do it in a way to still say "damn it, I did it again."

She also discussed that the focus should be on increasing awareness and addressing your racist mistakes, not wallowing in the knowledge that you commit racism. Debra and Heather both discussed the importance of being heard in order to help lower defenses and decrease resistance among White individuals.

My goal is to talk about [privilege] in a way that's going to get heard... which means being gentle, which means not shaming, which means having empathy. (Debra)

I always try to make it comfortable for people... not so uncomfortable that they get into a defensive stance. (Heather)

However, Heather qualified “I don’t know that it’s always the best.” Debra further acknowledged the tension in the professional field of Counseling Psychology about how gentle or forceful to be with White people when talking about racial injustice, White supremacy, and microaggressions. Regarding the forceful approach, Debra shared that she struggled with that perspective “because if we want to change attitudes, people have got to hear.” Debra was driven by a deep empathy for White folks who ignorantly espoused racism and a desire to change their corrupted worldview. She shared, “I was a stupid college kid;” therefore, her “default is to assume ignorance” and educate White individuals about the damages of racism for people of color and White people as well.

An idea that arose in three interviews was the concept of all-White racial dialogue groups to reduce defensiveness and allow for genuine, open dialogue without further harming Black individuals. Kelly opined her favor of these groups “because [White] people aren’t going to be honest; and frankly sometimes they shouldn’t be in front of [Black individuals].” Debra and Christopher both considered how White students may benefit from talking “about privilege with an instructor of privilege.” Christopher shared that his own experience of working with White students supported the idea of “having another White guy in the room that they could process some of these things with.”

Christopher also shared extensively about how his research could be utilized as an advocacy tool and wondered how to better infuse research into advocacy work. As an avid researcher, he described both of his research labs as “[tying] back to social justice values.” He identified the measurement of cultural competence as a primary research focus because:

There [aren’t] a lot of measures that [have] even basic psychometric properties that [are] desirable... until I can prove that one of these scales can be beneficial or

they can be psychometrically sound and there's some support for their constructs and theories, then it makes proving that end product so much more difficult.

Moreover, he used research to inform a diversity program on campus that led to significantly increased appreciation of diversity on campus. Christopher strongly relied on his research to inform his advocacy efforts in order to facilitate racial awareness.

Advocacy as an Active Lifestyle

In addition to roles as teachers and professionals, advocacy was described as an engrained lifestyle.

I think of being social justice, like being an ally; I think that's just the way to run your life... [how] you try to strive to live life... like how you integrate it into your life and how you walk in it. (Meredith)

Categories within the sub-theme include: Positive Uses of Privilege for Allyship; Processing and Repairing Racism; and Pursuing, Understanding, and Dialoguing with Black Individuals.

Positive uses of privilege for allyship. Participants discussed how they harnessed their WP to positively influence others towards racial justice and heightened awareness. "You use it for good, not evil" (Debra). Christopher recognized his value of relating to privileged individuals when advocating with White male college students. Speaking up in traditionally White spaces was one identified method of using "privilege for good" (Debra). Moreover, participants discussed intentional decisions to speak up and speak out against oppressive messages.

I think being able to, you know, not stay silent about racism I think is a huge piece of it too. I mean with privilege we have the option to be silent about it. And to not be silent I think is something that is like a major responsibility. (Meredith)

In response to a racist statement from a student, Christopher discussed his backlash towards the student: "There's no way I'm going to tolerate somebody thinking that that's

okay.” When White students were utilizing colorblind rhetoric in class (in the presence of a Black student), Meredith spoke up: “I just needed to be sure to say that Black Americans... have to navigate their role differently.” Meredith shared her focus on being vigilant in her advocacy, including using social media as a key platform. Christopher further discussed a conscious decision to portray himself as an advocate during a job interview at a Predominately White Institution with a nearly all-White faculty in the department.

I made a pretty conscious decision that I was just going to play up the whole multicultural component and if it worked, and it was a good fit for me, then wonderful... I made it really clear that that was something I valued.

Moreover, he asked the hiring committee what they were doing to draw in more diverse faculty members and discussed his research agenda that centered on cultural competency.

Though necessary, using WP to speak up was not an inherently easy task for participants. Christopher best voiced this tension: “Gosh, it’s incredibly draining and heartfelt, difficult, gut wrenching conversations to have, but you know I also enjoyed it.” He shared about an interaction with a student that “hurt [his] whole worldview and faith in humanity” because the student proudly defended his intention to discriminate. Moreover, Christopher articulated a sense of separation and distance from those who he is trying to reach: “People are going to look at me like I’m from the planet Mars.”

Beyond simply discussing his research agenda (or participating in active research and advocacy efforts), Christopher discussed the future advocacy efforts that he was actively planning. “I’m always looking for a way that I can add some piece in there that will get people thinking about those sorts of things.” Those “pieces” include planning to add a diversity statement to his syllabus and adding supplemental texts with the

perspectives of people of color. He actively spoke about taking over the multicultural course when the current instructor retires as an effort to “develop this identity where people know that when they come to [his] courses that that’s going to be something that’s going to be a component.” His research plan extended out 3 – 4 years to and involved perfecting a measurement of privilege and oppression to utilize in his research on efficacious cultural competency efforts. Christopher utilized his WP to bring discussions and research about race and cultural competency to the White space of academia. Christopher’s efforts discussed during his interview are singular in many ways, and he espoused a deep passion and high level of involvement with advocacy.

Processing and repairing racism. Part of an active ally lifestyle was actively processing racism and, moreover, repairing damage from one’s own racism. Addressing and repairing harm from one’s own microaggressions was a powerful experience for participants. Heather found peace in being able to hold these conversations and ask, “Did you experience this as a microaggression?” She disclosed, “It feels good to be able to do that and process that through, whether or not they’re able to say yes or no.” Meredith shared:

I’m sorry just doesn’t feel like enough in the moment; so it’s like I want to say like I recognize I just made you feel uncomfortable – or just apologizing in some ways for not being aware and just recognizing what that might have made that person feel like.

Some participants shared real instances of racism that were embarrassing and painful to admit.

I’m sitting at my desk one day and a student comes to the door, and says “Hey, Dr. Smith.” And I say, “I’ve been meaning to email you about such and such.” And she said “What?” “Yeah, you know the class, the thing.” And she’s like she said, “You think I’m Renata, don’t you?” And I said, “You’re not Renata?” And she said, “No. I’ve been meaning to stop by.” And I said, “Do you two actually

look anything alike or was that a total microaggression?” And we both start laughing and she said, “Yeah, we don’t look anything alike.” But basically... the fact that I acknowledged it, that that was sort of all that mattered. (Debra)

Debra shared another example of using the incorrect name with a woman of color and how she apologized afterwards and stated, “Sorry. I’m going to make an effort to use your right name.” When Kelly made the reference to being a “slave” as a graduate student, she went home and “worried about it all night.” The next morning, she approached her Black friend to process her microaggression.

In addition to interpersonal reparations for microaggressions, participants discussed their own internal dialogues and challenged their racism that inherently arose. Kelly reminded herself of the possible context when she caught herself thinking something racist. Meredith reflected on how could she “learn from this in the future” and spoke at length about the need to educate herself after these experiences to prevent them in the future and “really make some changes” in herself. Kelly further shared active steps she had taken to challenge her racist thoughts. In response to racist thoughts about some of the children in her son’s class, she started volunteering at his school to meet the children and witness the interactions. She also processed her responses with her husband in myriad instances, such as her son’s use of Black vernacular, lack of responses from Black parents to set up playdates, conflicts with a Black female colleague, and critiquing the gifted program at her son’s school. For Kelly, verbally processing her reactions allowed her to challenge racist ideas and reframe her thoughts in context.

Pursuing, understanding, and dialoguing with Black individuals. Participants discussed how they intentionally and actively sought to understand and interact with Black friends, colleagues, and acquaintances in order to enhance their allyship. Several

participants shared about close relationships with Black individuals. “Cecilia [a Black woman] and I then had another friend [and we] decided to sort of have these race dialogues together... and I think we ended up closer friends... and I think it was a positive experience for Cecilia.” About their racial dialogues, Kelly shared:

We read something, and we would have sort of discussions about that. I know we had different topics like talking about... interracial relationships. And my friend, Cecilia who is African American, talked about her difficulty with that and how it feels to see, especially, a Black man dating a White woman, in terms of frankly the availability of Black men today especially in a town like this... And I talked about having dated a Black man, and so I wouldn't say there was any resolution...so just talking about things and appreciating each other's experiences and I think making things a little bit more personal.

Faith discussed two Black women she mentored over the years and their connection through a “tendency to have humor and faith and directness in communication.” She shared about several friends who were women of color that were special relationships. Christopher intentionally cultivated a friendship with a Black classmate in college, and they engaged in meaningful discussions about politics, current events, and class material. He remembered his friend fondly and acknowledged his impact on his own growth and racial awareness. Both Heather and Debra shared experiences with Black female students in which they were viewed as trusted allies.

Heather further discussed the closeness to a Black female friend:

Just being able to be part of her life and to be, I guess, honored in that way, to be trusted. So it's been valuable as she's kind of shared her perceptions of racism... having real conversations where you really hear as a White person.

However, these relationships were not always marked with ease or comfort. Heather articulated how at times it could also be “uncomfortable and painful as [she] reflected on her own racism and lack of awareness.” Debra remembers her first conversation about race with her high school cheerleading squad and how she “had had Black friends all

[her] life, but [she'd] never seen race.” She also shared a painful memory of being labeled a racist by a Black classmate, and his subsequent refusal to discuss it with her. Debra shared that she felt stuck with how to not have him educate her but unsure how to repair her mistakes.

Tandem with interpersonal interactions that were salient and meaningful, participants also shared how they exposed themselves to Black ideas and perspectives to foster education and growth. Heather and Christopher articulated early experiences with race that stand out decades later.

My parents were pretty liberal, so we had, you know, Greer and Cobb’s *Black Rage* on the bookshelf. And I would look at it, and go Black rage? Why are Black people rageful?... I’d try to read it and try to understand. (Heather)

Heather also read *Roots* in the 5th or 6th grade and reported a keen interest in Black experiences, even as a child. By high school, she enrolled in a course titled *Oppression* for which she self-selected three Richard Wright books to read for a term paper.

Christopher also self-selected to encounter Black perspectives as a teenager.

I went to the more diverse school in town, and I had more friends I think that were of different race or ethnicity from myself... I chose to go to that high school primarily because of the diversity... I was curious about culture and values and beliefs, different ideas, and it really was just one more sort of step in the direction that I’d sort of taken with my life.

For college, he selected a small school with an explicit social justice focus. In college, Debra attended a rally after the Rodney King incident of police brutality where she still remembers her reaction to one of the speakers: “I don’t remember specifically what he said, but I just remember sitting there and thinking ‘oh, my God,’ and like it was a profound sort of perspective-altering thing.”

In graduate school, participants continued to have powerful exposures to Blackness that furthered their allyship. Through personal connection and intentionally exposing oneself to social justice values through Counseling Psychology doctoral programs, Meredith and Debra both grew as allies. Hearing Black classmates and friends discuss their experiences was eye-opening and transformative.

Just listening to people's stories and experiencing what racism was and [learning the term] microaggression and things that you know I had never caught before or even thought about before. It was just really eye-opening and really just that personal piece of hearing people's pain. (Meredith)

I remember her talking about how many times she had been told, you know, when I see you, I don't see you as African American... And her talking about how alienating that was and othering and distancing... and that was so meaningful. (Debra)

Another experience of intentional exposure included joining a multiethnic council alliance during internship, which Heather described as "eye opening to be around so many...psychologists of color, many of whom were African American." Faith's diverse graduate school cohort was a strong asset to her development. She further discussed her enjoyment of being among diverse groups of people, such as joining her Black friend at a Black church where she was the only White woman. Through putting themselves into experiences and situations with Black individuals and perspectives, participants gained enhanced awareness that significantly impacted the trajectory of their lives.

For some participants, undergirding the self-guided search for Black ideas and perspectives were influences of early environments that fostered such curiosity. Heather's parents moved to a model community for integration when she was in the 2nd grade. In this community, her 5th grade teacher was a Black woman who planned several lessons around civil rights. "She would do really creative things... role play, panel

discussion, or TV talk show... we stood and sang the songs, you know, the spirituals, I mean it was pretty powerful.” Heather credits her teacher to fostering much of her social justice values as an adult. Faith also grew up in a “neighborhood where it was rather mixed, a lot of ethnic descents, a lot of different religious practices... a lot of African Americans and Latinas.” For these women, early experiences that were beyond their control helped to shape their future values and racial awareness.

Perceive Racism in their Environments

Six participants revealed their awareness of racism against Black individuals in various spaces that they inhabit, including work, home, and social circles. Addressing the prevalence of racism, Kelly stated that racism “happens to Black people all the time...it shocks people, but I think that it is better to just say we were raised in a racist house.” Subthemes within the theme include: Recognizes Insidious and Systemic Racism, Emotional Reactions to Witnessing Racism, Intellectualized Knowledge, and Awareness of Displays of White Privilege.

Recognizes Insidious and Systemic Racism

Beyond recognizing blatant forms of racism, some participants articulated a deeper understanding and perception of racism in both insidious forms and institutionalized systems.

Insidious racism. Insidious racism was described by participants as a) inherent in White people and spaces and b) “subtle” in nature. Kelly discussed an instance of witnessing subtle racism against her Black male friend: “Like if I told someone about it, they could say it wasn’t about race, but it clearly was... racism can occur and people can say it’s not racist.” Several participants also discussed the “well-meaning White people

who think they are not racist” (Debra), including themselves. As White people who are “infected” with racism “against our will,” Debra described the inherent struggle to not be racist and commit racist acts against friends, colleagues, and strangers. Participants spoke of racism that is often committed and not recognized because White people are “not clued into what [they]’ve done to [a] particular person” (Meredith). “There’s so many other microaggressions, we don’t know when we’ve done them” (Debra).

Indoctrination into Whiteness and racism was accepted as truth by Heather: “how do you... grow up predominately White... seeing all the pictures of Black people on the TV, on the news” and not be indoctrinated with racism? “I mean every time it’s become unconscious reinforcement [of racism].” Meredith further reflected on “that piece of who you are” that makes White people fundamentally racist. Kelly expressed that even the path of allyship leads one to “have to be willing to look racist sometimes” as difficult discussions unfold.

In addition to participants’ theoretical explanations of the pervasiveness and insidiousness of racism, participants’ awareness of insidious racism included a willingness to believe Black reports of microaggressions. Rachel discussed several interactions with Black students who shared recent microaggressive experiences, including a faculty member asking a Black student why “Black people have weird names,” “assuming that [Black graduate students] work basic service jobs,” “being followed and assumed to be engaging in theft” while shopping, and other microaggressive comments and behaviors.

Systemic racism. Systemic racism was discussed as racism infused into various institutions (including elementary school, the academy, and law enforcement) that led to

divergent, unequitable experiences for Black and White individuals. Overall, participants agreed that “we need to fix the system” (Rachel); however, they also recognized the “powerful” nature of systemic messages in influencing society. Heather discussed how the “zeitgeist of a colorblind [worldview]” leads to a “let’s just celebrate diversity [mentality]” that obscures talk of racism. Moreover, Heather indicated that the dangerousness of the rhetoric of colorblind equality has facilitated the belief that “there’s really no problems, and we’re all equal.”

Policing was a common theme throughout interviews given the current national climate. From speeding tickets to police-sanctioned violence, participants discussed the impact of policing on enhancing racial tensions in cities (e.g., Cleveland, OH) and direct contradictions in policing White and Black citizens. Rachel provided two anecdotes that expressed contradictory policing efforts.

Five years ago I had a student who was African American who tends to speed a lot. I don’t ever get pulled over in the state of [state name].... But my African American student does get pulled over I know. I don’t think that is just a random coincidence...I really don’t believe he was speeding that much more than I do.... There is a big difference between us in one area that is pretty obvious to anyone sitting with a speed trap.

I don’t remember the athlete’s name, but [do you remember] the athlete in New York who was tackled by the non-identified police officer...you know, if they put out a call saying somebody who is a blonde female ... had stolen something... if I got tackled to the ground, I would sue. And not only would I sue, I’d be successful. And how wrong that is. But because he looked like the person... Like this is not the country where you’re supposed to be allowed to just tackle someone to the ground, and assault them because they look like they might be the person. And we don’t make those same judgments about people who are White. We just don’t. Like I don’t ever have to worry that if some other white woman wearing what I am wearing did something violent in this country that I’m going to be tackled to the ground. It’s just not going to happen.

Rachel spoke about her privilege to assert her rights as a citizen and stated that Black citizens do not have equal rights of assertion.

As faculty members, participants also recognized the systemic nature of racism in higher education and the difficulty of “challenging a big system” in the university. Most participants could recollect only token Black colleagues (or none). “I mean there was one faculty of color in the whole department. No African American faculty... the entire decade I was at the institution” (Debra). Debra’s experience was echoed by many participants. In addition to few Black academicians, “it was almost always, you know, entirely White students in the class” (Debra). Beyond a lack of Black faculty and students, popular counseling techniques textbooks were described as “pretty racist frankly” (Heather) further depicting the academy as a White space. Unfortunately, educational spaces were illustrated as whitened as early as elementary school. Kelly discussed her son’s elementary school and the discrepancy in identifying intellectually gifted students: “So there’s a gifted program, and it ends up being mostly White [students], like even in this predominately African American school.”

Emotional Reactions to Witnessing Racism

Participants’ awareness of racism was often accompanied by emotional reactions (e.g., shame, guilt, confusion) to both witnessing and committing racism. Reflecting on her own racism, Debra described the experience of being accused of racism in front of her college peers as a “very painful experience.” Heather utilized similar language to describe her reaction to her own racism: “painful when it happens.” Kelly recalled being “really mortified by” a microaggression she committed when she made a reference to “being a slave as a graduate student” when talking with a Black peer. Kelly further shared conflicted emotions around her own racism regarding strong negative feelings for a Black co-worker and guilt about those feelings. Meredith discussed an instance where

she invited a Black friend to dinner at a restaurant in a wealthy White neighborhood and made her friend uncomfortable. She expressed, “I’ve let my friend down, or you know I felt guilty again, kind of shamed.” Meredith also discussed an experience in graduate school when she remained silent in the face of racism towards her Black peers:

I mean, I think – I think guilt was there...or shame even... I think just sadness because I could feel the disconnect with friends of color, and it was sort of like a moment like, this resistance is real, and it makes me sad... it was just painful in terms of ... those connections.

In addition to the experience of emotional pain, Debra discussed how she learned to demonstrate grace and forgiveness to herself as an ally.

Similar to committing racism, witnessing racism committed by other White individuals produced a range of emotive responses among participants. When reflecting on the police violence in her city, Heather stated, “It’s ridiculous. It was really horrible. So it’s very sad, and it’s very enraging. And in a lot of ways there’s still also like the sense of helplessness and powerlessness to enact change.” She captured anger, sadness, and helplessness as she articulated her mix of emotions. Rachel also described feeling surprised and shocked when witnessing instances of racism. While at a corner store buying a Hillary Clinton v. Barack Obama birthday card for a friend, a Black sales associate told her, “Not everyone who is Black voted for him.” Rachel responded “I know,” and the White person behind her in line said, “Yeah, some of them are actually intelligent.” Rachel further shared: “I was just sitting there [thinking] like, I don’t even know what to say because you found three ways to insult somebody in such few words. Yeah, like I sort of just was speechless and dumbfounded.” Rachel additionally described being “taken aback” by seeing the Confederate flag displayed along the interstate.

Heather shared an instance as a young teenager when a Black adolescent convinced her to let him ride her bicycle, and then he stole it. Subsequently, she attended the court proceedings when he was prosecuted and has not forgotten how “he seemed so, you know, sad at the court” and her realization that “this is a different world than I live in.” Participants’ emotions were expansive and meaningful as they recollected racism in their lives.

Intellectualized Knowledge

Comprehension of history, facts, and research augmented some participants’ recognition of racism. Through intellectual curiosity, Rachel enhanced her understanding of racism. Referencing research on brain activity and cognition, she stated, “I know there are assumptions being made because there’s always assumptions being made.” In pondering the various responses to learning about racism, Rachel shared a logical, research oriented thought:

I’m actually very curious as to like what leads some [White] people to feel attacked by [discussing racism]... I mean it is a really, it’s an interesting question... what does it look like in terms of their identity development and a model.

Research was a common way for participants to discuss understanding racism, such as consuming existing research to better understand the scope and concept of racism. The literature on inter-group contact was referenced by Rachel and discussed in reference to the potential impact on her own racial identity development and openness to accepting her capacity for racism as a White woman: “I mean it’s an interesting... thing to think about... why didn’t I necessarily have that reaction?... The best I can come up with is sort of the contact piece.” She also discussed the concept of internalized racism and “how somebody can hold negative biases about their own race... because they’ve

also been taught that Black people are violent.” As an active researcher, Christopher discussed how he used the results of his own research to better conceptualize how to approach advocacy work with White students with little racial awareness. Faith shared that she also used her intellectual knowledge of LGBT oppression (such as knowledge of the murder of transgender women of color) to help her better understand the impact of racial oppression on Black individuals.

In addition to research, Rachel shared that she often educated herself on historical knowledge to increase her contextual understanding of present-day racism. For instance, “Historically, it was the great advantage of wealthy individuals to have poor White individuals have racial hatred because everyone stopped messing with the wealthy individuals.” She also learned about the history of her local area and shifts in race relations over the past two centuries.

Awareness of Displays of Privilege

The final subtheme addressed the recognition of WP as a pervasive counterpart to racism. In contrast to recognizing their own privilege (as discussed above), participants recognized WP in other individuals and societal structures. “We want to think that we got where we are because of all of our merit” (Kelly). Kelly articulated how WP benefits White people and, thus, reinforces the rhetoric that hard work will equalize racial discrepancies. Heather honed in on the mechanism of WP that allows White individuals to define reality and reject opposing opinions, facts, and truths. She discussed how “history has been rewritten” regarding the Confederate flag as simply a symbol of state’s rights and separate from slavery of Black individuals. Moreover, she discussed how White individuals have the power to determine whether or not a comment is offensive or

microaggressive. An attendee of her Continuing Education workshop on microaggressions stated: “If I didn’t mean it that way...then it shouldn’t be a microaggression.” Such an ability to define reality even spanned into literature, as Kelly noted about the popular book *The Help*, which is a fictional novel written (and profited) by a White woman about Black women’s lives as household servants to White families.

Recognized displays of WP included identifying defensiveness in White folks (particularly White graduate students) about considering and/or accepting their roles in perpetuating racism as White people. Rachel shared several instances of students’ defensive reactions to discussing racism in her multicultural course, including journaling about reverse racism, removing themselves from conversations due to lack of “experience” with race, and challenging Rachel on not addressing other forms of oppression that applied to them (e.g., sexism, classism, heterosexism).

Chapter Four: Discussion

The present study explored the demonstration of racism and advocacy behaviors among White Counseling Psychology faculty members. Though professionals in Counseling Psychology are indoctrinated into a field that advocates for social justice, diversity, and multiculturalism, an American society predicated on White supremacy and WP creates an environment of ethnocentric monoculturalism (Sue, 2004). Ethnocentric monoculturalism pervades all facets of society and makes the eradication of racism and WP impossible (Sue, 2004). Therefore, White CPs must consider how they may unintentionally perpetuate WP and racism and intentionally work to combat their capacity for racism and develop as White allies. Moreover, White CPs must endeavor to make Whiteness visible in order to undergird the oppressive system of White supremacy.

In response to Ivey and Collins' (2003) criticism that Counseling Psychology offers little more than intellectualism to social justice movements, the findings of this study are a starting point for understanding White CPs' perspectives of racism and allyship toward Black Americans. Understanding White CPs' thoughts and attitudes about racism is imperative given that CPs in the academy are responsible for training future generations of CPs and producing research that reflects the values of Counseling Psychology (Packard, 2009). If the concerns of Ivey and Collins (2003) are to be addressed, then determining the genuine perspectives of White CPs is a pivotal first step to identifying areas for growth and intervention. To that end, the purpose of the present study was to explore perspectives about White allyship and racism committed against Black Americans among a sample ($n = 10$) of White CPs using interpretative phenomenological analysis. Results indicated varying levels of awareness and

acceptance of racism among participants in a field that explicitly articulates values of a) social justice and b) cultural and individual diversity (CCPTP, ACCTA, & SCP, 2009; Packard, 2009). The variance among participants ranged from rejection of racism to colorblind mentalities to strong allyship. Uncovering such discrepancies was an imperative finding that elucidated various individual perspectives about Counseling Psychology's values diversity and multiculturalism. Moreover, the low participation rate (15%) among White, Counseling Psychologists cannot be ignored. The reasons why 85% of potential participants did not participate is unknown, but could include lack of interest or apathy regarding racism, discomfort in discussing racism, or a potentially off-putting recruitment letter. Though the intention of the recruitment letter was to acknowledge the difficulty of race dialogues and encourage White CPs to engage in research aligned with their profession's values, the recruitment letter (Appendix A) may have been perceived as an attempt to make White CPs feel guilty. Furthermore, the letter could have potentially been perceived as antagonistic, particularly by potential participants prone to colorblind ideologies.

Results in Theoretical Context

Before exploring integrating the current findings in relation to existing research literature, the results of the study should be considered within the context of theories that developmentally organize White responses to racism. Specifically, the findings of the current study were assimilated in the theories of psychological dispositions towards racism (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a), White dialectics (Todd & Abrams, 2011), and White racial identity development (WRID; Sue & Sue, 2013). Integration of the present findings both corroborated and challenged selected theories. Moreover, the specific

focus on developmental theories helped to explain the variance in responses across participants.

Psychological Dispositions

D'Andrea and Daniels (1999a) explored various cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions that White Americans have about racism, including 600 mental health practitioners (e.g., counselors, counselor educators, psychologists, social workers, graduate trainees). Five psychological dispositions emerged (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a). Disposition 1 (Affective-Impulsive) was characterized by simple, hostile cognitions and aggressive, impulsive behaviors towards people of color, such as quintessentially, racist behaviors of members of the Ku Klux Klan (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a). No participant responses or behaviors fell into this disposition. The Rational disposition (Disposition 2) employed dualistic thinking and rationalization of racism. Individuals employing a Rational disposition utilized a "superficial affective niceness" and covert forms of racism (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a), such as colorblind rhetoric (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). Several study participants could be categorized into the Rational disposition based on their utilization of colorblind ideology; disbelief in the simultaneous presence of racism and politeness; belief in the myth of meritocracy; denial of White supremacy within our systems; and positivistic, logical approaches to understanding racism.

Third, D'Andrea and Daniels' (1999a) concluded that White individuals characterized by Disposition 3 (Liberal) recognized racism, valued the universality of human rights, and respected various worldviews; however, they viewed White values as more legitimate and, therefore, validated White supremacist views. Moreover,

individuals categorized as Liberal demonstrated a general apathy about racism and wanted to avoid negative reactions from other White people (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a). In the present study, the most common example of a Liberal disposition was the lack of advocacy efforts and an insufficient understanding of their espoused, antiracist ideals. An example of the Liberal disposition was viewing allyship as an absence of blatant racism instead of conceptualizing allyship as an attack on the system of White supremacy. In contrast to the theory, many participants demonstrated both Rational and Liberal disposition characteristics by utilizing colorblind ideology to reinforce treating all graduate students the same and also vocally supporting affirmative action policies to recruit more faculty of color.

Principled disposition (Disposition 4) reflects an awareness of WP, individual racism, and structural racism as well as the consequences. Individuals in the Principled disposition were highly knowledgeable of White supremacy as the foundation for racism to thrive and expressed excitement about eradicating racism. However, they facilitated institutional racism through a lack of active support in challenging the normalcy of Whiteness and the presence of racism (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). In the present study, participants felt guilty about their lack of advocacy; however, a variety of excuses impeded active allyship, including fear of White responses, difficulty of racial dialogues, and general busyness.

Principled Activistic disposition (Disposition 5) was the most abstract disposition characterized by comprehensive, systemic thinking and attendance to various oppressions in society, not just race. These individuals demonstrate hopefulness in the possibility of a major societal transformation and maintain an active stance against racism without

surrendering to the fears of White backlash (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). One or two participants demonstrated a pattern of behaviors that could be described by a Principled Activistic disposition, including a clear understanding of the pervasiveness of individual and institutional racism, myriad advocacy efforts to address racial injustice, and engagement in research that combatted racial injustice, not research that simply created knowledge for the sake of knowledge (Vera & Speight, 2003). However, these participants demonstrated an imperfect Principled Activistic disposition that attempted to achieve such allyship but occasionally fell short. This disposition may be too idealistic for any ally due to the pervasiveness of racism among all White individuals (Dovidio et al., 2002; Guzman et al., 2010).

White Dialectics

Another theoretical perspective focuses on internal reactions to racism that are inherent sources of tension for White individuals. The theory of White Dialectics (Todd & Abrams, 2011) recognizes opposing and conflicting perspectives (i.e., dialectics) that White individuals experience. The theory purports that these perspectives vacillate as racial awareness develops. Todd and Abrams (2011) proposed six key dialectics that White individuals must reconcile as they become allies. Overall, one ultimate dialectic pervades Todd and Abram's (2011) six dialectics. The overarching dialectic involves the reconciliation of personal beliefs of one's own morality and decency with one's own practices of racism (conscious or unconscious) and the horrifying realization of unconscious prejudices, biases, and discriminatory behaviors (Sue, 2011). Several participants spoke of the challenge of being White CPs indoctrinated into a social justice field and simultaneously facing their capacities for racism, prejudice, and discrimination.

The tension was most palpable when participants were sharing their emotive reactions to the racism they committed, including guilt, shame, and mortification.

Considering the six dialectics, White participants tackled the *White – Not White* dialectic (Todd & Abrams, 2011) in terms of recognizing their Whiteness and identifying as racial beings. Participant responses within this dialectic ranged from few conscious thoughts about Whiteness to honestly owning their social role as privileged, White individuals. In the *Close and Deep Relationships - Far and Shallow* dialectic, White participants considered how they would describe their relationships with Black Americans (Todd & Abrams, 2011). Did they have meaningful relationships with Black individuals (like one or two participants), or were the Black people in their lives professional colleagues or acquaintances (like most participants)?

Next, the *Color Blind – Color Consciousness* dialectic (Todd & Abrams, 2011) was where White participants began to grapple with whether or not to ignore or attend to racial differences. The prevalent colorblind rhetoric from many participants demonstrated one pole of this dialectic. Perceiving White standards of dress, speech, and behavior as normal (while claiming to be colorblind) was also salient. Resolution of the dialectic was exemplified by two participants who demonstrated a sincere openness and appreciation of cultural differences. When considering racial differences, White participants also began to recognize WP through the *I am Advantaged – I am Not Advantaged* dialectic (Todd & Abrams, 2011), or they denied such advantages through active rebuke, a belief in meritocracy, and a denial of White supremacy. The *White - Not White*, *Color Blind – Color Consciousness*, and *I am Advantaged – I am Not Advantaged* dialectics were closely related for several study participants. For instance, ignoring one's

own Whiteness (and the subsequent privileges of Whiteness) aligned well with colorblindness. Therefore, participants could perceive themselves as non-racist (since skin color did not matter to them) and dismiss the personal benefit of White supremacy in favor of a belief in meritocracy.

In addition to the previous four dialectics, the *Close and Personal – Far Away and Abstract* dialectic captured the extent to which White participants recognized racism as self-perpetuated, current, and local (Todd & Abrams, 2011). The paradigm of racism as blatant acts (adopted by some participants) served to separate one's self from racism through conceptualizing racism as other-perpetuated and vanishing as a problem. This perspective also ignored the facet of White supremacy that aligns Whiteness with normalcy and, subsequently, supports racism. Finally, *Even Playing Field – Uneven Playing Field* (Todd & Abrams, 2011) represented a burgeoning awareness that racism seeped beyond the individual into the structures of society, including academia. Many participants colluded with fellow White faculty members in this phase by supporting racist academic policies and structures, such as graduate school admissions and whitewashed publication practices.

Per Todd and Abram's (2011) theory, as individuals progress through the dialectics, instead of vacillating between the extremities of each dialectic, they close in on a resolution in the middle that best reconciles both poles. Participants in the study reflected divergent positions within the six dialectics as well as various levels of progress in resolving the dialectics. Todd and Abrams (2011) express that resolution of the dialectics is never fully achieved, but rather, the goal is to maintain a vigilant awareness and ethic towards rebuking and resolving one's personal racism.

White Racial Identity Development

White racial identity development (WRID) refers to the process by which White individuals become introduced to their Whiteness and react to their Whiteness on cognitive, affective, and behavioral levels (Harris, 2003). Several theories of WRID exist, and they all share a focus on the pervasiveness of racism, White socialization, the impact of WRID on interracial interactions, and best outcomes as acceptance of Whiteness in a non-defensive, non-racist manner (Sue & Sue, 1999). However, the exploration of racial identity is often laden with confusion, defensiveness, and guilt (Pack-Brown, 1999) that needs to be processed and worked through in order to facilitate racial identity development (Arminio, 2001).

Sue and Sue's (1999; 2013) theory of WRID provides an empathic perspective of how racism is perpetuated systemically and individualistically without conscious compliance from White people. Their theory is particularly helpful in understanding higher levels of WRID and ally development, which is applicable to the present sample of Counseling Psychology professionals. Sue and Sue's (1999; 2013) theory includes seven phases. Naïveté (Phase 1) describes young children who have an innocent curiosity about racial differences before receiving any messages about meanings ascribed to different racial groups. Phase 2 (Conformity) involves an acceptance of WP and White superiority with minimal awareness of one's self as a racial being (Sue & Sue, 1999; 2013). The obliviousness that characterizes Conformity breaks down in Phase 3 (Dissonance) as White individuals become aware of the discrepancies in their colorblind approach to avoiding race and their own negative perceptions of Black Americans (Sue & Sue, 1999; 2013). Dissonance (Phase 3) introduces uncertainty into a previously clear

conscience though increasing critique of one's routine and daily behaviors, though few behavioral changes actually occur (Sue & Sue, 2013). Current study participants in Dissonance utilized positivistic rationalizations that denied racism and White supremacy through minimization, victim blaming, and intellectualization.

Phase 4 (Resistance and Immersion) is characterized by questioning and challenging one's own racism. White individuals in Phase 4 feel guilty about their Whiteness and WP and attempt to assuage their guilt by saving Black Americans, known as "White liberal syndrome" (Sue & Sue, 1999; 2013). Highly educated, White CPs are in particular danger of becoming stuck in Resistance and Immersion due to a cursory understanding of racism and a prideful (erroneous) assumption of antiracism. Phase 4 individuals may be well-meaning, but they have not rid themselves of their desire to dominate Black Americans, not collaborate (Sue & Sue, 2013). Prolific minimization of racism combined with rehearsed antiracism rhetoric was evident in interviews and characterized Resistance and Immersion. Furthermore, participants who focused on helping Black individuals (e.g., taking on Black students, supporting Affirmative Action policies, denouncing blatant racism) but did not focus on their own racism or systemic levels of oppression, fit into the Resistance and Immersion phase.

White Americans may next enter Introspection (Phase 5) during which individuals identify and accept their Whiteness and honestly confront their own biases (Sue & Sue, 1999; 2013). Introspection represents a deeper focus on one's self and a shift away from being a 'savior' to Black Americans (Todd & Abrams, 2011). Though Phase 5 marks deep, personal advances in recognizing one's capacity for racism and WP, racism is still present. Phase 5 racism is marked by intellectualization, lack of action, and lack of focus

on how to change White people overall (Sue & Sue, 2013). Intellectualization is an inherent part of academia that was particularly challenging for participants to overcome. For White individuals who emerge into Phase 6 (Integrative Awareness), they value multiculturalism and diversity while understanding themselves as racial beings (Sue & Sue, 1999; 2013). A key shift is moving from focusing on changing Black Americans to changing oneself and other White people. Though racism is less pronounced, Phase 6 racism is characterized by lack of action and some intellectualization. Participants in Integrative Awareness were not actively involved in advocacy work and continued to rationalize their racist beliefs and actions of themselves and others.

Commitment to Antiracist Action is Phase 7 (Sue & Sue, 2013). The distinguishing feature of Phase 7 from Phase 6 is an increase in social activism and behaviors that specifically target the eradication of racism in daily life (Sue & Sue, 2013). However, White people can never fully remove themselves from WP or eradicate their capacity for racism while living in a society embedded in ethnocentric monoculturalism (the potent and pervasive preference for Whiteness; Sue, 2004). Because of ethnocentric monoculturalism, racism still exists in Phase 7 individuals. Thus, only two participants exemplified behaviors congruent with Phase 7. Though their own perpetuation of racism was less frequent, participants in Phase 7 were fully willing to accept responsibility for their own racism and the consequences of their racism. Moreover, they actively worked to rectify their racism and address the insidious nature of racism with White graduate students and colleagues. They also actively searched for ways to integrate antiracism into their lives (Malott, Paone, Schaeffle, Cates, & Haizlip, 2015).

By examining the previous three theories in relation to study findings, participants were theoretically conceptualized through a developmental lens to better understand their perspectives of racism and allyship. Such consideration proffers context for the present findings. Claims of reverse racism, acceptance of colorblindness, and blatant paradigms of racism are evidence of lower levels of awareness and development. Participation in advocacy and recognition of one's own capacity for racism are aligned with higher levels of development. By framing variability in responses as developmental, future directions for trainings can be created with the aim of identifying current developmental levels and fostering further growth and maturity in racial awareness.

Results in the Context of Existing Literature

In addition to the application of the aforementioned theories to understand study findings, the results are also integrated into the current literature on Whiteness, racism, and allyship.

Insidious and Systemic Racism

In the present study, racism was demonstrated as insidious and aversive (Dovidio et al., 2002) as well as systemic (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Importantly, findings corroborated reports of racism from Black CPs (Chambers, 2011; Constantine, 2007; Constantine et al., 2008). Results included evidence of individuals endorsing racism or racists views, participating in racist behaviors, and making racist comments. For instance, racism manifested as (conscious and unconscious) engrained ideas about the inferiority of Black individuals (Thompson & Neville, 1999), such as surprise at Black student successes or expectations of Black faculty inferiority (Delapp & Williams, 2015). Moreover, due to the White habitus of academia (Bonilla-Silva, 1997) and unconscious

bias present in all White Americans (Dovidio et al., 2002; Guzman et al., 2010), racism occurred even in White spaces that espoused values of racial justice. The ubiquitous presence of White supremacy served as a foundation for racism and negatively impacted Black individuals regardless of the presence of a racist act. For example, if White standards of dress were perceived as normal, then Black individuals may have felt self-conscious or nervous to dress in ways congruent with their Black culture (e.g., natural hair, African attire) because of the knowledge that White standards of dress are viewed as normal and appropriate.

Aversive, insidious, and ideological racism seeped into the crevices of academia even when participants wanted to combat it (Delapp & Williams, 2015; Dressel et al., 2010). Results indicated that participants who fought racial injustice also perpetuated racism, particularly through unintentional, yet harmful microaggressions (Sue, 2010, Sue et al., 2007; Watkins et al., 2010). The presence of insidious racism among participants who engage in ally work supports previous research that elucidated the simultaneous presence of antiracism and racism in well-meaning White individuals (Malott et al., 2015; Pittinsky et al., 2011; Spanierman, Oh, et al., 2008; Sue, 2011; Trepagnier, 2010). Therefore, even White CPs conceptualized to be at higher levels of WRID committed racism.

Cognitive errors were a key manifestation of insidious racism (Ridley, 2005) and signified the use of intellectualization (present in moderate levels of WRID; Sue & Sue, 2013). Victim-blaming (Ridley, 2005) manifested via accusations of Black exclusivity, claims of Black dishonesty and criminality, and accusations of playing the “Black card.” Black faculty and students were discussed as unprepared and/or underqualified, and often

these judgments were normalized as cultural differences, thereby perpetuating cultural racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Cultural racism directly supports the notion of Whiteness as normal and instantiates White supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Cultural racism also manifested as preferences for White dialects, accusations of Black students not understanding appropriate classroom demeanor, and paternalism towards Black students perceived to be unqualified or unprepared. Contrastingly, confirmatory bias (Ridley, 2005) led some participants to point out a token Black faculty member or student and extrapolate that all Black individuals could succeed if this one individual did so. Such logic is dangerous and facilitates intellectualization as a mechanism of rationalizing or explaining away racism (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a; Utsey et al., 2005). Bonilla-Silva (2003) labeled such intellectualization as abstract liberalism. Additional examples of abstract liberalism that surfaced during interviews included discounting emotions in favor of (seemingly) objective facts and searching for a logical middle ground. General minimization of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) was present as well, such as ignoring the impact of race on inter-racial relationships, giving White students the benefit of the doubt (instead of addressing their racism), and voicing relief that racism could have been worse. Many participants branded racism as blatant acts of hate. By supporting the myth of racism as only blatant acts, racism occurred through sympathy and superiority, not hate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Trepagnier, 2010). For instance, a White male CP consistently attempted to mentor a new Black female faculty member who he deemed unprepared and unqualified (though she had not indicated any interest in being mentored by this person). Moreover, his perceptions of her levels of preparation and qualification

were likely based on White standards that dismiss Black ways of being as lesser or invalid.

Furthermore, identifying scapegoats for racism (e.g., socioeconomic status, science) was further evidence of minimization. When socioeconomic status is used to deflect from acknowledging race, racism occurs (Wise, 2015). Objective science can also serve as a dismissive technique for CPs to diminish racism. Relying on scientific paradigms that perpetuate racism provides a logical scapegoat to deny racism. Scientific racism may be committed through higher scrutiny of studies with Black samples, questioning race as a meaningful variable, or reducing negative outcomes (e.g., poor health, substance abuse, poverty) to race (Farber, 2011; Greene, 1985). Scientific racism appealed to participants seeking logical explanations and validations for systemic and insidious racism.

In conjunction with insidious racism, racism also manifested in structures and institutions (particularly academia), as described by Thompson and Neville (1999). Reports of few (or no) Black students and faculty were common and mirrored the critique of academia by Dovidio and colleagues 14 years ago in 2002. Little progress has been made. Seemingly, racism evolved in academic spaces to covertly deny access and success through aversively racist strategies while simultaneously verbalizing support for racial justice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Instances of aversive racism include the use of racially-biased graduate school admissions standards and processes (Dovidio et al., 2002); lack of support for Black faculty research on race (Bergerson, 2003); and enforcement of White standards of dress, dialect, and demeanor as evidence of professionalism (Sue et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2009). Moreover, though racism facilitated

the mostly White composition of graduate faculty and students, the continued lack of Black individuals in the academy serves to reinforce White supremacy (and systemic racism) in the academy through further aligning academia with Whiteness. The espousal of diversity rhetoric coupled with systemic racism allows CPs to deny their own personal racism and focus on making academia fair, colorblind, and comfortable (for White professionals). Furthermore, structural racism was noted regarding law enforcement agencies (mostly local police) and even in elementary schools. Given the thoroughness and pervasiveness of White supremacy throughout important institutions, the engrained nature of Whiteness must be recognized as restricting and oppressive (Malott et al., 2015) regardless of intentionality.

Defensive Responses to Racism

However, beyond racism committed by White allies, study findings also demonstrated low levels of awareness and understanding about racism and even some blatant racism among participants. Some participants provided defensive justifications for not being racist, similar to graduate students during their multicultural coursework (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Spanierman, Oh et al., 2008; Utsey et al., 2005). In some cases, participants could not think of an instance of racism they committed. Moreover, positive thoughts and actions towards Black individuals were provided as evidence against personal racism. Northern birth was also cited as a reason to be free of racism as racism was framed as a Southern problem. Moreover, the idea of contact with Black individuals deterring racism was cited despite evidence that suggest the contact hypothesis is insufficient (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Two participants even articulated that racism would fade away with time given the progress made over the past

decades. King (1991) labeled this “uncritical habit of mind” as dysconsciousness. Seemingly well-intentioned people can be grossly unaware of the realities of racism and the impact of White supremacy. Moreover, they can perpetuate racism through seemingly progressive semantics (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), such as denial of racial prejudice followed by a racist statement, identifying Black friends as proof of not being racist, and articulating a belief that Black people can pull themselves up by their bootstraps like immigrant populations that voluntarily came to America (e.g., the Irish).

Realizing one’s capacity for racism is often unsettling and evokes feeling of guilt (Sue, 2003; Todd & Abrams, 2011). Therefore, avoiding the realization that all White people commit racism (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013) protects our personal sense of decency. It makes sense why White individuals avoid confronting their own racism; however, avoidance directly instantiates dysconsciousness.

Colorblind rhetoric. A key architect of dysconsciousness was colorblind rhetoric. Colorblind rhetoric was pervasively demonstrated among participants who denied personal racism. Among these participants, colorblindness was promoted through the idea of taking all claims of racism individually (instead of generalizing across cases) and through discussions of scientific findings that eschewed genetic differences among races (and thus promoted treating all individuals the same). Therefore, racism against one Black student was wholly unrelated to racism committed against another student, and systemic racism was ignored. Moreover, these participants also focused on treating colleagues and students fairly, or the same. Some participants even used the colorblind logic of fairness as a direct way to stop racism by treating White and Black colleagues and students equally (McCoy, Winkle-Wagner, & Luedke, 2015). Unfortunately, these

participants lacked an overall understanding of privilege and oppression (Worell & Remer, 2003). Cultures were simplistically viewed as different without a notion of power or systemic preference. In the opinion of one participant, reverse racism and playing the “Black card” were evidence of discrimination against White Americans, indicating nascent levels of WRID. Moreover, (unverified) testimonials (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) were used as facts to support such claims, which ironically contrasts the use of intellectualization to dismiss racism. The promotion of All Lives Matter and call to stop diversity training further reflected colorblind paradigms in practice. Overall, the assumption that multicultural and diversity training in graduate school is sufficient seems debunked.

Reactions to White privilege. Participant reactions to WP were aligned with Ancis and Szymanski’s (2001) findings about graduate student reactions to WP – some denied WP, some acknowledged WP, and some acknowledged and worked to repair WP. Despite varying perspectives (and the presumption of various levels of WRID among participants), all participants utilized WP to distance themselves from the reality of racism and, thus, demonstrated the pervasiveness of WP among White CPs. For example, nine out of ten participants deflected from discussing race or racism towards Black Americans at some point during their interview, which is highly significant given that all participants were informed that they were agreeing to participate in an interview that specifically asked about racism towards Black individuals! Despite the ubiquity of WP among participants, individuals who identified as allies (Debra, Kelly, Christopher, Heather, Rachel, Meredith) were more likely to recognize their WP. Some participants further recognized their own lack of awareness of racial issues (due to WP) and their

need to educate themselves. Three participants even reported how they explicitly discussed their WP with students to help model allyship and normalize the existence of WP. Moreover, the re-written history of the Confederate flag and a deconstruction of the novel “The Help” exemplified the recognition of WP in various arenas of society.

Lack of recognition of WP was more closely aligned with the use of colorblind rhetoric and lower levels of awareness of racism and WRID. Among these participants, the primary utilization of WP was to define reality for people of color in communities and academia. Specific instances included claims of graduate school admissions equality, lack of racism at one’s academic institution, and non-racialized policing. One participant did not recognize how her family’s WP helped them as immigrants three generations prior and blamed Black individuals for not succeeding like her Eastern European ancestors. The rejection of WP was highly aligned with the perpetuation of insidious racism and ignorance of systemic racism.

Allyship and Advocacy Efforts

Study findings indicated that participants who more readily admitted their capacity for racism (Debra, Meredith, Christopher, Heather, Kelly, Rachel) tended to engage in more ally work, which is congruent with developmental theories of racial awareness. Unfortunately, the relationship between racial allies and racism was complicated and imperfect. As Trepagnier (2010) suggested, the focus for White allies should be on becoming less racist, not free of racism (an impossibility). Presumably, participants who engaged in ally work understood that antiracism work, positive thoughts towards Black individuals, and helpful actions do not eradicate racism within one’s self (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Malott et al., 2015; Pittinsky et al., 2011; Spanierman, Oh, et

al., 2008). Likely, these individuals would have progressed further in Sue and Sue's (2013) WRID stages as well as D'Andrea and Daniel's (1999) psychological disposition and demonstrated more reconciliation among the White dialectics (Todd & Abrams, 2011).

Advocacy was framed as a lifestyle choice, which may have a positive impact of allies' sense of identity as White individuals (Malott et al., 2015). This alternative conceptualization of Whiteness may help to create a positive identity for White individuals, as opposed to solely identifying as the oppressor (Malott et al., 2015). Moreover, advocacy efforts seemed to positively impact participants' racial awareness and foster continued growth and reflection. That is, the more participants engaged in antiracism work, the more they appeared to reflect on and discuss their own perpetuations of racism and areas for growth (Case, 2012; O'Brien, 2001). Specifically, reflecting on encounter experiences with racism was a common occurrence that led participants to evaluate their propensity for racism and learn from previous mistakes. They shared embarrassing, unflattering stories of racism and could articulate how reflecting on these experiences perpetuated their development of greater racial awareness and understanding. Such vigilance and commitment to reflection is cited as a key mechanism of furthering racial awareness (Malott et al., 2015).

Participants engaged in ally work also demonstrated both affective and intellectual understandings of racism, which are as seminal to true antiracism work (Reason, Scales et al., 2005). To understand the devastation of racism, emotions must be felt and recognized, which aligns with aforementioned theories of WRID and racial awareness (e.g., D'Andrea & Daniels, Sue & Sue, 2013). Guilt, pain, sadness, and

mortification were all cited by participants as emotive responses to committing and/or witnessing racism, which is similar to Spanierman, Oh, and colleagues' (2008) findings about affective reactions to racism. Moreover, participants who completed work as allies balanced an affective comprehension with intellectual knowledge about racism that demonstrated more advanced development of racial awareness. Juxtaposed to participants who relied on positivistic logic to defend racism (e.g., defining racism as only blatant acts, demanding a control group to validate Black claims of racism), allies created a balance of affective and intellectual knowing that allowed them to recognize and respect the salience and severity of racism.

Teaching students, training professionals, programming on campus, and engaging with family members (e.g., partners, extended family, parents, children) were key mechanisms of allyship. Teaching multicultural courses helped to alleviate the burden of assigning the token faculty of color to teach these courses (Guzman et al., 2010; Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011). Instructing multicultural coursework also provided the opportunity for White faculty members to model ally behaviors, which is sorely needed in cultivating future allies (Ayvazian, 2010). Other common acts of advocacy across milieus included speaking up against racism and challenging other White people's racist behaviors (O'Brien, 2001). When speaking out and challenging other White individuals, WP was utilized in a positive manner. Moreover, WP was positively wielded by believing and challenging microaggressions towards Black students. White CPs in academia have a unique role as gatekeepers for the profession, and those who act as allies can positively influence myriad students. Contrastingly, non-ally, White CPs will impact countless students as well and serve to combat positive, antiracist messages.

Though allyship is undeniably necessary, participants and literature collectively reported the inherent difficulties of advocacy work. Isolation from friends and family was noted by some participants engaged in ally work as well as the fear of future isolation. Similar to Sue and colleagues' (2010) findings, resistance and defensiveness were common roadblocks when engaging in advocacy. Racial dialogues were difficult and occasionally spurred backlash from the White community (Malott et al., 2015). In some instances, allies became distanced from their White family and friends (Case, 2012) or experienced White friends and family as frustrating (Malott et al., 2015). To combat isolation, Ayvazian (2010) and O'Brien (2001) encouraged allies to build communities together and to not fight racial injustice alone.

Furthermore, numerous authors (e.g., Ayvazian, 2010; Malott et al., 2015; Pittinsky et al., 2011; Spanierman, Oh et al., 2008) discussed the inherent imperfection of allyship, such as committing racism in the process of allyship, maintaining few Black friendships, and not prioritizing allyship. Struggles are prevalently cited in the literature and often leave allies downtrodden and fatigued. In addition to individual burdens and barriers, allyship struggles were further enhanced by the stark segregation of White and Black realms (from childhood education to academia). Societal systems are not set up to facilitate or support positive interracial interactions, including advocacy; therefore, tribulations should be expected. White supremacy keeps us separated and serves to disconnect White individuals from recognizing their roles in facilitating White supremacy.

In addition to the aforementioned difficulties, advocacy efforts often have uncertain outcomes (Ayvazian, 2010; Neville et al., 1996). Moreover, the most effective

methods of advocacy tended to be ambiguous. For instance, the idea of creating all-White processing groups to a) allow honest dialogue about race and b) protect students of color from that dialogue (Adleman & Enguidanos-Clark, 1995; Parker & Schwartz, 2002) remains untested and debated. Another common uncertainty was determining the perfect balance of gentleness and directness when confronting racism. The lack of scientific evidence about efficacious advocacy strategies perpetuated doubt and left allies with little formal guidance.

Recommendations

Based on the present findings, several recommendations are offered to enhance WRID of White CPs and promote antiracism. Antiracism is conceptualized to include forging true relationships with Black colleagues; creating a cooperative and safe work environment; working towards shared goals, rebuking stereotypes and misinformation; minimizing power differentials based on race, promoting harmony; and feeling connected to all members of humanity (Sue, 2003). The ubiquitous utilization of WP to distance participants from the harsh realities of racism supports the claim that multicultural and diversity trainings should not end after graduate training; a claim made as early as 1989 (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Because WRID likely shifts during graduate training due to the introduction of multicultural coursework, WRID cannot be assumed to be completed upon the receipt of one's degree. Moreover, based on the evidence in this study, even White CPs who identify as allies could benefit from continued education and training due to the insidious, engrained nature of White supremacy and systemic racism. The evidence in the current study further suggests that beneficial trainings would include recognizing and repairing microaggressions, eliminating racial bias in graduate student

admissions and faculty search processes, and understanding the evolution of racism through time and context. White CPs should participate in these trainings at local, state, and national conferences (Sue, 2003) throughout their careers. Furthermore, at a systemic level, the American Psychological Association should advocate for licensing boards to require a minimum number of Continuing Education credits on racial diversity issues to maintain licensure. In addition to attending formal trainings, several recommendations are proffered for White CPs, including self-exploration, antiracist action, training future allies, combatting institutional racism, and preparing for barriers.

Self-Exploration

White CPs cannot expect to simply reach a threshold of WRID that no longer necessitates intentional growth and development. As individuals progress through WRID, their need for training in racial issues does not decrease, it simply changes. Moreover, WRID fundamentally undergirds the impact and reception of such trainings with individuals at higher levels of WRID likely being more receptive and interested. Therefore, a need exists to promote development through early stages of WRID via self-exploration of one's own Whiteness and capability for racism (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989).

Unfortunately, conference trainings alone are insufficient to address the necessary in-depth process of WRID. WRID is a lifelong process (Case, 2012; Malott et al., 2015) that requires continued training. Myriad self-reflection is necessary (Sue, 2003), which involves more than a once or twice a year workshop. The introspection involved with WRID requires an honest self-evaluation and confrontation of your personal biases (Sue, 2003). A seminal step in WRID is determining one's current developmental level. Sue (2003) recommended the exercise of writing out your experiences of each progressive

stage of WRID as a method of elucidating your current developmental level. Another recommendation was to utilize a daily journal to track interracial experiences, including thoughts, feelings, meanings, and corrective action (Sue, 2003). Such activities would serve to help individuals identify and process their past and current experiences that lead to their current level of WRID. Two additional mechanisms to promote early WRID include (but are not limited to) reading *Overcoming our Racism* (Sue, 2003) and watching *Mirrors of Privilege: Making Whiteness Visible* (Butler et al., 2006). To aid in the process of self-evaluation, White CPs should consider collaborating locally to create accountability groups to help aid their own development. Such groups could include colleagues in one's department or even a virtual community of White CPs. The purpose of such groups would be to help White CPs along their own individual developmental journeys through encouragement and feedback. Such groups could also combat the isolation that may accompany White allyship when residing in spaces with few other allies.

Additional techniques for promoting introspection and growth include searching out valid information on race, racism, and cultural backgrounds (Sue, 2003). The search requires confronting uncomfortable and unfamiliar experiences (Sue, 2003). Valid information can be obtained through strong Black community members and structures, including business owners, musicians, speakers, places of worship, and community events (Sue, 2003). Black cultural museums are also a rich source of information (Sue, 2003), but museums should not be a substitute for interracial interactions. Furthermore, White CPs should not attend places of worship or community events as if they are voyeurs who are avoiding interaction and solely watching (Sue, 2003). Genuineness and

authenticity is imperative, and treating Black individuals as if they are on display is counter to the mission of building relationships and promoting allyship.

Regarding media, myriad literature, film, and works of art exist that are created by Black individuals for Black individuals. Local bookstores are also ripe with cultural literature, such as Black-authored novels written during the Harlem Renaissance. White CPs should utilize these creative works and even attend plays, musicals, and entertainment events hosted by Black communities. Additionally, PBS has produced several documentaries and films around race and racism, including *American Denial* and *Race: The Power of an Illusion*. Social justice oriented organizations, including Southern Poverty Law and the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People, also publish resources that White CPs can utilize. Sue (2003) further suggested a reading list for White individuals exploring their own WRID. Resources are widely available. However, the utilization of these resources requires White CPs to pay attention and open their eyes to what is available. When utilized, these resources may aid White CPs in exploring questions that study participants posed, including how to recognize instances of racism, how to improve allyship efforts, and how to efficaciously broach topics of race and racism with White graduate students.

Antiracist Action

Another component of stimulating WRID among White CPs is engagement in antiracist action. Malott and colleagues (2015) asserted that through antiracist action, a positive White identity could be constructed. However, vigilance is needed to undertake antiracism allyship (Case, 2012; Sue, 2003). Allyship does not passively occur as WRID progresses. Rather White CPs must surmount the perceived barriers (e.g., time,

busyness) to engage in allyship and thus promote their own WRID. Given that allyship is a lifelong journey, White CPs cannot defer antiracist action until WRID is “complete.”

Antiracist action should be specific to your community and creatively address the specific needs of Black individuals in your local area. White CPs should speak with Black individuals and leaders to ascertain the expressed needs of the Black community and follow the leadership of the Black leaders. Another method of promoting one’s own WRID through antiracism allyship involves working with other White individuals who are at lower levels of WRID. White CPs with more advanced levels of WRID should submit programs to conferences and demonstrate their allyship while helping promote WRID in their colleagues. Moreover, White CPs who serve as reviewers for conference programming should help recruit and select programming that would promote WRID (and not utilize their gatekeeping function to deter such programming).

Training Future Allies

Additionally, White CPs have the opportunity to influence future generations of CPs by modeling allyship (Ayvazian, 2010; Malott et al., 2015) and instilling efficacy in students that they can enact positive change (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, & Denney, 2010). For CPs to live up to Counseling Psychology values (Packard, 2009; CCPTP, ACCTA, & SCP, 2009), they must engage in multicultural educations, not monocultural education that prioritizes White cultural preferences. Monocultural education is not avoided by creating a few class sessions to address racial injustice (Pieterse, 2009). Racial issues should be infused throughout graduate training (Louis et al., 2016; Malott et al., 2015). Specific techniques could include videos and seminal readings on race, racism, and WRID (Pieterse, 2009). Instructors should also consider inviting guest

lecturers with expertise in race and racism, particularly if they are unsure of their ability to efficaciously convey such information. Moreover, instructors should stay to watch the presentation to further promote their own development.

Beyond content-focused trainings, White CPs should provide process-oriented education to further develop graduate students' racial identities (Pieterse, 2009). Processing the content knowledge on race and racism permits students to explore their development on an emotive, affective level instead of remaining in a purely cognitive realm. Feeling sad, shameful, guilty, or angry about racism and White supremacy is likely a potent aspect of ally development that helps enhance understanding. Process-oriented trainings could include specific meetings and forums for students to dialogue about race, racism, identity development, current events, and racial socialization experiences (Pieterse, 2009). Individually-based process techniques could include reflection papers and journals (Pieterse, 2009). Through process groups, White CPs can also foster the notion that White students' racism is a response to a sick society, and White students are not inherently sick (though this does not give White students a pass on their racist behaviors; Sue, 2003). Such spaces could further be used to normalize the varied emotions and tensions experienced by White students during this process (Malott et al., 2015). Demonstrating such empathy can be effective in increasing buy-in for individuals early in WRID and helping them face their capacities for racism (Sue, 2003). White allies in particular may be well-suited to express empathy for other White individuals developing their racial identities – as opposed to asking Black individuals to ignore their pain to support White folks.

Importantly, White individuals at different levels of racial identity development will benefit from different training interventions (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). To enhance the efficacy of allyship interventions with graduate students, White CPs need to consider the level of WRID in the students that they train. The same considerations would be helpful when developing programming for White colleagues. For individuals in early stages of WRID, the goal would be to increase their awareness of Whiteness, increase emotional sensitivity around Whiteness, and begin self-exploration as a racial being (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). For individuals early in their WRID, a group exercise could focus on answering the question: “What ideas were you encouraged to believe about your own racial group?” (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Groups could also process questions, such as “What do you like about your White culture?” and “In what situations have you noticed your race?” For individuals who have advanced beyond a cursory awareness of their Whiteness, training would shift to focus on their own manifestations of racism (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Examples of such exercises could include identifying racial stereotypes and how stereotypical beliefs manifest (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989) as well as identifying personal microaggressions. Empathy may be particularly imperative at this developmental stage. As White individuals progress, they will then need to directly face their WP and learn to conceptualize racism as a White problem (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Activities for individuals in this later stage of WRID include processing current events and personal experiences to unpack their reactions (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Individuals in this phase should also begin to consider how they will address the racism they witness among their White friends and family. In the latest stages of WRID, White individuals would focus on the full integration of racial identity into their own identity

and adopt a multicultural lens through which they see the world (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989). Individuals at this stage need to plan and execute antiracist action (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989), and they should also understand the impact of White supremacy as the foundation of racism. They should be encouraged to join in community with other antiracist White individuals to gain support, encouragement, and feedback as they advocate. Regarding students, if programs start WRID training as students matriculate, they may minimize deviations in WRID and create cohort groups that mutually support and enhance WRID. Though not a common practice, White CPs could make a significant antiracist stand by advocating for such WRID groups in their training programs.

Moreover, White allies should practice race dialogues about racism, Whiteness, and White supremacy to gain skills in how to best traverse these emotion-laden topics. Whiteness is often illusive to White individuals and difficult to label and critique because White people are indoctrinated into the White habitus (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) through ethnocentric monoculturalism (Sue, 2004). Therefore, we have to work to notice Whiteness in order to facilitate meaningful, productive dialogues about Whiteness, which makes these dialogues inherently challenging. Some specific ideas for promoting dialogues around Whiteness include, demonstrating empathy (Sue, 2003), being vulnerable, and labeling White supremacy as an oppressive system. Demonstrating empathy with other White individuals may help maintain their willingness to participate in the difficult dialogue, particularly if they are new to discussions of race (Sue, 2003). Being vulnerable about our own capacity for racism and our own mistakes may further encourage other White people to examine themselves instead of feeling lectured by someone who appears free from racism. Lastly, labeling White supremacy as an

oppressive system that we collude with unintentionally is imperative. Racism must be understood beyond blatant acts and microaggressions. Understanding the systems that maintain the superiority and invisibility of Whiteness helps White folks comprehend how they commit racism and reinforce Whiteness as normalcy. Identifying the larger system may also help White individuals have empathy for themselves and how they are capable of committing racism and instantiating Whiteness.

Combatting Institutional Racism

Beyond developing future allies among White graduate students and colleagues, White CPs should endeavor to address the current racism in their institutions, departments, and programs. Previous research corroborates participants' reports of racism in the academy (e.g., Constantine, 2007; Constantine et al., 2008), and reinforces the need for White CPs to support their Black colleagues on campus (Louis et al., 2016). Supportive actions include speaking out against racism that occurs (locally or nationally), challenging White colleagues who perpetuate racism, vocalizing support for antiracist political candidates, and working for systemic change at universities. Do your colleagues and administrators know where you stand on issues of racial injustice? They should. White CPs must use their voice to speak out against mostly White (or all White) faculty compositions (Sue, 2003). Speaking from privileged positions of power is meaningful and more likely to influence the instantiated White supremacy within academia (Sue, 2003). Moreover, other colleagues may be more likely to speak up if you condemn racism first. Research indicates that bystanders' condemnation of racism increased if someone else already condemned racism (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Vaughn, 1994). Though uncomfortable, White CPs must be willing to sacrifice their comfort to

confront racism. Moreover, Black faculty members have reported the futility of confronting racism at work (Louis et al., 2016), which augments the need for White CPs to label racism and call out students and peers who perpetuate racism. White CPs should also initiate conversations to apologize for their own instances of racism and seek forgiveness from Black students and colleagues. In short, White CPs should combat White supremacy in the academy by simultaneously addressing acts of racism and combatting the perceived normalcy of White standards of dress, behavior, and research.

Louis and colleagues (2016) called for higher administration to establish policies to address microaggressions, including consequences for violators and support for targets of racism. Such consequences could include mandatory trainings on microaggressions or formal apologies. White CPs could play an important role in facilitating these changes in their home institutions. White CPs should also encourage the implementation of antiracism groups on campus (including faculty and students; Sue, 2003) or advise student groups that support antiracist initiatives. Helping to organize forums and town halls (Sue, 2003) is another opportunity to combat White supremacy and a chance to use WP to positively influence racial justice. Lastly, White CPs should advocate for diversity courses in disciplines across campus, including business, medicine, and engineering (Louis et al., 2016). Racial justice advocacy cannot be a reserved academic exercise for psychologists and other social scientists. Moreover, White CPs should take leadership roles in these endeavors to help relieve their Black colleagues who are over-committed and under-appreciated in service tasks (Constantine et al., 2008). Though one participant evidenced campus-wide advocacy efforts, this level of allyship was uncommon and desperately needed.

Another caution to White CPs is to be vigilant and intentional in challenging colorblind meritocracy in academia (Simpson, 2010). Colorblindness may manifest in a variety of ways; however, the impacts are particularly salient regarding mentorship (McCoy et al., 2015; Simpson, 2010) and research (Simpson, 2010; Sue, 2003). When mentoring Black graduate students or junior faculty, treating them just the same as White students or junior faculty will likely (though often inadvertently) encourage Black mentees to assimilate to White standards of dress, demeanor, and speech (McCoy et al., 2015). Many participants spoke to this White supremacist mentality and lacked understanding of its damaging impact. For instance, Richard sought to mentor a Black female faculty to improve her teaching style (which he subjectively rated as poor). Also, Kevin spoke about his intentional effort to treat all of his students the same regardless of color and did not connect his approach to complaints he received from his Black female students regarding lack of support. Moreover, paternalism and condescension may emerge towards Black mentees (McCoy et al., 2015). White CPs must have honest, forthright conversations about race with mentees and cultivate working relationships that honor cultural differences instead of attempting to whitewash them. Only two participants reported such conversations with their Black mentees.

A key mechanism of whitewashing mentees is discouraging research on race (Simpson, 2010). Such work could occur passively (e.g., “That’s not what this lab focuses on” or “Can you explain why you think race would be significant?”) or actively through blocking racially-contextualized interpretations of theories or data (Simpson, 2010). Simpson (2010) and Sue (2003) warned against the presumption of research as

value neutral. Sue (2003) opined that a “worship of science” (p. 246) should not interfere with novel or exploratory race-related research.

Peer reviewing is another avenue of colorblind racism in academia. Allowing personal defensiveness of one’s own racial identity to block research on race is unacceptable. White CPs can become skilled in utilizing positivistic research logic to dismiss claims of racism (similar to several participants). Kevin mitigated the impact of race by wondering how other variables could account for more of the variance in an advisee’s dissertation study. Richard dismissed any research not pertaining to therapy outcomes to support his claim of eliminating multicultural training. Richard further ignored data from Black researchers that demonstrated racism because a control sample was lacking. When mitigating racism through research, White CPs simultaneously demonstrate their lack of WRID, and their dismissal reinforces racist paradigms. Simpson (2010) challenged peer reviewers to notice if authors were providing “mini-seminars” on race in response to their reviewer comments. The peer review process should not be utilized to weed out varying perspectives but rather welcome diverse ideas (Simpson, 2010). Moreover, given the lack of Black Editors or Associate Editors on the editorial boards of *The Counseling Psychologist* (Sage Publishing, 2016) and *The Journal of Counseling Psychology* (American Psychological Association, 2016), White CPs should give up their privilege to gate-keep around race-related literature. Instead, they should embrace such science.

Preparing for Barriers

A final recommendation is proffered for White CPs who identify as or endeavor to be allies. Allies should prepare for individual and systemic barriers to their allyship

and take care of themselves while engaging in allyship (Ayvazian, 2010). Scholars (Ayvazian, 2010; Malott et al., 2015) and participants both spoke to the uncertainty of outcomes and lack of perfection in White allyship. Moreover, White allies may struggle to live out their antiracist values, such as living in integrated neighborhoods (Malott et al., 2015). Allies should not allow themselves to become immobilized by these barriers (Ayvazian, 2010).

White backlash will occur (Malott et al., 2015), and relationships with other White individuals will potentially be tense. Advocacy within academia is a direct challenge to a system created with White supremacy that rewards individuals who support and instantiate the culture of Whiteness. Allies should create a support system to help them traverse these difficulties (Ayvazian, 2010; O'Brien, 2001) and avoid burnout. They should foster alliances with other White allies (Sue, 2003) or cultivate White allies in their lives, through discussions with close friends and family members. White CPs could also join community groups that support antiracism work (e.g. Showing Up for Racial Justice) and provide support (Case, 2012). Furthermore, forming all-White groups of allies could be considered to help White allies develop their identities and not subject Black peers to their racist struggles (Case, 2012). However, WRID should not be an insular process separate from Black colleagues and peers. White CPs should actively seek out interracial relationships and be open to discussing race with people of color (Sue, 2003). True relationships will only be built through genuine, honest conversations about race, which maybe a novel experience for Black individuals (Sue, 2003). However, such relationships are not easily cultivated. Again, barriers should be

anticipated, including facing distrust from Black individuals (Malott et al., 2015), being challenged on your antiracism work, and having your racism pointed out.

Future Directions

Given the exploratory nature of the current study, several future avenues of research have been identified. More research and knowledge is needed to best address the systemic nature of racism in the academy. Continued race-related research among White CPs is needed, including perspectives on racism, ally behaviors, and perpetuation of racism. Specifically, research should focus on White CPs and their WRID, which potently impacts their perspectives, reactions, and perpetuation of racism. Furthermore, quantitative studies are needed to further refine such findings. For instance, a quantitative measure of insidious racism would be of great benefit to this line of research. A quantitative measure may also enhance the willingness of science-minded faculty members to accept results demonstrating the presence of racism in themselves and their colleagues. Lastly, more research is warranted about the best way for White CPs to advocate against racism. What tactics and techniques are most effective for graduate students, spouses, or children? Given the emotional toll of advocacy, utilizing the most effective techniques would make advocacy more efficacious and encourage allies to continue their work against racial injustice.

Limitations

The present study corroborated previous research and elucidated new findings; however, the results should be understood within the scope of the study's limitations. This qualitative study used a small sample size of self-selected participants; therefore, results may not generalize to the White CP faculty population overall. Moreover, the

self-selection of participants may have yielded participants who were more willing to discuss race and racism (as opposed to participants who declined to participate). Furthermore, the findings were analyzed by one individual, and, given the nature of qualitative data analysis; another individual or team may have created other themes, sub-themes, and categories. Overall, this study was exploratory in nature and should not be used to draw firm conclusions. However, given that the majority of existing research is about graduate students (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Spanierman, Oh et al., 2008; Utsey et al., 2005) or social justice advocacy broadly (e.g., Broido, 2000), the current study's delineated focus on White CPs and racism towards Black Americans begins a line of research that has been neglected and should be further extended.

Conclusion

The present study expanded current research and theories by exploring White CPs' perspectives of racism and allyship towards Black Americans. Findings corroborated literature authored by Black colleagues who have illuminated the racism that pervades academia. The present study also offered the unique perspective of White faculty members in Counseling Psychology (since most race-related research is conducted with participants of color or White graduate students). Findings began a new avenue of research among professional, White CPs about their racial awareness and allyship behaviors. If the field of Counseling Psychology is truly committed to social justice efforts and multiculturalism, then expansion of this line of research is required. Graduate student training appears insufficient to produce culturally-minded CPs; therefore, CPs should endeavor to participate in further research and subsequent intervention.

Appendix A

Recruitment Letter

Dear Dr. FACUTLY MEMBER:

You are being formally invited to participate in my dissertation study investigating White perspectives and experiences regarding racism against Black Americans. Specifically, you are being invited because you are a Counseling Psychologist who is a faculty member involved in teaching or training future psychologists who is perceived to be White. *If you do not self-identify as White, please disregard this invitation and forgive me for incorrectly presuming your race.*

According to research and anecdotal evidence, racism (though often unintentional) continues to be present in psychology training programs (including Counseling Psychology programs) despite the unique values of Counseling Psychologists, such as multiculturalism, diversity, and social justice. Simultaneously, many White Counseling Psychologists participate in advocacy efforts to combat racial injustice. As a White female doctoral candidate with a research focus on racism, the purpose of my study is to explore White Counseling Psychologists' experiences and perspectives with racism, particularly regarding Black Americans.

The study has been approved by the University of Kentucky IRB (#15-0485). Participation in my study would include participating in a 60 – 90 minute face-to-face interview at your home institution. The interview will include reviewing the informed consent and will focus on your experiences regarding racism, specifically focusing on Black Americans. The interviews would be recorded and subsequently transcribed for data analysis; however, all identifying information will be removed and minimal demographic information will be requested to protect your privacy.

Though conversations regarding race are often uncomfortable or difficult, my hope is that as White Counseling Psychologists, we can weather the temporary discomfort with a larger goal of cultivating racial allies and combatting racism. If I can answer any questions regarding participating in my study or if you are interested in participating, please contact me via email (kathryn.owen@uky.edu) or by phone at 615-438-8822. I appreciate your consideration, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Respectfully,

Kathryn Haynes Owen, Ed.S.
University of Kentucky

Appendix B

Email Communication Follow Up

Dr. FACUTLY MEMBER,

I wanted to follow up with you after sending you a personal letter regarding participation in my dissertation study investigating White Counseling Psychologists' perspectives and experiences regarding racism. I have attached an electronic version of the letter to this email in case your original letter never arrived. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

I look forward to hearing back from you regarding your interest in participating in my study.

Respectfully,
Katy Haynes Owen

Appendix C

Demographic Questionnaire

1) Please indicate your race and ethnicity.

2) Please indicate your gender.

3) Please indicate your age.

Appendix D

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1. Given our field's values of multiculturalism, social justice, and diversity, I am interested in White Counseling Psychologists' personal experiences and perspectives about racism, particularly regarding Black Americans. I am hoping you can tell me a bit about this. First, could you describe some salient personal experiences you have had interacting with Black individuals?
 - a. How does this compare with interacting with people of color who are not Black?
 - b. *Prompts:* What about in your personal life? What about in your professional life?
2. Tell me about experiences fighting racism.
 - a. Tell me about a time when you may have struggled to address racism.
 - b. *Prompts:* How did the experience make you feel?
 - c. *Prompts:* How did this experience change you? What impact did it have on your life?
 - d. *Prompts:* What about in your personal life? What about in your professional life?
 - e.
3. Are you familiar with the term microaggressions?
 - a. (If yes) Tell me your understanding of "microaggression."
 - b. (If no) A microaggression is a brief, commonplace, and subtle slight or indignity that can be verbal, behavioral, or environmental, which communicates negative or derogatory messages to people of color. *Microaggressions are often unintentional.* For instance, a woman who clutches her purse as she walks past a Black man or assuming an Asian individual does not speak English.
 - c. Can you tell me about an experience when you believe you committed a microaggression?
 - d. *Prompts:* How did this experience change you? What impact did it have on your life?
 - e. *Prompts:* How did the experience make you feel?
 - f. *Prompts:* Can you think of other salient examples in your personal life? What about in your professional life?
4. Thank you for engaging in this discussion with me today. As we wrap up, is there anything you would like to add or share?

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- Weems, R. E. (2003). The incorporation of Black faculty at predominately White institutions: A historical and contemporary perspective. *Journal of Black Studies, 34*, 101 – 111.
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- Worthington, E. L., Berry, J. W., Hook, J. N., Davis, D. E., Scherer, M., Griffin, B., ... Campana, K, L. (2015). Forgiveness-reconciliation and communication-conflict-resolution interventions versus retested controls in early married couples. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62*, 14 – 27. doi: 10.1037/cou0000045
- Yardley, L. (2000). Dilemmas in qualitative health research. *Psychology & Health, 15*, 215 – 228.

Kathryn Haynes Owen, M.Ed., Ed.S.

EDUCATION

- 2012 – 2014 **Education Specialist in Counseling Psychology**
University of Kentucky; Lexington, KY
- 2010 – 2012 **Masters of Education in Human Development Counseling**
Vanderbilt University; Nashville, TN
- 2006 – 2009 **Bachelor of Arts in Honors Psychology (Summa Cum Laude)**
University of Tennessee; Knoxville, TN

SUPERVISED CLINICAL POSITIONS

- Aug 2016 – Present **Federal Medical Center – Carswell, Federal Bureau of Prisons (Fort Worth, TX)**
Pre-doctoral Psychology Intern
- Apr 2015 – July 2016 **Blackburn Correctional Complex and Luther Lockett Correctional Complex (Lexington & LaGrange, KY)**
Psychology Practicum Student
- Aug 2015 – Apr 2016 **Lexington Veteran’s Administration Medical Center (Lexington, KY)**
Psychology Practicum Student
- Jan 2015 – Apr 2016 **University of Kentucky, Office of Wellness Initiatives (Lexington, KY)**
COACH and Drug Class Facilitator
- Sept 2014 – Jul 2015 **Federal Medical Center – Lexington, Federal Bureau of Prisons (Lexington, KY)**
Psychology Practicum Student
- Jan 2014 – Dec 2014 **University of Kentucky Counseling Psychology Program (Lexington, KY)**
Supervisor of Masters Students
- Jan 2013 – Dec 2014 **University of Kentucky Counseling Center (Lexington, KY)**
Psychology Practicum Student
- Jan 2013 – May 2013 **Greenhouse 17 (Lexington, KY)**
Group Facilitator

Aug 2011 – May 2012 **Hope Clinic for Women (Nashville, TN)**
Counseling Student Intern

Jan 2011 – May 2011 **LEAD Academy (Nashville, TN)**
Counseling Student Intern

Jan 2010 – Aug 2010 **Youth Villages (Knoxville, TN)**
In-Home Family Counselor

May 2009 – Aug 2009 **Youth Villages (Nashville, TN)**
Summer Counseling Intern

Aug 2007 – Dec 2007 **Green Magnet Academy (Knoxville, TN)**
School Counseling Assistant

RESEARCH POSITIONS

Aug 2014 – Jul 2016 **Graduate Research Assistant**
PI: Danelle Stevens-Watkins, PhD, University of Kentucky

Mar 2013 – Sept 2014 **Sexual Health Promotion Lab**
PI: Kristen Mark, PhD, MPH, University of Kentucky.

Jun 2012 – May 2013 **Integrated Substance- Informed Survivor (ISIS) Research Team**
PI: Kim Waldheim, EdS, University of Kentucky

Aug 2007 – Dec 2009 **Undergraduate Research Assistant, Project of Adolescent International Relationships (PAIR)**
PI: Deborah Welsh, PhD, University of Tennessee

TEACHING POSITIONS

Jan 2015 – May 2016 **Lab Instructor, HHS 453: Cultural Competence in Healthcare**
University of Kentucky, Health and Human Sciences

Dec 2014 – May 2015 **Lab Instructor, HHS 453: Cultural Competence in Healthcare**
University of Kentucky, Health and Human Sciences

Jan 2013 – May 2014 **Graduate Teaching Assistant, Curriculum Mapping Committee**
University of Kentucky, Academic Enhancement

May 2013 – Dec 2013 **Peer Academic Coaching Coordinator**
University of Kentucky, Academic Enhancement

Aug 2012 – May 2013 **Graduate Teaching Assistant, UK 100: Academic Preparation Program Reading Workshop**

University of Kentucky, Academic Enhancement

Lead Instructor: January 2013 – May 2013

Aug 2010 – May 2012 **Graduate Teaching Assistant, HOD 1000: Applied Human Development**

Vanderbilt University, Human and Organizational Development

Jan 2009 – May 2009 **Undergraduate Teaching Assistant, PSY 475: Adolescent Development**

University of Tennessee, Psychology Department

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE POSITIONS

2014 – 2016	APAGS Convention Committee
2012 – Present	Society for the Psychology of Women (Division 35) Campus Representative (2013 – 2015)
2012 – Present	Society of Counseling Psychology (Division 17) Student Affiliates of Division 17 Awards Committee (2012 – 2015)
2014 – Present	Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race Student Liaison (2014 – 2015)

HONORS AND AWARDS

2015 – 2016	Helen Thacker Graduate Fellowship in Educational & Counseling Psychology (\$3750)
2015	Dissertation Enhancement Award (\$2617)
2015	Ellin Bloch and Pierre Ritchie Diversity Dissertation Grant (\$1000)
2015	Arvle and Ellen Turner Thacker Research Fund Award (\$1000)
2014	Division 35 Membership Ambassador Honorarium (\$300)
2014	APAGS Convention Travel Award (\$500)
2009	Mortar Board National Honor Society
2006 – 2009	Chancellor's Honors Scholarship, University of Tennessee
2006 – 2009	HOPE Scholarship
2006 – 2009	Ned McWherther Scholarship
2007	Charles Evans Higdon Scholarship, University of Tennessee

PUBLICATIONS

- Mosley, D.V., **Owen, K. H.**, Rostosky, S.S., & Reese, R. J. (May 2016). Contextualizing behaviors associated with paranoia: Perspectives of Black Men. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*. doi: 10.1037/men0000052
- Owen, K. H.** (2014, June). Strategies to improve retention of low-income mothers. *Counseling Today*, 56(12), 49 – 53.

PEER-REVIEWED PRESENTATIONS

- Sanchez, F., Wilcox, B., **Owen, K. H.**, & Broinez, J. (2016). Making the most out of convention. Workshop presented at American Psychological Association Convention, Denver, CO.
- Owen, K. H.**, Krieger, M., Harvey, L.O., Fraser, J., & Berry, C. B. (2016, August). *Alternative career paths with a doctorate in psychology*. Poster presented at American Psychological Association Convention, Denver, CO.
- Leistner, C. E., **Owen, K. H.**, Mark, K. P., & Herbenick, D. (2015, November). *Mothers' employment, sexual outcomes, and positive partner appraisals: Implications for sex education and therapy among parents*. Poster presented at Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM.
- Knighton, J.S., Mosley, D., **Owen, K.**, Jenkins, J. & Stevens-Watkins, D. (2015, October). *Intervening with intentionality: Incorporating Black racial identity development into clinical practice*. Workshop presented at Diversity Challenge, the Institute for the Study and Promotion of Race and Culture, Chestnut Hill, MA.
- Owen, K. H.**, Brown, H., & Rakowski, S. (2015, August). *Community engaged research: Appreciating the benefits and overcoming barriers*. Poster presented at the 2015 American Psychological Association Convention, Toronto, Canada.
- Mosely, D. V., Black, W., **Owen, K. H.**, & Stevens-Watkins, D. (2015, August). *Journey to allyship: Practical skills for Black-White dialogues*. Presented at the 2015 American Psychological Association Convention, Toronto, Canada.
- Reimer, D., & **Owen, K. H.** (2015, August). *How to set goals, say no, and still graduate*. Presented at the 2015 American Psychological Association Convention, Toronto, Canada.
- Stevens-Watkins, D. J., Knighton, J. S., & **Owen, K. H.** (2015, April). *Diversity: The thread that holds us together*. Presented at the University of Kentucky College of Education and College of Agriculture, Food and Environment Research Symposium on Diversity and Inclusiveness, Lexington, KY.

- Owen, K. H.** (2015, March). *Examining racism and white ally development among counseling psychologists*. Presented at 2015 Spring Research Conference, Louisville, KY.
- Leistner, C. E., **Owen, K. H.**, & Mark, K. (2014, November). *Solitary and dyadic sexual behavior of stay-at-home mothers and full-time working mothers*. Poster presented at the 2014 Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality Conference, Omaha, NE.
- Owen, K. H.** (2014, August). *Mothers' experiences of accessing counseling services from a domestic violence shelter*. Poster presented at the 2014 American Psychological Association Convention, Washington, D.C.
- Mosley, D. V., **Owen, K. H.**, Rostosky, S. S., & Reese, R. J. (2014, August). *Contextualizing paranoia on the MCMI-III: African-American male perspectives*. Poster presented at the 2014 American Psychological Association Convention, Washington D.C.
- Owen, K.H.**, Cook, J. R., Rosenkrantz, D., Mosley, D. V., Leister, C. E., & Cascio, K. A. (2014, March). *Evaluating an experiential-learning ally development workshop*. Poster presented at the 2014 Counseling Psychology Conference, Atlanta, GA.
- Cascio, K. A., Leistner, C. E., & **Owen, K. H.** (2014, March). *Integrating evidence based practice into DSM-V diagnoses: An approach for counseling psychologists*. Symposium conducted at the 2014 Counseling Psychology Conference, Atlanta, GA.
- Cascio, K. A., **Owen, K. H.** & Leistner, C. E. (2014, March). *Integrating feminist principles and research into DSM-5 diagnoses for women with mental health disabilities*. Symposium conducted at 2014 Association of Women Psychologists Conference, Columbus, OH.
- Owen, K. H.** (2013, March). *Retention and attrition of low-income mothers: An ecological perspective and practical steps for practitioners*. Paper presented at American Counseling Association Conference, Cincinnati, OH.
- Haynes, K. L.**, Smith, A., & Tift, J. (2011, November). *A brief look at the impact of families upon the treatment process for minors and adults*. Presented at Tennessee Counselor's Association Conference, Memphis, TN.
- Haynes, K. L.** (2009, April). *Discrepancies within the global perceptions of adolescent romantic relationships*. Poster presented at the Exhibition of Undergraduate Research and Creative Achievement, Knoxville, TN.