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WHITENESS AND MULTICULUTRAL COMPETENCE: COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY FACULTY AS GATEKEEPERS TO UNDERSTANDING WHITENESS

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DISSERTATION
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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

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2021

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

WHITENESS AND MULTICULUTRAL COMPETENCE:
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The current phenomenological study aimed to explore how counseling psychology faculty's understanding of whiteness informs their definition of multicultural competence and practice of psychology. The study presents a conceptual model for researching multicultural competence informed by critical race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), feminist standpoint (Smith, 1987, 1997), and intersectional (Collins, 1986; Chrenshaw, 1989) paradigms. Twelve counseling psychology faculty (N=12) teaching in APA-accredited programs were nominated by graduate trainees who deemed them multiculturally competent. Participants' understanding and experiences of whiteness are described, including the dispositions, behaviors, and academic socialization that propagate whiteness. White faculty's experience of whiteness and that of faculty of color were expectedly divergent given their positionality. Results reflect the need to expand current definition, application, and operationalization of multicultural competence from awareness, knowledge, and skills (Sue et al., 1982; 1992) with focus on race and culture across foci of competence (Sue, 2001) to a positional practice of psychology informed by a critical understanding of whiteness. Whiteness-informed aspects of multiculturally competent psychology practice noted by participants are: (a) multicultural competence being considered an area of specialty and expertise that can be achieved (b) through adoption of universal dispositions and competence during graduate study, (c) the use of scientific standards of neutrality and objectivity that (d) lead to disconnection from self and others, and (e) assumption that psychology can be reduced to academic and intellectual study. In contrast, positional practice of psychology emerges as a need to consider how whiteness and psychologists' relation to power are foundational to all psychology endeavors. Counseling psychology faculty assumed an orientation of cultural humility, embraced ambiguity, sought connections, and engaged in advocacy when aware of their position and relation to whiteness. Dispositions and behaviors participants engaged in to foster ongoing systemic and personal reflexivity about whiteness are discussed. Implications of findings for the profession of counseling psychology, institutions of higher education, psychology training and education, research and clinical practice are delineated.

Blanka Angyal
10/22/2021
Date

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter One: Background

This study investigates how counseling psychology faculty—as the gatekeepers of multicultural training in psychology—understand whiteness and multicultural competence, and how that informs their practice of psychology. The primary challenges to infusing multicultural competence (MC) into graduate training programs are a lack of specific standards for training and education (Mintz et al., 2009) and inconsistency in reinforcement of standards pertaining to MC (Altmaier, 2003). Specific to counseling psychology (CP), the main challenge for the last couple of decades has been moving "beyond complacency to commitment" (Spanierman & Poteat, 2005, p. 513) in MC training, research, and practice. Despite the multitude of theories, MC remains a nebulous concept when translating it to research, education, and practice in psychology (Carter, 2003; Neville et al., 2001; Sue, 2001). The study proposes a theoretical framework to operationalize MC as a positional practice of psychology by acknowledging the centrality of whiteness to the social construct of race, as well as its historical and sociopolitical role in American society (Baldwin, 1963; Roediger, 1998). The in-depth lived experiences of faculty contribute tangible description and direction in translating MC to a positional practice of psychology in research, education, and practice.

Describing the strategies, tools, and contexts in which whiteness becomes racialized and recognized by CP faculty could promote the positional practice of psychology. The study aims to explore (a) the experience of multicultural psychology practice and (b) the definition of MC as informed by a personal and positional understanding of whiteness among CP faculty who teach multicultural courses and are deemed multiculturally competent by CP students. Finally, the study will connect this

description with existing operationalization of MC and its manifestations in everyday psychology practice.

Exploring in depth the meaning and experience of whiteness and MC among CP faculty may further elucidate the underlying mechanisms salient to MC development. Findings could provide guidance for unexplored or understudied aspects of MC development. They may also supplement current graduate training curriculum, practice, and continuing education requirements. Thus, the study aims to effect change (Morrow, 2005) by informing CP training and practice.

Introduction of the Problem

The profession-wide recognition of an ethical mandate for psychologists to provide culturally sensitive care to racial and ethnic minority clients arose from psychologists of color expressing "strong dissatisfaction with the apparent lack of appropriateness of training provided by many doctoral programs, their low responsivity to social issues, and their uncritical allegiance to the traditional scientist-professional model" at the 1973 Vail Conference (Korman, 1974, p. 441). Three models of multicultural training are distinguished by Chae, Foley, and Chae (2006): separate course, infusion, or a concentration area. However, institutional pressure to infuse MC training into graduate psychology programs has been met with resistance (Mio, 2005; Suzuki et al., 2001) or, when included, overwhelmingly assigned to faculty of color (Sue et al., 2009). While CP programs demonstrate increasing compliance with accreditation criteria in offering at least one multicultural course, these courses are not always mandatory; infusion through curriculum appears to be lacking (Carter, 2003). The single course model of multicultural training is the most endorsed among counseling and CP programs

2

(Alvarez & Miville, 2003; Hills & Strozier, 1992; Malott, 2010), yet it has been deemed

insufficient in attaining MC (Carter, 2003; Sue et al., 1992). In a review of the literature

from 1980 to 2008 about single course multicultural training models, Malott (2010)

found that despite the paucity of literature, there are some benefits and growth in

variables (e.g., exposure to diverse people, exploration of biases, etc.) related to MC.

Effectiveness of single course models was not deemed sufficient by Malott (2010) and

the author noted the need to develop outcome measures for training models.

Whiteness-steeped policies and practices (Sue et al., 1982; Sue et al., 1992) and

the "Eurocentric" climate are well documented roadblocks in CP training programs

related to MC (Ponterotto, 2008; Suzuki et al., 2001). These roadblocks manifest in

several ways: (1) slowness in meeting the ethical mandate of infusing MC training into

the curriculum, (2) lack of commitment to multicultural training and research, and (3)

inadequate preparation of trainees to work with diverse populations (Neville et al., 2001).

In a review of the multicultural training and models literature, Rogers and O'Bryon

(2014) found that multicultural training-related research came from mainly CP and has

been overwhelmingly practice-related (less than 1% non-practice). Furthermore, the

authors found that half of future psychologists had limited or no known exposure to

multicultural issues (Rogers & O'Bryon, 2014). There is a lack of literature reflecting

what model of multicultural training CP or psychology programs endorse. The *Standards

of Accreditation* (APA-CoA, 2018), *APA Multicultural Guidelines* (APA, 2017), and

competency benchmarks (Fouda et al., 2009; Grus et al., 2018) articulate the importance

of integrating MC in training and practice.

Training programs are slow to address the whiteness-informed standards of traditional training (Fouad, 2007; Reynolds, 2001). One reason for such slow progress is that faculty who were trained prior to the multicultural movement may have difficulty implementing and transforming multicultural curriculum (Pieterse et al., 2009; Reynolds, 2001). It is an ethical dilemma when faculty who are expected to develop curriculum and train CP students do not observe the boundaries of their competence (Mio, 2005; Ridley Mendoza & Kanitz, 1994). It is likely that White faculty with a demonstrated lack of knowledge and skill regarding race and culture do not incorporate multicultural material into their courses. Incorporation of multicultural training throughout the curriculum in addition to a single course is the best way to meet ethical and accreditation demands (LaFromboise & Foster, 1989). From a training ethics perspective, faculty who are not multiculturally competent may inadvertently teach Western theoretical perspectives and propagate cultural oppressions in teaching, practice, and research (Sue & Sue, 1999).

Key Concepts

Whiteness and MC are key concepts in the current study. The emergence of MC in response to the key concepts of whiteness and the relation of whiteness to MC are explored.

Whiteness

As early as the 1890s, sociologist W.E.B Du Bois (Roediger, 1998) and writer and activist James Baldwin (1963) emphasized the central significance of race in U.S.. Whiteness and white supremacy are the ideological foundation that informs culture and racial stratification. Grounded in an increasing awareness of white supremacist ideology, the study of whiteness emerged as a new approach to understanding race and racism

4

(Doane, 2003). Scholars across disciplines have elucidated overt and covert processes by which whiteness propagates universal political, economic, and cultural norms that oppress Black and non-White groups and privilege White people. Thus, *whiteness* is an ideology that extends to social and scientific discourse and has been studied across an array of disciplines, including history (McMorris, 1999; Kolchin, 2002; Zinn, 1990), geography (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Brown, 2003), science (Haraway, 1989), education (DiAngelo, 2012), politics (Hawkesworth, 2010), philosophy (Mills, 2003), and psychology (Fine, 2006; Helms 1990; Sue, 2001; Tochluk, 2010). In a 2017 issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* (*TCP*), Helms (2017) defines whiteness as "the overt and subliminal socialization processes and practices, power structures, laws, privileges, and life experiences that favor the White racial group over all others" (p. 718).

Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado developed Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a theoretical framework to dismantle whiteness (Tate, 1996). Central tenets of CRT propose that (a) race is a social construct originating in white ideology, (b) racism is endemic to and a daily experience for people of color, and (c) whiteness is a universal norm that maintains its invisibility while granting White people psychic and material privileges via colorblindness, socialized belief of white superiority, and meritocracy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Whiteness is fluid and intersects with other power structures to socialize and limit the role individuals with marginalized identities can have in society (Frankenberg, 1993). Similarly to Bell and Delgado, Sandra Harding developed Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST) in 1986, seeking to create a method of inquiry that employed women's knowledge via daily lived experiences to examine the interlocking social powers that excluded

women from the production of knowledge, shaped their identities, and limited their agency (Smith, 1997).

White cultural values and norms permeate all facets of society, informing racial socialization and stratification through what Black feminist and intersectional theorist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) called *the matrix of domination*. FST scholar Dorothy Smith (1987) describes white cultural values and the accompanying systems of domination as *ruling relations*. The matrix of domination describes axes of domination based in hierarchical social constructs of race, gender, and class, which operate in concert to oppress Black women and minoritized groups at intersections via ruling relations (Collins, 2000). Ruling relations localize and identify systematically dispersed whiteness and patriarchy embedded in the foundation of social, disciplinary, and governing organizations, texts, and education (Smith, 1991). While both FST and CRT state that oppressive power systems operate in concert, CRT emphasizes the intercentricity of whiteness with other forms of oppression (Parker & Lynn, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) and articulates the need for an intersectional examination and understanding of whiteness. Intersectional approaches to examining whiteness provide a holistic examination of social injustice, aid coalition among minoritized groups, and produce effective solutions to social ills (African American Policy Forum, AAPF, 2013). For example, bell hooks (2000) in her book entitled *Where We Stand: Class Matters* describes the ways race, gender, and class intersect and inform people's experiences, public perception, and socialized self-esteem. hooks (2000) notes feeling a sense of kinship with poor and working-class folx, as well as the importance of using "the rubric

of transnational white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (p. 161) to reflect on her own position and participation in systems.

Multicultural competence evolved as a key focus in psychology as psychologists of color shared their lived experiences and challenged culturally white professional practice and training dedicated exclusively to the mental health needs of White people (Korman, 1974). At the 1973 Vail Conference, psychologists of color advocated for culturally sensitive care for racial and ethnic minoritized clients, and for an examination of the profession's white supremacist cultural underpinning (Korman, 1974, p. 441). This prompted recognition of the ethical mandate to provide training for White psychologists in working with racially and ethnically diverse clients. The following section reviews the significance of race in multiculturally competent training and practice with regard to whiteness.

Multicultural Competence — Race-related Competence

Nearly one decade after the Vail Conference, Derald Wing Sue and colleagues (1982) spearheaded the development of the first theory of MC. Multicultural competence initially centered on the social construct of racial categories in United States, namely African American, White, Asian American, Latino/a, and Native American (Arredondo et al., 1996). Two decades later, Sue (2001) proposed the tripartite model of MC (awareness, knowledge, and skill; Sue et al., 1982) by adding two additional dimensions: (a) focus on race and culture and (b) foci of competence (individual, professional, organizational, and societal). The authors emphasized that race-related competence needs to be centered not only in multicultural training, but also in practice and science.

Multicultural competence models center race and emphasize counselor self-awareness of assumptions, biases, and values (Sue et al., 1992; Sue et al., 1982). Multicultural training emerged to enhance MC among professions, yet this approach is primarily limited to stereotypical knowledge of non-white racial groups (Atkins et al., 2017; Sue, 2001) or focuses on the examination of white privilege on an individual, a micro level (Pieterse et al., 2009). Counseling psychologists (e.g., Israel, 2012; Ponterotto, 2008) call for a more thorough and intersectional examination of privilege over oppression, in order to shift the responsibility of recognizing and dismantling oppressive systems to privileged individuals.

Race-related competence is an essential component of multicultural training, practice, and research in CP (Sue, 2001; Carter, 2003). However, despite profession-wide acknowledgement of race's centrality, unexamined whiteness and the disregard of race in scholarship (Delgado-Romero et al., 2005; Spanierman & Poteat, 2005), training (Altmaier, 2003; Fouda, 2007), and practice (Sue & Sue, 2008) is a well-documented professional reality. Leading multicultural counseling psychologists (e.g., Carter, 2003; Helms, 1990, 2017; Sue, 2001) warned against neglecting race and advised against using "multicultural" or "intersectional" to diverge from race and focus on other identities in isolation. Theoretical models conceptualizing and operationalizing MC as race-related competence seem to be adapted in a fractured manner or ignored all together. Thus, I propose that adapting a critical race and feminist lens in studying race and racism can help inter-center whiteness along other dominant powers as a multidimensional, fluid, historic, intersectional, and systemic power, and provide conceptual clarity in operationalizing MC in psychology practice and training. While Critical Whiteness Studies explores the

construction of whiteness and white identity, it is "static" in that it overlooks the multidimensional and ever-evolving nature of whiteness (Doane, 2003). CRT and FST provide an intersectional and dynamic framework that allows for a dynamic examination of both the cultural content and processes that propagate whiteness in psychology practice.

Consistent with the central tenet of CRT, white ideology remains invisible and unexamined in multicultural training, as the focus shifts to racial "others" and individual white privilege (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Multicultural training fails to foster counselor self-awareness, defined by Sue and colleagues (1982) as reflexivity about assumptions, biases, and values related to race. I propose that race-related competence is facilitated by understanding whiteness and argue for a return to the examination of white ideology (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Collins, 2000; Smith, 1987) as it informs the monocultural (Sue et al., 1982; Sue et al., 1992) and Eurocentric (Suzuki et al., 2001) conceptualization of MC practice and training. Lack of MC related to race and racism among CP faculty has widespread implications for multicultural training and research (e.g., practicing outside of boundaries of competence, propagating etic and stereotypical characterizations of cultures, failure to incorporate multicultural perspectives in practice; Mio, 2005). Next, I review the literature highlighting current sociopolitical and professional contexts and the necessity to understand whiteness for multiculturally competent psychology practice employing a CRT and FST framework.

Literature Review: The Significance of Whiteness for Multicultural Competence

Counseling psychology is distinct in philosophical underpinning in that it considers the impact of the sociopolitical and ecological context on individual development and mental health (Lichtenberg et al., 2018). Provided racial categories are

social constructs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007) of white cultural values and the historical and current significance of race in the United States (Baldwin, 1963), I propose that understanding whiteness becomes a prerequisite to examining and making meaning of race in multiculturally competent CP practice. Sociopolitical climate informs and impacts the profession, and oppressive practices are replicated in training and practice (Ponterotto, 2008; Sue & Sue, 1999). The following section provides an overview of the sociopolitical climate as it relates to psychology, as well as an overview of training program climate in teaching MC.

Sociopolitical Climate and Psychology

Social and political context makes the examination of how whiteness informs CP's discipline and practice a worthwhile endeavor. Over the last four years, the Trump administration overtly bolstered white supremacist ideology and white violence. The Center for Strategic & International Studies notes, "In 2019… right-wing extremists perpetrated nearly two-thirds of the terrorist attacks and plots in the United States, and they committed over 90 percent of the attacks and plots between January 1 and May 8, 2020" (Jones et al., 2020). The deadly threat of white supremacy and whiteness is evidenced by increasing violence against Black people and people of Asian descent, police violence and killings of Black people (APA, 2020b, c), violation of sacred Indigenous land (APA, 2017), internment camps of Mexican immigrants with separation of families (APA, 2018), the vilification of documented and undocumented immigrants, and a white terrorist attack on the U.S. Capitol (APA, 2021). The 2020 APA President Sandra Shullman noted that "we are living in a racism pandemic" (APA, 2020c), which is not new but has lately manifested in more overt acts of white terrorism and rage.

Psychologists can provide meaningful systemic interventions guided by principles, ethics, and science to address white supremacy and racism in society. The APA has condemned racist and discriminatory policies and practices via statements (APA, 2017, 2018, 2020a, c) and even testimony to the U.S. House Judiciary Committee (APA, 2020b). The rise of white supremacist violence, combined with the impact of the pandemic, has led to unprecedented rates of anxiety and depression—a mental health crisis—as well as worry about the increasingly adverse political climate and resulting political unrest (DeAngelis, 2021). The white terrorist attack on the Capitol caused significant stress for 66% of the U.S. population (DeAngelis, 2021). This social and political climate, which has significant negative impact on the mental health and wellbeing of people in America, is informed by white supremacist ideology.

The impact of whiteness and white supremacy has been palpable for the psychological community, too, as we are invested in producing scholarship and knowledge that educates, liberates, and heals individuals and society. Many CPs provide multicultural training and consultation because they are invested in creating inclusive and diverse institutions. In an obvious effort to prevent dismantling institutionalized white supremacy, the Trump administration issued Executive Order No. 13950 (2020) banning diversity training in federal institutions, including Veteran Affairs and the military— the primary employers of psychologists. The order labeled efforts to raise awareness about whiteness, white privilege, and male privilege through diversity training and CRT as "biasing," "un-American," and "unpatriotic" (Schwartz, 2020). While APA CEO Arthur C. Evans Jr. characterized racism and police brutality against Black people and people of color as a "public health crisis" (APA, 2020b, p.1), psychologists and trainees

experienced the threat of potential prosecution along with the added professional task of addressing institutionalized cultural and interpersonal racism without diversity training, multicultural scholarship, and engaging in systemic interventions.

Violent white political rhetoric—coupled with the pandemic, a flailing economy, and the nationwide "highest ever reported" rise in stress and mental health concerns (APA, 2020)—negatively impacted psychologists and trainees, with a disproportionate impact on the training community, trainees of color, and trainees who hold other marginalized identities (Wolff et al., 2020).

In addition to the social and political context, studying the significance of whiteness in CP practice and training is especially important as approximately 70% of CP faculty in APA-accredited programs are white (APA, 2020a). CP faculty play a preeminent role in fulfilling the APA's strategic goal of preparing the profession and the next generation of psychologists to address social ills and emerging mental health needs (APA, 2019). The APA and Division 17 set standards for the field and for psychologists' professional identity and role in society. CP faculty in turn socialize trainees and model the CP values of multiculturalism, social justice, diversity, and inclusion (Singh et al., 2010; Vera & Speight, 2003).

The Training Climate and Disproportionate Distribution of Multicultural Work

White culture and values shape interpersonal and organizational practices in CP training programs (Ponterotto, 2008; Sue & Sue, 1999; Sue et al., 1982). White faculty perceived their colleagues of color as more competent and more credible with trainees on the topic of race (Sue et al., 2009; Sue et al., 2011). Acting on these beliefs results in multicultural courses often being delegated to faculty or color (Sue et al., 2009). While

CP faculty of color carry the burden of educating colleagues and students about race and spearheading institutional diversity efforts, their diversity-related research (Helms, 2017) and service are undervalued, and they are subjected to daily experiences of microaggressions (Ahluwalia et al. 2019; Constantine et al., 2008). A phenomenological study of 12 Black CP faculty teaching in counseling programs found that the overwhelming majority felt either invisible or hypervisible in the academic setting (Constantine et al., 2008). Furthermore, Black CP faculty noted that colleagues and administrators expected their service—especially service related to diversity and inclusion—even as they questioned their qualifications and undervalued their work (Constantine et al., 2008). CP faculty of color reported often feeling undervalued and discredited by their students yet being seeing as an expert in multicultural classes (Sue et al., 2011). Other themes of microaggressions and institutional patterns include lack of mentorship (Constantine et al., 2008; Guzman et al., 2010); difficulty distinguishing between race- and gender-related microaggressions; self-consciousness about appearance, attire, and hair; and the need for articulate coping strategies (Constantine et al., 2008). Black CP faculty and CP faculty of color can feel scrutinized, marginalized, and exploited in CP programs, where their value and professional worth goes unrecognized and unrewarded.

A survey of all APA-accredited CP programs (80% return rate) revealed that more faculty of color are hired in lower ranks of professorship and that faculty of color are more active in teaching multicultural courses compared to White faculty (Hills & Strozier, 1992). The trend of CP faculty of color being overwhelmingly tasked with diversity work and teaching multicultural courses is problematic. In addition to teaching,

diversity and inclusion-related service is often an expectation for CP faculty of color, and this service to the larger institution is often determined to be of low value in performance assessments (Constantine at el., 2008). Considering the adverse racial and unequitable climate in higher education settings, there is a gendered and racialized aspect to equity and diversity-related care, support, and administrative work (Byrd et al., 2019). Women and women faculty of color are overburdened with care-related work compared to men, reflecting gender socialization and expectations (Goerisch, 2019).

Bias in recruitment, hiring, retention, tenure, and promotion policies and procedures have been informed by white ideology and used to maintain whiteness in academia (Guzman et al., 2010; Turner et al., 2020). Performance assessments undervalue and ignore the service of CP faculty of color to the community and institution. Course assessments and institutional assessments become tools of oppression (Richards, 2019), especially when administration assigns equity labor to students and faculty of color, minimizes the significance of their work, and resists change, and then host institutions take credit and maintain a sense of ownership of the progress (Lerma et al., 2020). Policies and procedures cater to the comfort and needs of White students, staff, and faculty. Assessments and evaluations oppress and marginalize when diversity-related work is evaluated from a white supremacist cultural framework. Evaluators may not be invested in dismantling a system that privileges them. Bedelia Richards (2019), a Black woman sociology professor, highlighted this dynamic. She shared that when White colleagues rely on teaching evaluations from white students, they act from a colorblind frame to "minimize my racialized experiences in the classroom while empowering and

legitimizing student biases and converting student evaluations into effective tools of gendered racial oppression" (Richards, 2019, p. 139).

Areas of personal and professional burden were highlighted in a phenomenological study exploring the experiences of 12 CP faculty of color teaching multicultural counseling courses (Ahluwalia et al., 2019). The authors found that CP faculty of color recruited to meet diversity quotas burn out when they are assigned to teach MC courses and mentor students of color. While diversity work and mentorship of students and colleagues of color are welcome tasks, the lack of investment from White CP colleagues to share the work in diversifying and transforming institutional climate leave CP faculty feeling exhausted, invisible, and undervalued. The burden of carrying out diversity-related work without appropriate resources or institutional willingness to enact recommended changes and address marginalization is a "cultural tax" and "emotional, physical and professional toll" (p. 194). Diversity work and tax falls on faculty of color (Guzman et al., 2010; Zambrana et al., 2017) and students of color (Lerma et al., 2020). The racialized manner in which diversity and equity labor takes place in institutions of higher education are inherent challenges.

In a review of 20 years of literature on the experiences of faculty of color in academia, Turner and colleagues (2008) found that faculty of color often encountered microaggressions and felt marginalized, isolated, at risk, tokenized, devalued, and stressed. CP faculty of color experienced the burden of being a spokesperson for their racial and other diverse groups (Constantine et al., 2008; Guzman et al., 2010). White CP colleagues did not face expectations of representing the entire white race.

Several multicultural scholars (e.g., Fouad, 2007; Sue & Sue, 2008, Sue et al., 2011) have called for recruitment and retention of faculty of color for various reasons, such as promoting multicultural counseling training research (Abreu et al., 2000) and fostering the safety, sense of belonging, and well-being of diverse faculty and students (Sue et al., 2011). Ridley and colleagues (1994) warn that faculty of color should not be responsible for all multicultural training and research, as they may have varying research and training interests. Senior faculty bear more influence to change the departmental climate compared to adjunct and junior faculty (Chae et al., 2006; Hills & Strozier, 1992), as well as more influence (inherent in white male privilege) to define the curriculum and culture of an institution. Thus, examining CP faculty's understanding of whiteness and how it informs MC practice and training is important.

White CP Faculty — Racial and Cultural Agents of Whiteness

White counseling psychologists occupy the overwhelming majority of profession-defining and gatekeeping positions in psychology. Membership statistics reflect that 83.6% of APA members and 91% of full APA members are White (APA, 2015; American Psychological Association of Graduate Students, 2020). Given the largely White historical and current APA membership, unexamined whiteness continually informs psychology practice and research. Leading multicultural scholars of color (e.g., Carter, 2007; Cross & Reinhardt, 2017; Helms, 1990, 2017; Sue, 2001, 2017) emphasize that counseling psychologists actively cultivate whiteness and propagate oppression in practice, training, and research in a passive or colorblind manner due to a lack of personal and systemic understanding of whiteness. Multiculturally competent White counseling psychologists recognize their persistent struggle in addressing whiteness and race in their

role as faculty (Smith et al., 2017) and highlight the emotional and cognitive stamina required to engage in reflexivity about their privilege and relation to whiteness, which is necessary for growth in multicultural awareness (Atkins et al., 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017).

Addressing whiteness and race in training remains a challenge for White CP faculty (Sue et al., 2009), and resistance to take ownership and responsibility in addressing whiteness comes with considerable career and financial risk and stress for CP faculty of color (Guzman et al., 2010; hooks, 2000; Sue et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2020;). Sue and colleagues (2009) examined how White faculty (N=8) perceive and react to difficult dialogues on race in a qualitative consensual research study. The study showed that White faculty reported lacking training and competence in facilitating dialogues about race, and feared losing control of their classrooms and being perceived as incompetent or biased by students (Sue et al., 2009). White faculty's lack of competence to address race and their avoidance due to fear of consequences signify a profession-wide ethical challenge. When faculty are not able or willing to address race and whiteness, they socialize trainees to be complacent and silent. Moreover, faculty socialize trainees to perpetuate oppression and enact white ideology in practice and research without the critical skills of examining cultural and personal enactment of whiteness.

Reluctance to address race and whiteness in multicultural training (Sue et al., 2011) impacts the MC of White counseling psychologists as well as that of counseling psychologists of color. Holcomb-McCoy and Myers (1999) surveyed professional counselors (N=15, white=66%, non-white=34%) about their pre- and post-graduation training experiences and perception of their multicultural training. Professional

counselors who rated their training as inadequate perceived themselves to be most competent in definition of terms, but noted that racial identity development and applied knowledge in working with racial and ethnic clients were insufficiently addressed in graduate training programs (Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999). Avoiding race in multicultural training enforces unexamined racial superiority and sustains an adverse racial climate in training programs that compounds the negative psychological and emotional effects of racism on faculty and trainees of color. Thus, CP scientist-practitioners need to be conscious of the fact that they are not "amputated from social relations, history, and context" (Fine, 2006) in their professional roles, nor are their students or clients. When operating under the white cultural and supremacist assumption of impartiality, counseling psychologists "help reproduce relations of domination or oppression by justifying them or by obscuring possible more emancipatory social relations." (Young, 1990, p. 112).

A recent review of interdisciplinary literature about white allyship asserts that White counseling psychologists need to "demonstrate a nuanced understanding of institutional racism and white privilege" (p. 608), which includes reflecting on their positionality within the profession and society by exercising their privilege to dismantle whiteness in all psychological practice (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Consistent with the feminist and critical race paradigms that assert the epistemic privilege of marginalized scholars and participants of color regarding power relations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Smith, 1991), Spanierman and Smith (2017) posit that effective white allyship should be collaborative instead of paternalistic and informed by the experiences and scholarship of scholars of color. While the authors of the major contributions within the same issue of

The Counseling Psychologist (*TCP*; Atkins et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2017; Spanierman et al., 2017) underscore recommendations provided by scholars of color to check their positionality in psychological practice and research, White counseling psychologists have failed to adopt theoretical frameworks developed by scholars of color that aim to deconstruct whiteness (Helms, 2017) and address whiteness on both micro (personal) and macro levels in the profession.

Helms (2017), in a stern response to the major contributions in *TCP*, exemplifies how white identity theory could have been used to contextualize and recognize "the benefits of [their] internalized Whiteness as impediments to fulfilling their scholarly and professional goals" (p. 716). Systemic frameworks for examining whiteness (e.g., CRT, FST, intersectionality) are available. White counseling psychologists' disregard of theoretical frameworks developed by scholars of color reflects a lack of integrated awareness of how individual and systems level whiteness interact and propagate, as they do not consider it necessary to explore whiteness, nor do they recognize the limited purview of their understanding of whiteness.

Smith and colleagues (2017) explored challenges in providing multicultural training pertaining to whiteness and race inherent in their positionality as White faculty. Noted obstacles include self-doubt, fear of appearing racist, resistance from White colleagues and students, and negative course evaluations (Smith et al., 2017). The authors encourage self-reflexivity and overcoming personal resistance due to fear, and express commitment to continue addressing race and whiteness in the classroom. However, Smith and colleagues (2017) fail to adapt a systemic lens that would problematize policies and practices in CP training programs, such as evaluation procedures that reward silence

about race and whiteness and punish open dialogue. The authors do not consider systemic

interventions that challenge whiteness within academia, nor do they recommend altering

evaluation procedures to create an environment that rewards naming and addressing

whiteness and race in multicultural training.

White faculty have a crucial role in changing and determining an academic

climate that encourages critically examining the relation of whiteness and race in

multicultural training and practice. Spanierman and colleagues (2017) explored 12 White

leading scholars' understanding of their roles and responsibilities pertaining to

multicultural psychology via semi-structured interviews. Consensual qualitative research

method was used to explore how leading White multicultural scholars conceptualized

whiteness, and multicultural and social justice practice. The majority of the leading White

scholars conceptualized whiteness as white privilege, while only two recognized it as a

social construct (Spanierman et al., 2017). Reducing whiteness to white privilege among

leading White multicultural scholars is problematic, because it evinces a lack of

understanding of how they enact whiteness in their daily lives as well as in their

professional roles. Multicultural values did not appear to actively translate into the

personal realm, as Spanierman and colleagues (2017) found that leading White

counseling psychologists only variantly (2–6 of 12) identified acting upon social justice

values outside of their professional space and roles (i.e., political or community

activism).

When multiculturally competent psychology praxis is not seen as central to all

psychological work but considered a "specialty area" (Spanierman et al., 2017) or the

expertise of faculty of color (Sue et al., 2011), it inadvertently sustains white supremacist

culture and systems as practiced under the guise of "general" psychology training, practice, and research. White counseling psychologists predominantly defined whiteness as white privilege and only variantly (2–6 out of 12) considered multicultural psychology to be central to all psychological work, and only variantly noted a deliberate effort to consider the importance of cultural context and power dynamics of privilege and oppression in psychology research and practice (Spanierman et al., 2017). Instead, they conceptualized multicultural psychology to be broad and inclusive of a diverse group of identities (Spanierman et al., 2017). Adopting a broad and inclusive definition of MC decentralizes focus on non-White groups and leaves white cultural values, socialized white superiority, and the profession-wide structures, processes and practices that reiterate and propagate whiteness invisible and out of awareness. How can counseling psychologists grow in awareness if they propagate whiteness and do not understand the necessity to critically understand whiteness?

Racial Identity Development and Multicultural Competence

MC theories (Sue, 2001; Sue et al., 1992; Sue et al., 1982) all centralize race and highlight counselor self-awareness of assumptions, values, and biases as an essential component of MC. CRT and FST paradigms emphasize (Collins, 2000; Fine, 2006) that developing critical consciousness of self and others requires a systemic examination of how institutionalized sociocultural, economic, and political whiteness impacts the lives of people of color. Adapting a historical perspective and learning though the racial realities of people of color in America (Collins, 2000) cultivates awareness of the individual, professional, and organizational structures that maintain whiteness. In a qualitative research study of 12 White multiculturally competent counselors, Atkins and colleagues

(2017) reflect FST and CRT paradigms in that personal experiences of difference, early socialization of social justice values by family members, confronting assumptions and embracing fear in working with diverse clients, and exposure to racial realities by listening to the experiences of colleagues of color have been causal influences in their multicultural awareness development.

Becoming culturally competent requires affective and cognitive work to undo socialized de-facto cultural incompetence (Sue, 2017) and assumptions (Sue et al., 1992). Becoming multiculturally competent requires "unearthing the oppressor" (Tochluk, 2010) and the uncritical acceptance and internalization of "majoritarian stories" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) from one's consciousness, for both White people and people of color. Racial identity development models can help delineate what growing in racial self-awareness means in relation to whiteness.

Awareness of Systemic Whiteness. Racial identity development models for White (Helms, 1990), Black (Cross, 1991), Latino (Ferdman & Gallego, 2001), Asian American (Kim, 1981), and Native American (Horse, 2001) people, as well as the general Five Stage Model of Racial and Cultural Identity Development (Atkinson et al., 1979), emphasize recognizing whiteness-based racial socialization and values as a crucial step toward growing in cultural self-awareness. All racial identity development models but the Native American model, as theorized by Helms (1990), capture a person's progressing through abandonment of internalized whiteness to deconstruction of internalized whiteness and reconstruction of a healthy anti-racist identity. Advanced and final stages of racial identity development models are characterized by an expansive understanding of

self and others via awareness of how systemic whiteness shapes and defines racial categories (Cross, 1991; Ferdman & Gallego, 2001; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981).

For example, in the White Racial Identity Development (WRID) model, a shocking experience with racism facilitates the transition from abandonment of racism phase into the first stage of defining a nonracist white identity, Pseudo-Independent (Helms, 1990). In this stage, White people intellectually dissent from racism, understand their role in perpetuating whiteness, and search for a new identity as a White person (Helms, 1990). The stage is marked by increased interaction and attempt to aid Black people to assimilate white norms (Helms, 1990). In the Immersion/Emersion stage, White people engage in cognitive and affective restructuring by seeking out accurate information about self, others, and whiteness (Helms, 1990). This promotes awareness of stereotypes and adopting a more race-conscious worldview and motivates action toward dismantling whiteness (Helms, 1990). Lastly, in the Autonomy stage, a nonracist White identity emerges through de-identification with socialized beliefs of white superiority and engagement in collaborative social justice action (Helms, 1990).

Helms (1990) delineated characteristic cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions that describe how White people relate to themselves and non-White groups. More notably, Helms (1990) emphasizes that White people need to engage in purposeful affective restructuring by seeking out accurate information about themselves, others, and whiteness. Consistent with this proposition, White counselors noted that embracing the difficult and intense emotions of fear, guilt, and defensiveness enabled awareness and examination of theoretical and knowledge gaps in addressing social injustice with clients (Atkins et al., 2017), in training and in allyship (Smith et al., 2017; Tochluk, 2010).

The advanced stages of identity development models provide a dynamically interconnected theoretical understanding of whiteness for operationalizing MC. The cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of WRID delineated by Helms (1990) have been useful in studying the link between increasing racial self- and other-awareness and MC. Centralizing the study and examination of whiteness in multicultural curriculum can facilitate healthy identity development in trainees (Helms, 1990).

While an expansive focus on whiteness in CP training is absent (Carter, 2003); white values shape and inform racial socialization, assumptions, values, and biases (Sue & Sue, 2008). Awareness of assumptions, biases, and values has been found to cultivate compassion, humility, and critical thinking of both self and others (Hays et al., 2008), as well as knowledge of the racial realities of clients (Sue & Sue, 2008). In contrast, empirical literature reflects that White counselors' disconnection from themselves as racial and cultural beings has been associated with emotional distancing and disconnection (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Tochluk, 2010), empathic numbness towards non-White clients (Burkard et al., 1999), and inability to form meaningful relationships (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Further, I review the literature that supports emphasis on whiteness and racial identity development in cognitive and affective realms for MC development in psychology practice.

Cognitive Understanding of Whiteness. *Awareness* in MC training takes on a narrow and varied meaning across CP programs. Awareness has been interpreted to mean cultural knowledge of non-White racial groups to definitional knowledge of individual, micro-level manifestations of whiteness as white privilege, stereotypes, and prejudice (Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999; Pieterse et al., 2009; Rogers et al., 1998). A survey

24

study of 20 faculty in five prominent CP and five school psychology programs found that that majority (70%) defined MC as translating knowledge into practice (Rogers et al., 1998). Another survey study of multicultural and diversity-related course syllabi in APA- and CACREP-accredited CP programs (N=54) found an overemphasis on teaching knowledge about specific populations, compared to awareness and skills (Pieterse et al., 2009). Furthermore, multicultural courses contained very little content on historical (9%) and systemic institutional racism (4%), power (9%), and organizations (4%), and in turn, focused on definitional aspects of white privilege (30%), stereotypes (22%), and prejudice (19%; Pieterse et al., 2009). Atkins and colleagues (2017) found that white multiculturally competent scholars deemed multicultural coursework that focused on general information of non-White groups to be damaging and enforcing of socialized stereotypes.

Anti-racism courses that address whiteness can be functional in raising awareness and educating counseling psychologists and trainees. Rothman and colleagues (2012) gathered feedback through focus groups and a survey from 43 White master's-level school counseling students about a group course on the culture of whiteness. The curriculum addressed historical, cultural, systemic, and individual aspects of whiteness, including skills and advocacy (Rothman et al., 2012). Students reported that the course facilitated awareness of white privilege, whiteness, and awareness of the impact of whiteness on others (Rothman et al., 2012). Perhaps cognitively-geared didactic multicultural training can teach skills and prepare trainees for more affectively-geared experiential activities (Abreu et al., 2000).

Knowledge and cognitive understanding of whiteness as systemic and cultural values allows White people and people with intersecting dominant identities to examine

cognitive distortions about self and others and to gauge the relational costs and divides between self and people of color (Ponterotto et al., 2010). In the next section, I review the relational costs of whiteness in CP faculty and trainees.

Empathic Relating and Racial Identity Development. Studies have found that White trainees in low stages of racial identity development are likely to have difficulty establishing a good working alliance (Burkard et al., 1999) or meaningful relationships (Tokar & Swanson, 1991) with both White and non-White clients, and in their daily lives. This may be inherent in White counselors' lack of awareness of themselves as racial and cultural beings.

Burkard and colleagues (1999) compared the perceived ability to form working alliance with clients among White graduate counseling students (N=124) after listening to the same audiotaped vignette, with the condition that the client is either White or Black. Intercorrelation of means was used to compare the students' White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) and working alliance inventory scores (Burkard et al., 1999). Authors found that regardless of client race, attitudes associated with low stages of white identity appear to negatively impact trainees' perceived ability to form a positive working alliance, while attitudes associated with advanced stages (Pseudo-Independent and Autonomy) appear to enable trainees to form a positive working alliance.

Furthermore, a thematic analysis of White master's counseling students' reactions to Peggy McIntosh's article about white privilege found that students with higher awareness of racial socialization relayed an awareness of white privilege and its impact, and a commitment to engage in advocacy and self-examination of intersecting dominant identities (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). However, White students with some awareness

26

reacted with sadness, disgust, and noted preference to keep benefiting from white privilege; while students with no awareness denied the existence of white privilege, expressed anger, and explained away the differential treatment of Black women with non-race related factors or focused on exceptions (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). This finding, while bothersome, is not surprising as whiteness often manifests interpersonally as authority over knowledge (Tochluk, 2010) and discounting people of color and their experiences (Kendall, 2006). Empathizing and connecting with clients of color may be difficult when White counselors explicitly express preference to keep white privilege or discount their clients' experiences of racism.

In addition, unexamined whiteness appears to be marked by affective disconnection, isolation, and emotional superficiality (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). An empirical study compared White college students' (N=304) racial attitudes and level of self-actualization measured by White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (WRIAS) and the Personal Orientation Inventory (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). White students in the Autonomy stage demonstrated a prominent sense of self, inner directedness of thoughts and actions, and ability to form meaningful relationships, while early stages of WRID appeared to be associated with lack of inner directedness and potential inability to form meaningful relationships in everyday life (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Critical awareness of thoughts and action as it pertains to racial socialization are necessary attributes for multiculturally competent practice and research. Lack of awareness about race and racial socialization limits White trainees in empathizing and forming genuine rapport with clients of color, and according to Tokar and Swanson's (1991) findings may even impact White counseling psychologists' ability to establish rapport with White clients.

While several studies examine white racial identity development as related to MC, there is a lack of empirical research on how the racial identity development and awareness of whiteness of psychologists of color inform their multicultural practice. FST and CRT posit that racially and otherwise minoritized individuals possess epistemic privilege with regard to whiteness and everyday multifaceted and intersecting processes of oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2002; Smith, 1997). However, FST highlights that belonging to a marginalized social group does not inherently bestow one with a systemic consciousness of ruling relations (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988). Awareness of how whiteness shapes society and history, as well as engagement in the struggle to affect change and to define oneself independent of ascribed identity, establishes a standpoint (Collins, 1986; Haraway, 1988)—that is, a "systemically developed consciousness of society" (Smith, 1987, p. 107). Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) compared self-reported MC—namely multicultural awareness, knowledge, skill, and relationships—among a diverse sample of 220 university center counselors (N=15 Asian American, N=26 African American, N=10 Hispanic, N=169 White). While there was no difference in self-report of skills, counselors of color overall noted more multicultural knowledge, awareness, and cross-cultural relationships (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Consistent with CRT and FST tenets, the authors hypothesized that counselors of color are better able to empathize and connect with clients of color, as they themselves share sociopolitical histories and personal experiences of marginalization and oppression.

In summary, racial identity development enables empathic relating and fosters ability to form relationships with White clients and clients of color (Burkard et al., 1999; Sue et al., 1992; Tokar & Swanson, 1991), and increases awareness of how systemic

whiteness impacts the mental health of clients with intersecting dominant and oppressed

identities (Rothenberg, 2000). A healthy anti-racist identity is a must for "knowledge,

skills, and capacities to be enacted well" (Tochluk, 2010, p. 234). A dynamic personal and

systemic understanding of whiteness facilitates an understanding of self and others as racial

cultural beings and provides a holistic framework from which connection between personal

affective, cognitive, and systemic dimensions of whiteness become visible. Thus,

understanding of whiteness forms the foundation on which a therapist can begin to question

assumptions and contextual influences, as well as alter perceptions they have been

socialized to believe (Sue & Sue, 2008). Understanding how whiteness operates enables

counselors to work on dismantling whiteness on both individual and institutional levels.

Conceptual Model for Researching Multicultural Competence

Race-related competence translates to the critical understanding of whiteness

when applying a critical race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and feminist standpoint (Smith

1987, 1997) theoretical perspective to the multidimensional model of MC (Sue, 2001).

The proposed theoretical framework challenges the white scientific standards of

objectivity and neutrality in psychology practice and research. Feminist and critical race

scholars assert that there is no neutral or objective position as individuals and

organizations exist within an interdependent and co-constructed sociopolitical and

economical unit governed by white-centric power relations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2002;

Smith, 1990). Counseling psychologists, thus, need to engage in cognitive and affective

work to understand whiteness (Fine, 2006; Helms, 2017; Spanierman et al., 2017; Sue,

2017) and develop a personal and systemic awareness (anti-racist identity) of

positionality (Helms, 1990). This requires intentional action to render whiteness visible

by naming, challenging, and reconstructing the whiteness-entrenched personal, professional, organizational, and sociocultural values and practices (Delgado & Stenfancic, 2002; Gillborn, 2015; Hawkesworth, 2010).

Thus, I present the conceptual model for researching MC informed by critical race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), feminist standpoint (Smith 1987, 1997), and intersectional (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989) paradigms (see Figure 1.1). The conceptual model is based on the multidimensional model of MC (MDCC; Sue, 2001).

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Model to Research Multicultural Competence
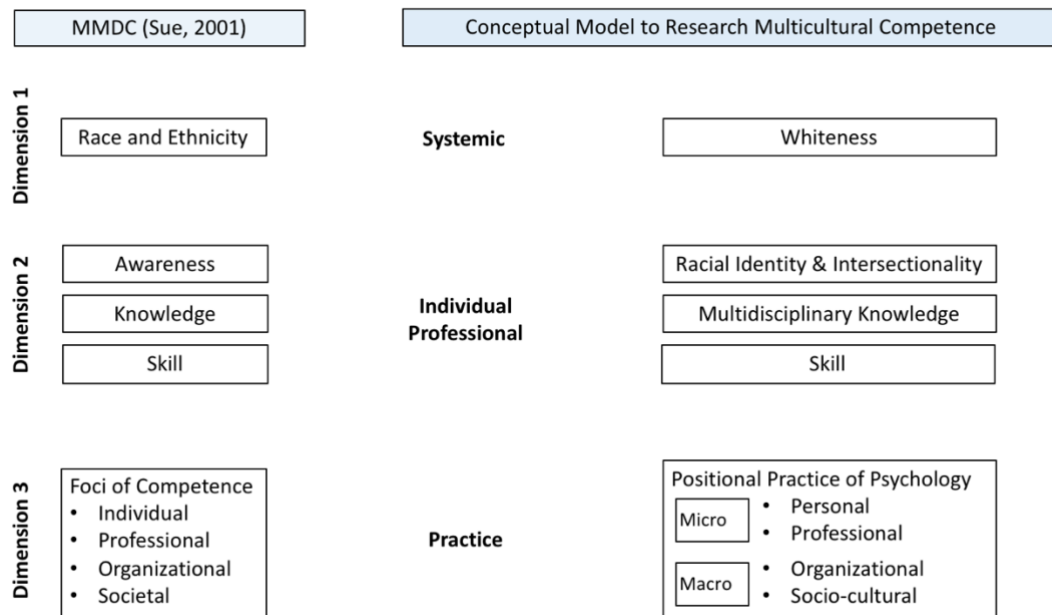
The MDCC delineates three primary dimensions of competence. *Dimension 1* is race- and culture-related competence (Sue, 2001). This dimension emphasizes counseling psychologists' responsibility to understand the social construct of race and its impact on the physical and mental well-being of racially minoritized clients (Sue, 2001). I conceptualize race-related competence from a CRT, FST, and intersectional perspective, as a systemic and dynamic understanding of whiteness. Emphasizing whiteness as an

ideology that originated hierarchical racial categories and institutionalized white supremacy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) historicizes and contextualizes race in the here-and-now. Doing so allows for the study of how white cultural values shape the researcher, participants, standards of scientific validity in profession of CP, formulation of the research questions, and potential impact or use of the research. It also operationalizes *Dimension 2*, the tripartite model of MC (awareness, knowledge, skill) and *Dimension 3,* the foci of competence of the MDCC proposed by Sue (2001).

Dimension 1: Systemic Whiteness

Both the MDCC (Sue, 2001) and CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) recognize race as a social construct of whiteness. Using the intersectionality tenet of CRT and FST (Hawkesworth, 2010) in the conceptual model for researching MC (see Figure 1.1), I conceptualize whiteness as a central axis of domination that interlocks with other "isms" to form an oppressive power structure that privileges wealthy White males and marginalizes Black and other non-White individuals who do not mirror whiteness-centered values and psychical/psychosocial characteristics and practices.

The conceptual model centers on naming and critically examining whiteness, which has several conceptual advantages in researching MC. First, from a CRT perspective, centering whiteness makes institutionalized normative whiteness visible (Tate, 1996) and identifies current psychology knowledge, research, theory, and practice as white cultural artifacts. Second, while centering whiteness makes the white value foundation of CP praxis visible, it also challenges the presumed objective, impartial, neutral stance of White scientist-practitioners by racializing, gendering, localizing, and positioning them within a constant dynamic relationship with whiteness in their personal

31

and professional life (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn, 2015; Helms, 2017; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995; Young, 1990). Thus, the term multicultural becomes stripped of the commonly presumed meaning of research, training, and practice with and on Black, non-White, or otherwise minoritized groups, to mean that all psychological knowledge, practice, and training even when outside of the multicultural "specialty" is recognized and understood as racialized and cultural. Adopting a systemic, macro approach to examining race enables a dynamic understanding of counseling psychologists' role as racial and cultural beings within the system of whiteness.

Dimension 2: Racial Identity, Intersectionality, Multidisciplinary Knowledge, and Skill

The awareness component of Dimension 2 is defined as awareness of own culture, biases, and values that inform all professional activities (Sue, 2001). Applying an FST lens, I conceptualize awareness as a standpoint (Smith, 1991), and from a CRT perspective, as understanding one's own racialization and socialization vis-à-vis whiteness (DiAngelo, 2012; Helms, 1990; Tochluk, 2010). Thus, I adopt racial identity development models to capture and study how self, other, and systemic racial awareness develops. Racial identity development models provide roadmaps for fostering and researching anti-racist healthy racial identity development (Helms, 2017) as anti-racist healthy racial identity development relates to MC research, training, and practice. Racial identity models detail cognitive, behavioral, and affective dimensions (Helms, 1990) that can be useful in studying white socialization and intra- and interpersonal relationships within and across racial divides in multiculturally competent practice. Lastly, intersectionality as a tenet of CRT and FST (Hawkesworth, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) adds clarity to my model as it explains the non-unitary, subjective (Bloom, 1998),

and fluid experience of whiteness across context given a person's intersecting identities and positionality.

In the proposed model, becoming multiculturally competent means engaging in purposeful cognitive and affective labor to unearth whiteness (Tochluk, 2010) and majoritarian stories (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002) from one's personal and collective psyche, and engaging in committed and value-guided action to dismantle whiteness (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Reynolds, 2001). Applying CRT and FST, I emphasize that learning the history of whiteness in U.S. (e.g., Zinn, 1980), as well as the systemic and individual methods that propagate whiteness and render it the invisible standard (e.g., Brown, 2003; deKoven, 2011; Tate, 1996), facilitates a holistic and dynamic understanding of self-vis-à-vis whiteness and others. Cognitively geared knowledge of whiteness and interlocking "isms" can facilitate racial identity development (Helms, 1990).

Unlearning socialized blindness to whiteness requires counseling psychologists to move beyond the individual "other" focus to a personal, group level, and systems level understanding of whiteness (Dyer, 2012; Lopez, 2003). CRT and FST paradigms emphasize a multidisciplinary (e.g., law, sociology, political science, etc.), historical, and contextual examination of whiteness and interlocking "isms" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Haraway, 1989). The noted theories highlight the epistemic privilege of racially minoritized groups regarding whiteness and other "isms," as their everyday experiences of struggle and oppression translate to systemic awareness (Collins, 1986; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Haraway 1988). Counseling psychologists need to recognize their limited purview of whiteness due to socialized ignorance (Smith, 1986) and witness whiteness through the stories and experiences of people of color (Solórzano & Yosso,

33

2002). Ultimately, understanding how whiteness shapes the experiences of both the counselor and client facilitates contextualization of client problems (APA Task Force, 2006; Helms, 1990) and flexibility in selecting effective skills for the context and level of intervention (Sue, 2001).

For level of intervention, *Dimension 3* identifies foci of cultural competence as individual, professional, organizational, and societal (Sue, 2001). CRT and FST paradigms align with CP, in that they both promote systems level analysis, intervention, and social justice action (Collins, 2000; Delgado, 2002; Packard, 2009). As so, in the proposed model I emphasize that counseling psychologists need to recognize their positionality (i.e., silent complacence, willful participation, resistance, opposition) with regards to social injustice propagated by whiteness and to engage in social justice work.

Dimension 3: Positional Practice of Psychology

I conceptualize this final dimension as the positional practice of psychology across micro and macro levels of CP praxis, grounded in CP core values. Consistent with Sue's multidimensional model (2001, 2017), the positional practice of psychology can have multiple levels of analysis and intervention: macro (sociocultural, organizational, and professional) and micro (intra- and interpersonal). Dimension 3 demands intervention "on an organizational/societal level, advocating effectively to develop new theories, practices, policies, and organizational structures that are more responsive to all groups" (Sue, 2001, p. 802). Thus, value-driven and socially situated intervention and action are integral components of positional practice of psychology.

The profession-wide commitment to social justice and extension of counseling psychologists' role to advocates and agents of social change is a central theme of the

MDCC (Sue, 2001; Vera & Speight, 2003). Critical race and feminist paradigms are grounded in social justice and liberation movements (Gillborn, 2015) and thus share the social justice action values of CP. By defining the characteristics of effective social justice advocacy as collective, intersectional, and multidisciplinary (AAPF, 2013; Helms, 2017; Gillborn, 2015), CRT and FST paradigms provide vision and guidance in how to enact social justice in liberatory work.

While the MDCC effectively communicates the need for social justice praxis on different levels of intervention and highlights professional agency beyond the therapy or classroom, it does not provide a holistic framework from which routine professional practice and research can be conceptualized or evaluated for cultural responsiveness. Thus, applying the FST and CRT tenets that all knowledge is socially situated and refuting the claim of a neutral or objective stance (Bowell, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2002), I propose that positional practice entails reflexivity of how psychological practice is shaped by and in return can either cultivate or dismantle personal, professional, and societal whiteness. Furthermore, positionality is not denied but acknowledged in all its forms across levels of analysis and intervention.

In conclusion, the purview of multiculturally competent practice and research expands to all CP work. Positional practice of psychology captures the MDCC dimension of foci of competence and expands it, by asserting that counseling psychologists— inherent in their essence as racial and cultural beings—either perform whiteness or challenge whiteness (Sue, 2017) in their personal (e.g., friend, partner, sibling, community member, volunteer, etc.) and professional (e.g., therapist, consultant, leader, teacher, supervisor, board member, etc.) roles as scientist-practitioners. Counseling

psychologists must assume a position of "conscious subjectivity" (Henwood & Pidgeon,

1995) and defy the white value of impartiality (Young, 1990) instead of upholding

whiteness through an unexamined positionality.

Research Question

The study explores how counseling psychologists' understanding of whiteness

imparts meaning to MC, how this meaning is experienced, and how it translates into

action in their professional roles. Examining the contexts in which CP faculty recognize

whiteness could help identify and reproduce the conditions that lead to a positional

practice of psychology. CRT, FST, and intersectionality provide practical research

methods that aid in deconstructing whiteness in CP practice (Haraway, 1986; Tate, 1996).

My hypothesis is that understanding of whiteness is central to MC. The

hypothesis is informed by the proposed model for studying MC and extant literature

calling for a systemic examination of dominant powers and power relations (Delgado &

Stefancic, 2001; Smith, 1991). Awareness of assumptions, biases and values has been

found to cultivate compassion, humility, and critical thinking of both self and others

(Hays, 2008), as well as knowledge of the racial realities of clients (Sue & Sue, 2008).

Advanced and final stages of racial identity development models are characterized by an

expansive understanding of self and others via awareness of how systemic whiteness

shapes and defines racial categories (Cross et al., 1991; Ferdman & Gallego, 2001;

Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981).

Lack of positional awareness among psychologists has consequences. For

example, White counselors' lack of awareness and resistance to examine their white

racial and cultural identity is associated with emotional distancing and disconnection

from (Tochluk, 2010) and perceived inability to form meaningful relationships with Black clients (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Furthermore, lower stages of white identity development are associated with empathic numbness towards non-White clients (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Burkard et al., 1999; Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994) and lower multicultural counseling competencies (Johnson & Jackson Williams, 2015). Therefore, becoming culturally competent requires growth in racial identity.

I understand whiteness as a social construct of race and systemic power (Delgado & Stenfancic, 2001; Doane, 2003; Sue & Sue, 2008) that positions White counseling psychologists alongside counseling psychologists of color as racialized, subjective, cultural beings with intersecting dominant and marginalized identities. Thus, all psychologists, especially White psychologists and trainees, have an ethical responsibility to develop an understanding of their role in maintaining or dismantling whiteness personally and professionally across foci of competence (Helms, 2017; Sue, 2017; Tate, 1996). Critically understanding whiteness requires cognitive and affective work (Fine, 2006; Helms, 2017; Spanierman et al., 2017; Sue, 2017) to develop a personal and systemic awareness (anti-racist identity) of positionality (Helms, 1990), and intentional action to render whiteness visible by naming, challenging, and reconstructing whiteness-entrenched personal, professional, organizational, and sociocultural values and practices (Delgado & Stenfancic, 2002; Gillborn, 2015; Hawkesworth, 2010).

Adopting a critical race and feminist theoretical framework, this study explores the meaning of counselor racial self-awareness in psychology practice and positions counseling psychologists as racial cultural agents in their personal and professional roles. The study aims to describe how CP faculty's critical understanding of whiteness informs

37

their definitions of MC and practice of psychology. The question posed in the study is:

How does multiculturally competent CP faculty's understanding of whiteness inform

their definition of MC and practice?

Chapter Two: Methodology

The study employs a phenomenological methodology from a critical paradigm, which purports that knowledge could only be approximated through the examination of socially embedded everyday lived experiences (McLeod, 2001). Phenomenology is adopted because this method, as described by Moustakas (1994), produces an in-depth description instead of interpretation or explanation of the studied phenomenon. Using a critical race and feminist paradigm (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Smith 1987, 1997) allows for interpretation by considering how whiteness and power shape the concept of MC and application among CP faculty. In phenomenology, everyday lived experiences are examined for the shared meaning, essence, or core commonalities across research participants (Creswell, 2013) to provide a thorough description (Moustakas, 1994).

Appropriateness of Phenomenology

Husserl developed phenomenology as a psychological study of consciousness (Wertz, 2005). Husserl proposed that true knowledge could only be approximated through the examination of socially embedded everyday lived experiences (McLeod, 2001). Thus, phenomenological inquiry is useful in exploring experiences that are often overlooked or understudied aspects of experience (Merriam, 2002), such as the relevance of whiteness to MC.

Employing phenomenology honors the reality of both researcher and participant, acknowledging that reality and meaning are co-constructed and subjective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Thus, the identities and positional lens from which I as the researcher perceive and make sense of the participants' narratives becomes an important aspect to consider (Morrow, 2007).

Critical Race and Feminist Paradigms

Like phenomenological social constructivism, critical race and feminist theorists assert that multiple individual perceptions of reality are shaped by dominant forces of whiteness, patriarchy, sexism, classism, etc. embedded and reified through history, social structures, and organizations (Collins, 2000; Ponterotto, 2005). However, critical theory also assumes an overarching reality in which hierarchical power relations work towards oppressing the people who are marginalized while privileging the people with dominant identities (Morrow, 2007).

The epistemic and axiological assumptions of critical theory hold that researchers assume a social justice value laden stance (Haverkamp & Young, 2007) in order to gain a partial view of how power and oppression operate from the standpoint of marginalized participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Critical race and feminist theory assume that through experiences of marginalization and oppression, marginalized groups develop a better understanding of how dominant power systems operate in shaping society (Collins, 2000). Another aim of critical theory is liberation of participants from oppressive societal forces that lead to identity struggle when internalized (Collins, 2000). Participants develop critical consciousness of power relations through the examination of the lived and embodied experiences (Ponterotto, 2005). Thus, this paradigm entails critical hermeneutics, as it assumes an "action-oriented purpose of creating understanding that catalyzes change" (Haverkamp & Young, 2007, p. 279). By bracketing the situational and intentional goal of my research project I intend to help the reader gain a better understanding of the context, process, and actions that are effective or needed for change (von Krogh et al., 2012).

Research grounded in critical race and feminist theory can serve as an intervention on an individual as well as a systemic level, allows for agency, and fosters empowerment via the transparency of purpose (Altheide & Johnson, 2011). In both social constructivism and critical race and feminist theory, the research findings are not reduced to parts but add up to a more holistic picture of an experience. Thus, a critical paradigm is befitting this study in examining how understanding of whiteness translates to praxis of MC among CP faculty.

Phenomenology for Studying Whiteness and Multicultural Competence

The conceptual model for researching MC is adopted from Sue's (2001) multidimensional theory of MC (MDCC) by applying central tenets of CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2002) and FST (Smith 1987, 1997). I propose to examine and describe how understanding of whiteness impacts and informs the definition and practice of MC among CP faculty.

The theoretical framework used to develop the conceptual model and phenomenological methodology share important paradigmatic underpinnings. CRT and FST both challenge the assumption of objective and neutral knowledge, disconnected from the subjectivities of the individual and their socio-historical contexts (Tate, 1996; Haraway, 1986). Similarly, phenomenology purports that true knowledge can be gauged only through individuals' socially situated, everyday experiences (Wertz, 2005). The proposed model and phenomenology recognize participants and the researcher as subjective, positional beings who gauge and understand whiteness through examination of their daily experience. FST and intersectionality propose that starting with the everyday experiences and subjective interpretations of lived phenomena does not impact

generalizability of research findings (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Smith, 1987). While the phenomenology's purpose is not to produce generalizable knowledge but to describe the meaning and essence of experience (Moustakas, 1994), it does not conflict with using the rich description (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Haverkamp & Young, 2007) of how participants' positionality appeared to impart meaning on MC and practice of psychology to expand upon the existing theory and literature on whiteness and MC.

Mintz and colleagues (2009) note that feminist constructivist researchers, in valuing relativism, tend to focus on their participants' perspectives and meaning-making processes. The conceptual model of MC proposes that through the cognitive, affective, and systemic examination of experiences (self and other) within historical and sociopolitical context, CPs can develop a critical consciousness (CRT; Collins, 2000), a standpoint (FST; Smith, 1997), MC (Sue, 2001) to locate whiteness and examine the interlocking social powers that shape understanding of themselves, others, and society. Thus, the study rests on the relativist ontological belief of critical paradigm, which gauges the subjective lived experiences and understanding of whiteness as it informs multicultural practice (Morrow, 2007).

In addition to social justice action, the study is conducted with the philosophical purpose of elaborating and deepening existing understanding (Haverkamp & Young, 2007) of how whiteness informs and impacts multicultural practice. The collaborative construction of knowledge and meaning captures the epistemic assumption of social constructivism (Hays & Singh, 2012). Insight of shared core experience of whiteness and multicultural practice will develop through the social, subjective, and dynamic interaction between myself, the researcher and participants (Ponterotto, 2005). Given the focus on the

42

meaning of understanding whiteness in multicultural practice, phenomenology is a fitting method of investigation. CRT and FST propose that knowledge cannot be disembodied or independent of the social context it is derived from (Collins, 2000; Haraway, 1988).

Researchers in phenomenology engage in epoché by making their own understanding explicit to the reader through bracketing (Wertz, 2005). Bracketing allows the researcher to examine participants' experiences "perceived freshly, as if for the first time" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 34). Bracketing is not a component of social constructivism, as the researcher and participants are inherently immersed in their daily subjectivities and meaning is co-constructed through interaction with the researcher within a given context. However, bracketing does not contradict that the paradigmatic underpinning of co-construction of knowledge can be helpful in understanding my subjective orientation toward the research topic and increase my receptivity. Rather, per Moustakas (1994), bracketing involves clarity about one's own positionality and subjectivity from which information is interpreted and perceived.

The strengths of phenomenological method related to my study are that it provides a deep and detailed description (Wertz, 2005) of the positional experience of multicultural practice of psychology, which is grounded in the everyday experiences (McLeod, 2002) of counseling psychologists. Phenomenology privileges and appreciates subjectivity and personal experience and locates participants as collaborators and holders of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Furthermore, phenomenology allows emergence of new or overlooked meanings (Merriam, 2002) of how counseling psychologists' positional understanding of whiteness inform multiculturally competent practice, which is an area of study that has not been explored. It also enables a deeper

understanding of the existing theory (Haverkamp & Young, 2007). In this study, phenomenology allows for examination of how the operationalization of MC relates to whiteness and psychology practice.

Phenomenology allows me as the researcher to apply my own interest to explore how counseling psychologists' positional experiences inform the meaning of MC and practice. As a qualitative research method, it acknowledges that the questions I ask are oriented by my values and that the resulting knowledge reflects the co-constructed knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) of both the researcher and participants.

Researchers and Positionality

A critical phenomenological approach honors the reality of both researcher and participant, acknowledging that reality and meaning are co-constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). As a researcher within this framework, I will bracket my positionality and expectations, as well as those of the coding team and dissertation committee. Bracketing will allow me to examine the phenomenon of MC development and meaning with awareness of how my experiences and those of my coding team and dissertation committee relate to understanding of whiteness and MC (Morrow, 2007). Bracketing will also inform the readers of the cultural lens from which the research findings are interpreted and understood (Choudhuri, 2005). Thus, a brief bracket of my coding team's, my dissertation committee's, and my own positionality and motivation follows.

Positionality of the Primary Investigator

I identify as a White-passing, multi-ethnic Hungarian and Roma, born and raised in Romania, in a heterosexual relationship, able bodied, cis woman, immigrant, naturalized U.S. citizen, atheist, first-generation college student, and CP trainee from a

44

low socioeconomic (SES) background. My dominant identities of White-passing, in a heterosexual relationship, cis woman, able bodied, naturalized citizen, and education grant me power and unearned privilege relevant to the current study and examination of whiteness. I have been socialized to whiteness and internalized white values across two cultural systems, in Romania and the U.S. These dominant identities amplify unearned privileges and allow me access to graduate school to study, create knowledge (e.g., current study), teach, socialize others to the profession, advocate, and provide clinical services. Although committed to using my privilege with accountability to dismantle whiteness and work toward social justice and equity, I am aware that my perspective can be limited and my growth is lifelong. The study of how whiteness and understanding of whiteness inform psychology practice is both personal and academic for me. I was intent on consulting with my dissertation committee and recruiting a diverse coding team to provide a well-rounded and informed perspective on the research data and study through our collective experiences and positions to whiteness.

Graduate school is an honor and privilege I did not dream of as a first-generation college student growing up in a rural area with a low-SES background. Immigrating to the U.S. at 17, I experienced being an ethnic minority in two different countries and came to understand that whiteness and dominant powers work in similar ways in Romania and the U.S.. Observing how cultural and systemic whiteness work to create inequities, limit access, and marginalize and oppress people of color and people with non-dominant identities helped me further understand my role, whether conscious or unconscious, in propagating systems of oppression. I also learned that I have a choice and agency in dismantling a system that harms us all.

My experiences of marginalization and the adverse vicarious experiences of my friends, colleagues, and students of color and immigrant community motivated me to seek training beyond college, with a strong ethic of love, social justice, and service. My initial interests focused on the systems and impact of oppression on people of color and women. Experiences of racism, classism, sexism, and social and educational marginalization as a Hungarian and Roma woman and an immigrant from a low-SES and rural background helped me develop insight into interpersonal and systemic manifestations of oppression. From an early age, my family and community have instilled in me pride and a deep appreciation for the history and culture of my ethnic heritage. While experiences of marginalization helped me gain a subjective understanding of it, I did not have the words to articulate these experiences nor a systemic framework from which to critically understand systems of oppression and domination.

I decided to pursue graduate training in CP because of its strong philosophical grounding in social and political context and values of social justice and prevention. I hoped to gain tools to enact systemic change. Through graduate studies I was fortunate to benefit from the guidance and feedback of my advisor, Dr. Danelle Stevens-Watkins, a Black woman faculty who encouraged me to shift my focus from studying the impact of whiteness on marginalized groups to the process and system of domination, specifically the role of White and privileged people in racism and oppression. Furthermore, I learned to enact social justice values and developed skills in advocacy and self-reflexivity through Dr. Kenneth Tyler. His mentorship has been invaluable in expanding my knowledge of critical, feminist, and liberatory theories and developing the language that helped me grow in my racial identity. Dr. Candice Hargons has been a mentor and role

model in scholarship, practice, mentorship, and service to the community and profession. The shared journey with my community of grassroots organizers, educators, advocates, and social justice warriors through different phases of my education and development, from high school to University of Kentucky, has been the most amazing gift.

I grew to understand that we all, and more specifically, I need liberation from socialized whiteness and internalized inferiority and superiority. Multicultural training and the movement towards social justice in CP and the profession is an opportunity to effect personal and systemic change. Historical and escalating white supremacist violence and terrorism and the ongoing struggle to expand psychology beyond a white artifact and profession detailed in the first chapter further underscore the personal importance of this study for me as a White-passing CP trainee. My hope is that through this study, I may contribute to the movement toward transformation and collective liberation and wellness.

Bracketing my assumptions and experiences throughout the study allowed me as the researcher to prepare myself to be receptive to participants' perspectives, while acknowledging that setting aside my subjectivities and values is impossible. Aware that my White-passing and intersecting dominant social identities limit my understanding, I regularly and intentionally examined how my privileges inform my interpretation and coding of participants' narratives. I memoed, journaled, consulted with colleagues, and discussed personal subjectivities and reactions with the coding team. Throughout interviews, coding, and analysis I made concerted effort to empathically attune to participants' experiences, whether similar or divergent, with curiosity and openness.

My positionality, experiences, values, and knowledge about existing multicultural and critical-feminist-liberation theories led me to examine how critical understanding of

47

whiteness informs psychology practice and how it influenced not only the research paradigm I chose, but also my questions and study process. Thus, entering the current study I bracketed my beliefs and assumptions. Upon proposing the study I assumed that (a) CP faculty experiences of whiteness will diverge depending on racial identities (Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2016) and awareness of their positionality (Helms, 1990), (b) CP faculty of color will report adverse and harmful experiences of racism, (c) White CP faculty will note challenges in self-reflexivity and connecting with people of color, and (d) participants will articulate institutional challenges, backlash, and risks for naming and resisting whiteness in CP programs.

Coding Team and Dissertation Committee

The coding team and dissertation committee contributed to the study and strengthened data analysis and methodological integrity. The coding team consisted of three University of Kentucky CP doctoral students described below.

Jardin Dogan. Jardin Dogan identifies as a Black, heterosexual, cisgender female. She is a third-year doctoral student. Her research interests include Black individuals, couples, and family wellness and healing from race-related trauma sexual health disparities, and substance use.

Jardin noted that she was eager to join this qualitative coding team since the principal investigator's (PI) dissertation concentrates on the understanding of whiteness for faculty members who provide MC training in the field of CP. She hoped that the dissertation was an opportunity to learn about how CP faculty members operationalize and conceptualize MC. Further, she wanted to contribute as the project fosters understanding of how doctoral training can better center whiteness and other privileged

48

identities to promote growth of all CP trainees. Jardin bracketed the belief that engaging in conversations about MC requires a thorough examination of how systems perpetuate white supremacy and directly impact racially marginalized populations.

The intersections of Jardin's privileged and marginalized identities inform her lived experiences and the ways in which she navigates the world. Her perspective can contribute to such conversations about the strengths and weaknesses of MC training in CP spaces. Additionally, Jardin hoped that she could use her previous experience with qualitative research methodology and analyses to help inform research, interventions, and trainings that will serve others in appropriately developing their MC.

Melanie Miller. Melanie Miller identifies as a White, North American, atheist, fully abled, typical body, cisgender female from a low-income, blue-collar, working-class family background. She is a second-year post-bachelor's doctoral student. Her research interests focus on access to mental health care, access to opportunity, mental health stigma, and integrated primary-mental care.

Melanie agreed to contribute to the current study as she grew increasingly interested in whiteness and MC as a future psychologist. She recognized that as someone who is White and is participating in research about whiteness, her race is central in her understanding of participant narratives. She was conscious that many of her other salient identities, such as cisgender woman, atheist, North American, and post-bachelor's education in CP would impact how she perceives and understands the transcript. She noted concern about potentially minimizing the experiences of the participant. Thus, in bracketing and in debriefing with the coding team, Melanie shared that her privileged identities may have led to her being more critical of participants' understanding and

integration of multicultural awareness than she may have been with someone who did not share so many of her identities. She memoed, consulted and re-read the transcript to better analyze the meaning and make sure she was not being overly critical

Joseph Oluokun. Joseph Oluokun is a third-year master's student. His research interests focus on racial trauma in Black individuals, and he agreed to be part of the coding team because the topic aligns with his interests in the field. Joseph identifies as an African American male of Nigerian heritage. He noted that his experiences as a Black person from an immigrant background allowed him to contribute a more global perspective on whiteness. Throughout the coding and team meeting process he hoped to examine his experiences and perceptions of whiteness from his Nigerian upbringing, compare these to American whiteness, and gain a deeper awareness of the parallels and differences.

Dissertation Committee. The dissertation committee includes Dr. Stevens-Watkins, Dr. Hargons, Dr. Tyler and Dr. Scott, who are diverse scientists committed to social justice and anti-racism in scholarship, training, and service to the professional, institutional, and larger social community. The dissertation co-chairs, Dr. Hargons and Dr. Stevens-Watkins, met with PI throughout the dissertation process. Dr. Hargons provided support and invaluable consultation with methodology and data analysis.

Methodology

The following section details the phenomenological methodology employed and the process of establishing the trustworthiness of the results. The phenomenon described in the study is: How does CP faculty's understanding of whiteness inform their definition of MC and psychology practice?

Participants

Selection of participants was purposeful and based on inclusion criteria detailed below (Creswell, 2013; Morrow, 2005). The study includes 12 CP faculty (a) teaching in APA-accredited CP programs (b) who have taught at least one multicultural course and (c) who were nominated by CP students as multiculturally competent. The literature reflects that White faculty often lack multicultural training and are hesitant to teach multicultural courses or attend to whiteness and race in the classroom (Smith et al., 2017; Sue et al., 2009). Also, senior faculty are predominantly White, and faculty of color hired in lower ranks of professorship are more active in teaching multicultural courses compared to White faculty (Chae et al., 2006; Hills & Strozier, 1992). Thus, having taught a multicultural course may be a good indicator that the CP faculty has examined and would be able to speak to the topic of whiteness and MC. It was assumed that participants would be over the age of 18 given their career stage. The study aimed to recruit 10–25 participants and balance the White to non-White faculty ratio; therefore, the aim was to interview at least 5–12 faculty of color and 5–12 White faculty. Exclusion criteria are CP faculty who have not taught at least one multicultural course.

Of 21 faculty nominated, three refused to participate, two did not meet inclusion criteria, three did not reply to emails or phone calls, and 13 agreed to participate. Upon agreement to participate, the PI offered an in-person, Zoom, or Skype interview, and interviews were scheduled via email. One of the 13 CP faculty was not able to coordinate schedules with the PI and 12 completed a semi-structured interview over Zoom (n=10) and Skype (n=1) per participant preference.

51

Participants include 12 racially and ethnically diverse CP faculty with diverse intersecting identities. Study participants self-identified as White (n=4, one White Middle East and North African [MENA]), Black (n=1), African American (n=3), Brown multiracial (n=1), Black biracial (n=1), Chinese American (n=1), and "light skinned Latina" (n=1). Ten participants identified as cis women and two as cis man. Participants identified as heterosexual/straight (n=10), fluid (n=1), and lesbian/queer (n=1). See Table 2.1 for the demographic breakdown of participant's race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, ability, religion/spirituality, and class. Participants were equally spread out across career stage: clinical faculty (n=1), associate professor (n=3), assistant professor (n=4), and full professor (n=4). Six participants are early career (1–10 years), four are mid-career (11–20 years), one senior career (21–30 years), and one late career (31+ years) psychologists. Participants also identified primary and important professional roles as CP faculty. See Table 2.2 for a breakdown of participants' career stage, academic position, and self-identified primary professional roles.

Table 2.1: Participant Demographic Information

Name	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Sexuality	Ability	Religion Spirituality	Class
Ana	White, MENA	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Muslim	Middle upper class
Eva	African American	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Did not disclose	Christian	Middle class, low-SES background
Mark	White	Cis man	Straight	Able bodied	"Soft Atheist"	Upper middle class
Bella	White	Cis woman	Fluid	Did not disclose	Atheist	Did not disclose
Monica	Brown multiracial, multi-ethnic	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Spiritual	Middle class
Beatrice	Black bi-racial (Black & White)	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Disabled	Non-dogmatic Christian	Middle class
Sara	White	Cis woman	Lesbian, Queer	Able	Atheist	Middle class
Melody	"Light skinned Latina"	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Spiritual	Middle class
Jack	Black	Cis man	Heterosexual	Able bodied	Christian	Did not disclose
Emma	African American	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Atheist	Did not disclose
Kate	Chinese American	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Atheist	Middle class
Doris	African American	Cis woman	Heterosexual	Able	Bahá'í	Upper middle class

Table 2.2: Participant Career Stage, Position, and Professional Roles

Name	Career Stage	Position	Professional Roles
Ana	Mid-career	Associate Professor	Educator, trainer, counseling psychologist, researcher, leader
Eva	Early career	Assistant Professor	Educator, advisor, mentor, assistant professor
Mark	Early career	Associate Professor	Faculty, service to profession and institution, scholar, teacher, advocate
Bella	Early career	Assistant Professor	Clinical assistant professor, instructor, teacher, supervision role
Monica	Early career	Clinical Faculty	Clinical faculty, private practice
Beatrice	Early career	Associate Professor	Counseling psychology faculty, educator, practitioner, multicultural consultant, researcher
Sara	Senior career	Full Professor	Educator, "socially just research," and service to community [leadership]
Melody	Mid-career	Full Professor	Scholar, mentor, educator, service to profession
Jack	Early career	Assistant Professor	Researcher, instructor, counseling psychologist
Emma	Late career	Full Professor	Counseling psychologist, professor, private practice, service to the profession
Kate	Mid-career	Assistant Professor	"Mommascholar;" assistant professor in counseling psychology; learner-teacher; advocate; "translator/liaison" of public scholarship; researcher; practitioner; consultant; therapist
Doris	Mid-career	Full Professor	Psychologist, professor, clinician

Participants were recruited via outreach to CP students to nominate faculty who have taught a multicultural course and whom they deem as multiculturally competent. The PI emailed graduate training directors in APA-accredited CP programs with a request to distribute a nomination invitation to graduate CP students, used social media, and engaged in personal outreach to CP students to obtain nominations. The PI posted a message (approved by Human Resources at University of Kentucky) on her Facebook page and asked graduate student acquaintances to share the invitation for nomination of participants. Comments were disabled for the social media post due to privacy concerns. Graduate CP students were provided with a Qualtrics link where they submitted the name, institution, work email and phone number, and race/ethnicity of the CP faculty they nominated. Nominators were not told if the faculty member was contacted or not. The PI selected nominated CP faculty based on the inclusion criteria detailed above and contacted them via email to notify them of being nominated and invite them to participate in the study. Follow-up phone calls (to work numbers provided) were conducted 1–2 weeks after emails were sent to further ascertain interest in participation.

Data Collection

Data collection consisted of 12 audio recorded, semi-structured, virtual video (Zoom, n=11 and Skype, n=1) interviews with CP faculty who teach or have taught a multicultural psychology course in an APA-accredited CP program and were nominated as multiculturally competent by graduate students. Interviews have been found to be a common method to gather data in phenomenological studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Morrow, 2007; Suzuki et al., 2007). I intended to collect data through interviews ranging from 60 to 120 minutes, as recommended by Hoyt and Bhati (2007). Interview lengths

ranged from 63 to 118 minutes and averaged 79 minutes. Virtual video interviews allowed me to establish rapport with participants, leading to valuable in-depth information (Suzuki et al., 2007). In-person interviews would have allowed for a nuanced and complex understanding through non-verbal observation of intonation and body language of the research participants (Hoyt & Bhati, 2007). Although participants all elected for virtual interviews, video interviews allowed for a similar observation of non-verbal communication and immediacy in answers.

A sample of minimum 10 to maximum 25 participants should provide richness and depth of experience with regard to MC (Polkinghorne, 1989) until saturation was reached. In addition to falling within range of participants required for richness in data, the PI in consultation with the coding team concluded data collection by considering the *information power* through the process of conceptualizing the study, data collection, and analysis (Malterud et al., 2016). Five aspects of study sample and data help establish information power. First, when study aim is narrow it may require a smaller sample size compared to a comprehensive and broad aim (Malterud et al., 2016). The study sample size falls within the general participant range for phenomenological and qualitative studies (Polkinghorne, 1989).

Second, sample specificity can be dense or sparse, taking into account whether participants have expertise, knowledge, and experiences and are able to provide informed decision about the study question (Malterud et al., 2016). Participants are CP faculty who have taught multicultural classes and were nominated by their students who believe them to be multiculturally competent. Sample specificity is dense and was addressed in the study design. Therefore, a less extensive sample would suffice from this aspect.

The third dimension of information power evaluation is whether there is established theory to provide a frame and connection to extant literature (Malterud et al., 2016). The study aims to explore experience and understanding of whiteness as related to positional practice of psychology, and the theoretical frame of CRT and FST allow the PI to make sense of results within existing theory and make recommendations for application. Thus, a smaller and dense sample may be fitting (Malterud et al., 2016).

The fourth dimension of information power is whether the quality of the dialogue is strong or weak (Malterud et al., 2016). The PI practiced administering the semi-structured interview prior to data collection. The semi-structured interview allowed her to be flexible yet gather consistent and in-depth data across interviews. The PI was intentional about building rapport with participants and checked in with all participants about their experience during the interview. All participants communicated enjoying connecting with the PI and some expressed gratitude for the opportunity to reflect about their relation to whiteness and psychology practice. Participants were provided with the information of the PI's advisor in case of grievances. No such reports have been made.

The last dimension of information power is analysis: more participants are required for cross-case analysis, fewer for single case analysis. As phenomenology entails horizontalization, where all experiences are considered equally significant whether or not they are shared by other participants (Moustakas, 1994), information power is higher in the current study. The PI discussed information power and dimensions with the dissertation committee through development of the study and with the coding team upon considering the conclusion of data collection. The coding team and dissertation co-chair Dr. Hargons agreed with closing data collection as the current data met higher information power.

Nominated CP faculty were contacted by the PI, who gauged whether the faculty met inclusion criteria. If the faculty met inclusion criteria, the PI scheduled the virtual interview at a convenient time for the participant. Participants were reminded of the research topic at the meeting; they provided verbal consent to participate in the study and expressed understanding that they may discontinue the interview at any time. Next, the PI conducted the semi-structured interview. See Appendix A for interview protocol.

Ethical Considerations. Minimal risk is anticipated for study participants. Engaging in conversation about whiteness and race could cause discomfort for individuals at lower stages of racial identity development as the topic may trigger feelings of guilt, shame, dissonance, and fear of appearing racist (Helms, 1990). However, it is highly likely that participants have engaged in dialogue about whiteness and explored the meaning of their racial identity considering that participants have taught at least one multicultural course, where such topics are deemed central to development of competence.

All audio recordings have been securely stored. Electronic files are stored on a password-protected University of Kentucky drive on the PI's password-protected computer and de-identified to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants. Only the dissertation co-chairs have access to the University of Kentucky drive on which they are stored. The PI used Amazon Transcribe for the transcript of the audio recordings. The coding team engaged in phenomenological reduction were presented with de-identified transcripts to maintain participants' anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were assigned a first name consistent with their self-identified gender identity. Identifying information (e.g., names, specific locations) were removed from the stored electronic files. Only the PI and faculty advisors have access to the audio or signed consent forms.

Coding team members completed the mandatory human subject protection prior to engaging into research.

    During the informed consent process participants were reminded that they could discontinue the interview at any time. Minimal identification information was gathered to further protect participants, particularly given that too much personal information may make participants identifiable to other CP faculty or nominating students. Participants were informed that despite de-identification and no use of identifiable information parties involved in the experiences shared may be able to identify them.

    There are no substantial benefits or risks anticipated. A potential benefit could be that discussion about race and whiteness may facilitate insight into participants' understanding of MC and practice. Participation could help increase the overall understanding of MC among CP faculty and inform future interventions and trainings.

Data Analysis

    Phenomenology as a method of investigation employs a structured approach to data description in order to arrive at the meaning of the shared experience (Moustakas, 1994). The process involves engaging in a descriptive analytic strategy that considers the intersubjectivity between researcher and participant (McLeod, 2001). The study data analysis used Moustaka's (1994) modified approach of the Van Kaam method. The PI and coding team bracketed and acknowledge their subjectivity by observing and recording their own internal and external experience of whiteness and MC. Furthermore, the PI and coding team journaled and memoed throughout the study process to foster awareness of their subjectivities. The PI transcribed and shared de-identified transcripts with respective coding team members.

Next, the PI and coding team engaged in phenomenological reduction by (a) reviewing transcripts of interviews, (b) listing all statements as equally valuable (horizontalization), (c) eliminating repetitive or overlapping statements and arriving at textural theme of horizons, and (d) determining structural themes of significant statements that describe the specific aspect of the phenomena; finally, (e) the PI developed a coherent textural description that presents a synthesis of the essence of the phenomena (Moustakas, 1994).

Coding team members completed the first three steps for 1–3 transcripts each, while the PI investigator completed these steps for all the interviews. Coding team members contributed to data analysis by coding interviews and determining structural themes of significant statements for each and across transcripts. Upon completing coding, horizontalization, and thematic review the PI met several times with two coding team members to discuss coding and themes, and reflected about personal subjectivities that arose through the data analysis process. Meeting as a team allowed for consultation and emergence of themes. The PI then developed a coherent textural description presenting a synthesis of the essence of the phenomena (Moustakas, 1994).

Strategies for Validating Findings

Phenomenology is characterized by a structured approach to data analysis that allows transparency and assures rigorous, systemic inquiry (Creswell et al., 2007). To increase credibility of the final themes, I employed several commonly used qualitative strategies to assure trustworthiness and rigor. These *transcendent standards* apply across qualitative methods: "social validity, subjectivity and reflexivity, adequacy of data, and adequacy of interpretation" (Morrow, 2005, p. 250).

First, Haverkamp and Young (2007) noted that explicitly stating the purpose of the study and linking it clearly with the research paradigm could enhance credibility. For a fit between the study question and research paradigm please see sections above. Framing the study within existing praxis and theories ensured relevance and importance of the research question (Malterud et al., 2016).

Second, my co-researchers and I engaged in bracketing to provide *social validity* (Morrow, 2005), which involved taking detailed notes, memoing, journaling and taking into account my subjective experience through the data collection and analysis. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) note, "all theories, concepts, and findings are grounded in values and perspectives; all knowledge is contextual and partial; and other conceptual schemas and perspectives are always possible" (p. 582). Qualitative studies may be evaluated for trustworthiness by considering whether the investigator disclosed and bracketed their own standpoints, positionalities, and beliefs (Morrow, 2005). A bracketing session with co-researchers was held to discuss the subjective, cultural, and contextual orientation towards the meaning of whiteness and MC. In this process, we achieved *subjectivity* in acknowledging our understanding of whiteness and MC (Morrow, 2005).

Third, to assure adequacy of data and interpretation I strived to ensure that data collection and analysis were rigorous and honored participants' experiences and voices (Morrow, 2005). The quality and depth of interviews were supported by achieving redundancy or saturation (Morrow, 2005) and information power (Malterud et al., 2016) of emerging themes. Further, the description of the data analysis process should allow readers a contextual understanding to evaluate the rigor of the research. In the spirit of

fairness (Morrow, 2005), CP faculty's accounts were equally honored and included in analysis through the phenomenological data analysis stage of horizontalization.

Additionally, the thick description (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) and emerging themes are contextualized within existing literature about whiteness and MC and supported with quotes from the interviews. Furthermore, I review how the themes deepen understanding of current empirical and theoretical literature, and I sought an independent auditor (Patton, 2002; Yeh & Inman, 2007) to enhance transferability (Morrow, 2005). In providing a clear trail of analysis and research rigor by employing an auditor, the study meets the criterion of *dependability* (Morrow, 2005). Contextualizing findings within current literature and providing recommendations of how research findings may inform training and research enhances transferability.

Furthermore, the study strived to provide *ontological authenticity* (Morrow, 2005) by contextualizing and elaborating on the individual experiences of CP faculty and presenting a clearer understanding of whiteness and MC. A more elaborate understanding of whiteness and MC can inform training and research in CP. Noting and motivating action toward social justice action and cultural change—in this case positional practice of psychology—would mean achieving *catalytic authenticity* (Morrow, 2005). Through this study I strive towards *consequential validity* (Morrow, 2005) in leading to change in multicultural training approach in CP programs.

Chapter Three: Results

The study explores how CP faculty's understanding and experience of whiteness imparts meaning to MC via the experience and enactment of this meaning across personal and professional roles. The first section describes how CP faculty define and experience whiteness on personal and professional levels, followed by a description of how CP faculty operationalize MC relative to whiteness and how the understanding of whiteness translates into positional behaviors across professional roles.

Whiteness — Definition & Experience

Participants described whiteness as the historically propagated power that centers white-dominant interests and values in structures and systems. Whiteness is the cultural and structural power system built on the social construct of the hierarchical binary race of White versus Black, reinforced through privileges and advantages, and that works toward affirming White people's superiority over Black people. Participants noted that whiteness further propagates dominance, oppression, and marginalization through hierarchies across identities by co-opting white ethnic and cultural identity and granting White people psychological privilege. CP faculty noted that marginalization led to epistemic privilege for people of color, as well as burden and threat. Lastly, participants described whiteness as adaptive to challenge and self-preserving by permeating systems, mainstream culture, and socializing everyone to whiteness. See Figure 3.1 for a visual description of components of whiteness.

Figure 3.1: Components of Whiteness
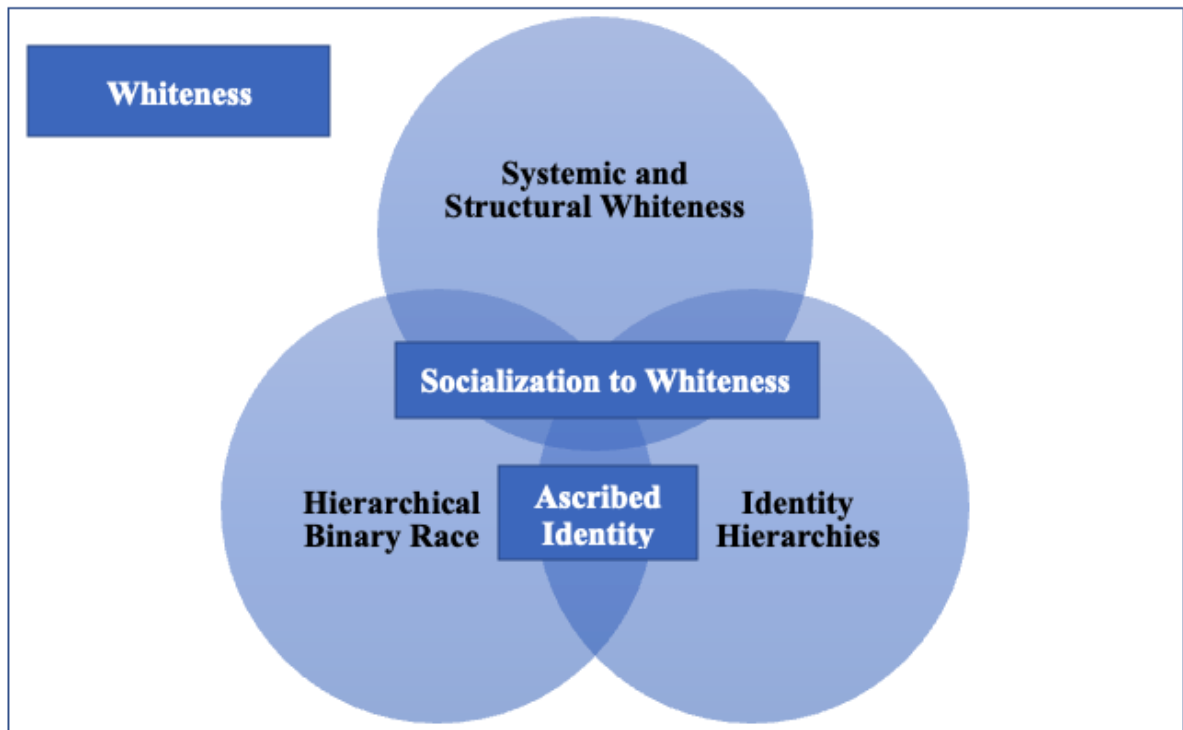
Systemic and Cultural Whiteness — "The Water We Swim In"

Whiteness is described as "power" by several participants, "the water we swim in" (Mark) as it historically centers White people's interests and values in structures and systems that advantage White people and permeate all aspects of life. Whiteness becomes a covert convention in how systems operate, and it is culturally so ingrained in all aspects of everyday life that White people and even people of color socialized to mainstream whiteness can consider and understand whiteness as normal. Jack described whiteness:

> I see whiteness as just being a part of that is institutional, historical structure that is interpersonal, that is legal, that it is procedural, that privileges whiteness or Europe centric traits phenotypically. In the U.S., we understand this as mainstream culture.

Whiteness becomes normative as it propagates through "mainstream culture" and systems in which white values and identity are deemed most valuable, painting White

people in a positive light. Normative and institutionalized whiteness grants White people access to resources and empowers White people to apply themselves and exercise agency in shaping society and reality. Eva states,

> Whiteness to me is one of the things, sort of created norms. Not a real norm, but that's socially created, and it's one that convinces folks sometimes that there is value and that maybe doesn't actually exist.

Whiteness as a "norm" is a socially constructed and maintained phenomenon in which white systemic advantages conflate with beliefs in white superiority. Eva notes that there is "value" attached to white race, and the social construct and history of white advantage work to support and "convince" people of that "value." The systemic and structural whiteness has historically worked to bestow unearned and unfair advantage to White people and produce inequities and marginalize people of color. The experiences of CP faculty of color in the study are radically different from that of CP faculty who are White. Participants described how the system of whiteness, through history, structure and culture, works to disadvantage and marginalize people of color, a reality of whiteness that White people and White CP faculty in the study can choose to be aware of or ignore. Melody described this process:

> I see it as fundamental and central. In reality and historically and currently, whiteness is a significant dimension of identity that comes with power. The power to see, the power to hear, the power to not see and not hear, and to make social change, have access.

On a personal level, Melody noted that whiteness for White people is "the power to not see and not hear" their participation in whiteness and the resulting impact of oppression and marginalization of people of color. Mark stated that while whiteness can be seen and understood by White people, it takes intentionality to understand it critically.

Unless you intentionally sort of notice and deconstruct whiteness, it is all-consuming and is the de facto norm from which everyone and everything operates. I see it embedded in all the policies we have in our college and the sort of micro-level interactions we have with one another within my college.

White people may not perceive the power they have personally and systemically, because it is "culturally saturated" and "it's so normalized that it becomes invisible" (Mark). White CP faculty and White people experience cultural mainstream whiteness as affirming, positive, and comfortable, and as freedom and agency across all aspects of life. Whiteness can be invisible, as Mark stated, when accepted as the status quo and a "de facto" way to relate to others and do things. Mark noted that counseling psychologists need to intentionally deconstruct whiteness interpersonally and systemically because structures, policies, and procedures benefit White people while marginalizing, denying, or limiting access to people of color.

Hierarchical Binary Race — White and Black

Via a hierarchical binary precept, participants described that whiteness poses a rigid socially constructed binary of White and Black that attributes superiority to White people and inferiority, "being less than" (Jack) to Black people and other people of color. The hierarchy informs cultural standards of what is desirable and thriving through proximity to White people and things that White people value. Monica stated,

On a personal level, I see whiteness as a privilege in not having to worry about different things that a person of color would have to worry about. And even just in terms of appeal, physical attractiveness, and friendliness, just what is considered beautiful in our society and also what is considered friendly and likable. And often see people of color portrayed as the funny, humorous sidekick.

Monica, who identifies as a brown multi-ethnic cis woman, describes being held to white standards of "attractiveness" and "beauty" and portrayed as inferior due to her skin color. As White people hold power, access, and privileges, they see themselves

reflected in mainstream culture and shape the values that inform standards and systems. Whiteness means attributing superiority to White people and defining standards of beauty, success, and attractiveness based solely on skin color. Standards of white superiority lead to othering and rendering people of color inferior. People of color are attributed negative stereotypes and are dehumanized, othered, and marginalized based on race. Jack notes,

> The way that I see that as a Black man navigating that particular space is that this is a system that, by its very nature over time, has sought to subjugate myself and other people of color as less than.

The binary racial hierarchy poses people of color as the opposite of the positive stereotypes associated with whiteness. Hierarchical racial constructs are divides aimed to separate and attribute positive or negative meaning and value to individuals based on their ascribed race. The binary of race is social, in that it informs how oneself and others perceive self. It also emerged as rigid. Not everyone fits in the White versus Black racial category, and these categories may shift and change depending on historical context and geographical location. For example, Ana, a White and MENA CP faculty member, shared that whiteness operated differently in her country of origin. She noted traveling with her spouse, who was ascribed to a different race and identity than in the U.S. Ana shared,

> I'm in an interracial, inter-religious, international, every kind of intersectional relationship, and it's interesting when we go to [redacted country] with my partner. Everybody thinks he's an Arab. It's the way he experiences his race is very different in [redacted] than here.

Ana reflected about the fact that ascribed race and associated meanings about the values, culture, and attributes of an individual are historically and geographically situated. This hierarchical racial binary led to tension for participants as they searched for meanings associated with their racial identity, tried to make sense of their experiences, or

adopted a positional frame of how they fit within mainstream white culture. When a white power system constructs identity, it ascribes meaning, position, and power within a hierarchical sociocultural and economic structure to people based on proximity to whiteness. Thus, ascribed identity becomes significant because attributes and power associated with it inform how others perceive and behave and how someone perceives and feels about themselves.

Regardless of race, CP faculty shared personal struggles with understanding and appreciating their racial identity due to ascribed race and accompanying stereotypes based on closeness to whiteness. Monica, self-identified multi-ethnic multiracial brown woman CP faculty, noted, "My racial identity has evolved based on what people have told me that I am." At one point, she defined her race and identity based on how others saw her. She shared that she questioned her racial identity as she received conflicting messages from her husband and friends. Monica's husband perceived her to be Black, while her Black friends were offended that she called herself Black. She stated,

> The turning point for me was having the freedom to identify how I wanted to identify, in a way that made sense for me, in the face of having other people tell me I was wrong.

As neither a White nor a Black person, Monica is ascribed racial categories based on how others perceive her and even themselves. Monica noted having an African husband, who perceived her to be Black. It is likely that her Black friends interpreted her self-identifying as Black as invalidating and disembodied from the history of Black people in America. Thus, socially constructed racial categories are rigid and narrow definitions based on skin color and can serve to co-opt history, ethnicity, cultural heritage, nationality, language, and even religion.

Anyone at the intersection of identities, like Monica or Ana's spouse, is left to search for a racial label that would allow them to make sense of who they are regarding others in a white system. The social construct of race derives meaning in a historical, cultural, and systemic context. CP faculty of mixed race/ethnicity, white-passing, or ambiguous racial presentation noted feeling overlooked and awkward, and experiencing a lack of belongingness as they do not "fit into a clear category." Ana shared,

> It's navigating that fluidity and knowing that I will never fit into one clear category. I will never be a clear-cut white. I will never be a clear-cut MENA.

Ana identifies as MENA and an immigrant, identities that often make people call into question her racial identity and that lead to rejection by both the MENA community and the White community. As whiteness and the definition of who is White have changed historically to protect the White people's interest, White race and the social construct of race remains elusively defined, especially when considering the ethnic and national diversity of White people.

Propagates Dominance Across Identities

Participants noted that white cultural values and institutionalized whiteness propagate dominance and hierarchies across identities. Racial identity is not singular, but as participants described, it is embodied simultaneously and inextricably along other socially constructed hierarchical identities—e.g., gender and sexual identity, class, ability, religion, age, nationality, immigration status, education. Whiteness as a power in concert with other dominant identities attributes power and access to resources in a system that centers and benefits White people. Kate stated,

> I'm very much aware of whiteness. Whiteness in the United States is intercepting with Christianity and Protestant ethic. Definitely, male-oriented and it comes with a lot of these [norms], still very driven around meritocracy. If you work hard, you

can get to where you want. Those are, a lot of whiteness is embodied with those ideologies. I think we still operate that way. I say "we" because I'm a part of the system as well. We still operate with that perspective, and we make it really, really hard to break these norms, these old ways of doing things.

Given that everyone is socialized and exists within the same system, everyone internalizes white culture, white superiority, and meritocracy, and participates in a system that advantages White, male, heterosexual, Christian, and affluent individuals. The assumptions of equal opportunity and meritocracy combined with advantages and power afforded to White, Christian, and wealthy men through systemic whiteness lead to ignorance of how systems are informed by white values, center White and other dominant identities, and work to perpetuate and justify superiority beliefs.

Assumptions of superiority across identities and ignorance of how whiteness and other dominant powers mutually reinforce leads to individual complacence. Other hierarchical and socially constructed identities, such as gender, are justified through the same domination tools, namely binary hierarchies and meritocratic processes. Beatrice, self-identified Black bi-racial cis woman CP faculty, notes,

> If we think about how race came to be… the constructions of gender… could be considered white ways of thinking in this binary and capitalism and ways [to be] successful is connected to whiteness. Like, "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" notion of success. So close. It's intersectional and bleeds into these other ways of being in ways I didn't necessarily think about… That [it] doesn't necessarily just have to focus on race, but there are these other things that whiteness certainly impacts.

Whiteness in concert with other hierarchical binary identities—man versus woman, heterosexual versus homosexual, etc.—is systematically reinforced despite rigid simplifications. These binary identities do not reflect the experiences of the diverse participants. Closeness to whiteness and other dominant identities inform assumptions about an individual's abilities, potential, and work to grant power and access to resources.

70

Thus, whiteness is experienced differently by White and people of color as sociocultural, institutional, economic, and structural power. Everyone is socialized to and navigates whiteness in daily life, making whiteness self-preserving and adaptive to challenge.

Adaptive to Challenge and Self-preserving

The power system of whiteness is "incredibly adaptive" (Mark) and self-preserving. On a personal and systemic level, it poses a binary racial hierarchy as well as whiteness-steeped structures and systems that work in concert with other dominant identities to propagate dominance. Participants described the mainstream nature of whiteness as a strong cultural, economic, and social current that socializes both white people and people of color to internalize, propagate, and participate in whiteness.

On an intrapersonal level, CP faculty reported varying levels of self-awareness as racial, cultural beings in relation to whiteness. CP faculty described pervasive socialization to whiteness across the familial, social, systemic, and academic realms. As such, whiteness is propagated by both White people and people of color, as it is socialized through the mere assimilation of mainstream white culture and values. Systemic whiteness combined with pervasive socialization to superiority and inferiority creates a self-preserving and self-propagating power system. Jack, self-identified Black cis man CP faculty, states,

> And it is incredibly, the structure, this idea of whiteness is incredibly adaptive to circumstances. Many tools that we use or employ, things like the overt people of color being less than, the less overt where we might have the people of color intra-group tensions that exist. That all still serve to uphold white supremacy.

The overt and covert manner in which whiteness manifests and propagates made it difficult for participants to challenge and understand it in all its forms. CP faculty noted multiple barriers, such as social and professional sanction for addressing whiteness, socialization to silence and complacence, and the covert unexamined culturally white

71

foundations of the training and practice of psychology. These barriers propagate systemic and cultural whiteness and make whiteness adaptive to challenge.

White CP faculty described being socialized to superiority and complicity with the white status quo, which inherently means benefitting from the marginalization and oppression of people of color. Mark reported feeling "angry" about the "advantage" of being seen as knowledgeable and the promotion standards working in his favor as a White man. Kate, self-identified Chinese American cis woman CP faculty, identified socialization to inferiority as a tool that helps propagate whiteness. She noted ongoing work to unearth whiteness and dedicating time and energy to understanding how she perpetuates whiteness as a person of color with intersecting marginalized identities.

> The idea that one can perpetuate and play a role in one's own oppression is not discussed. Becoming aware of that is important. Learning to unearth the internalized inferiority, it takes work and community.

Recognizing and critically examining whiteness required effort for both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. Without critical reflection about internalizing whiteness, Kate noted that she and other CP faculty can enact whiteness and reinforce a system that privileges White people and marginalizes themselves, other people of color, and people of diverse identities.

The qualitative and systematic differences of being privileged versus marginalized, afforded or denied power, led to considerably different experiences for White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. CP faculty of color noted that the lack of racial self-awareness, especially for White people, can serve as a fail-safe to preserving white social and cultural norms and deepens the system of racial inequity and access. Both white and CP faculty's of color perception of their racial and intersecting identities vis-a-vis white cultural norms

evolved based on their familial and academic socialization to whiteness and the quality of their experience in white cultural systems. Socialization to blindness and internalizing white norms can lead to propagating whiteness across roles. CP faculty shared having to educate themselves beyond academics and engaging intentionally in ongoing self-reflexivity.

Whiteness self-preserves and adapts in academia through its systemic embeddedness. Participants noted that whiteness self-propagates in that trainees, faculty, and administrators must have white cultural fluency to navigate and access education and resources. Eva, self-identified African American cis woman CP faculty, remarked,

> You wouldn't be here if you didn't learn how to navigate these systems. We were talking about, have we spent so much time trying to figure out the system that we are blind to how to engage it and change it? Because it's easy to just … let all those things fall into the background, and they just become a normal part of the way we exist and the way we survive and the way we succeed.

CP faculty highlighted an inherent predicament of participating in systemic whiteness guised as conventional departmental policies, procedures, processes, academic standards, and curriculum. Eva noted that the PI, faculty, trainees, and she herself need to master "navigating" whiteness to enter the profession and, in the process, may internalize professional norms informed by whiteness. White systemic fluency grants participants a sense of mastery and familiarity that can lead to complicity in whiteness and to maintenance of a harmful status quo. Melody, self-identified "light skinned Latina" cis woman CP faculty, gave an example:

> We're all socialized in this academic world to compete and to dominate, which I find unpalatable, and yet I have participated in, if I'm gonna be honest.

73

In addition to complacency and propagation of whiteness, CP faculty expressed concern that privileged identities and white systemic fluency can lead to value incongruence in actions and perpetuating one's own and others' oppression.

Familial and academic socialization determined CP faculty's personal experiences and orientation toward whiteness. CP faculty reflected on academic socialization and the importance of critically examining how white cultural values inform the need, definition, and operationalization of MC in other systemic aspects, such as program policies and procedures, standards of success, and curricular content. Lastly, CP faculty articulated whiteness-informed dispositions and behaviors—enacted by White administrators, faculty, and students—that propagate and maintain whiteness.

CP faculty discussed personal dispositions informed by whiteness and tensions that arise when systemic whiteness and white supremacy are made visible or challenged. In the next section, the personal-professional experience of whiteness, ways in which whiteness pervades operationalization of MC, and personal dispositions and behaviors that propagate whiteness are described.

Personal-Professional Experience of Whiteness

CP faculty described how the various ways they experienced and witnessed whiteness inform their understanding of themselves as racial beings. How CP faculty perceived their racial and intersecting identities, in comparison and contrast to white cultural norms, evolved based on their familial and academic socialization to whiteness and the quality of their experience in a white cultural and academic system.

Whiteness advantages and empowers White people, acting as the invisible norm. Keeping whiteness out of White people's awareness—and keeping it disconnected from

the marginalization and oppression of people of color—protects it from challenge. Whiteness is homogenous and rigid in its binaries; CP faculty noted that it co-opts White people's cultural and ethnic identity, further aligning White people with the dominant systemic powers. CP faculty of color reported that experiences of marginalization and oppression could result in awareness of the many processes through which whiteness privileges and advantages White people. In the following section, the experiences of White CP faculty and CP faculty of color are described separately as whiteness had different implications for faculty.

Implications of Whiteness for White Counseling Psychology Faculty

Participants noted the following implications of systemic whiteness for White CP faculty: disconnection from white ethnic and cultural identity, psychological privilege, and psychological cost in the form of disconnection from self and others (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Whiteness for White Counseling Psychology Faculty
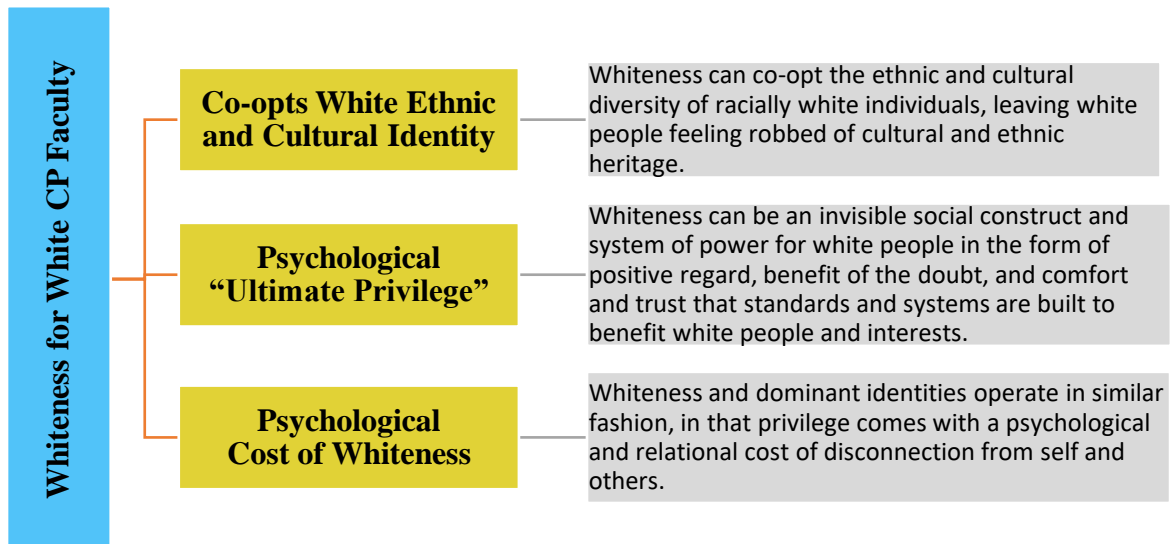
Co-opts White Ethnic and Cultural Identity. Examining the meaning associated with being White from a historical and sociocultural perspective helped participants glean whiteness's homogenizing, assimilative, and co-opting nature . CP faculty imparted meaning to being White in America by considering slavery, colonization, genocide, racism, violence, and white supremacy, both historical and ongoing. CP faculty discussed police murder of Black people, emboldened white supremacist violence, and the election of Trump as examples of interpersonal and systemic whiteness in America.

Whiteness permeates and dominates all facets of life in the U.S. Monica noted that she found White people in the U.S. use the White race interchangeably with being American, rather than as an element of some Americans' identity. Monica stated,

> … whiteness was synonymous with being American. Which was really interesting to me because I do know there's quite a lot of people from other countries or who identify ethnically as one thing, but racially as White. But it's a different kind of White than American White.

Identification with a geographic location and nation exemplifies the extent to which whiteness permeates and informs culture, norms, and structures in American society. White people bestow themselves power by internalizing and enacting socialized white supremacy and through institutionalized whiteness so much that they have a sense of ownership of America as they identify with America's White mainstream culture. The homogenizing, assimilative, and co-opting nature of whiteness can be gleaned by examining the meaning of being White from a historical and socio-cultural perspective. CP faculty imparted meaning to what it means to be White in America by considering the history of slavery, colonization, genocide, racism, violence, and white supremacy that are ongoing today. CP faculty discussed the murder of Black people by police, boldened

76

white supremacist violence, and the election of Trump as examples of interpersonal and systemic whiteness in America.

Whiteness operates as an omnipresent and invisible force to White people, socializing White people to be blind to their "mainstream" values and culture. Whiteness can co-opt White individuals' ethnic and cultural diversity, leaving White people feeling robbed of cultural and ethnic heritage. Doris, self-identified African America CP faculty commented on the lack of connection to ethnic roots she observes among White clients:

> I think that it's also a group where variations are overlooked. And what I mean is, in practice, I always ask people if they identify with a particular group or ethnicity, and more often than not, my clients who are White say "just White, just American." And I say, "Well, do you identify as Italian or German or anything like that?" And "no, just White," and it's very different for other groups.

Internalizing homogenous white standards and cultural values leaves little room for ethnic and cultural identity for both White people and people of color. White individuals perceive socialized whiteness as a lack of identity. White CP faculty shared their struggles to articulate ethnic and cultural traditions and values in the face of societal silence about whiteness. Participants reported their white students and clients feeling that they do not have a culture. Thus, identifying only as white and internalizing the construct of whiteness can negate identity. Meanwhile, white CP faculty witness a celebration of culture in people and faculty of color.

There is a struggle to articulate white cultural and ethnic traditions and values as society is silent about whiteness in general. Identifying only as White and internalizing the construct of whiteness leads to overlooking and enacting whiteness that can be identity negating for White people. Monica described interacting with a White colleague and students who express lacking cultural heritage and a sense of identity:

"I just feel jealous that you have such a strong identity to hold on to; that sets you apart." I've heard this from multiple different White students that they don't have a story, that they [don't] feel as valid or impactful as peers of color or peers of other minority identity. Which, in some ways, I can understand. They feel like they don't have anything valid to contribute. They say, "I don't have any struggle in relation to this" or "We don't have any cool cultural things that we do," that they see!

White people perceive culture and race as marginalization and tension between mainstream whiteness and racial others. As White people do not experience marginality, they fail to see themselves as racial and cultural beings, leading to a sense of loss. On the one hand, culture is admired and wanted; on the other hand, white ignorance preserves dominance and power and propagates homogenous white values and culture. Culture and race gain meaning from the perceived tension between whiteness and non-whiteness.

Psychological "Ultimate Privilege." Systemic and structural whiteness is ever-present and all-encompassing. Whiteness is the "invisible," the "ultimate privilege" connoted with being "human" (Sara). As whiteness is not articulated but instead used as a universal norm, it becomes for White people invisible and synonymous with being normal and human. Being centered and portrayed as valuable leads to feeling valued, which confers a cognitive and psychic privilege at the expense of and marginalization of people of color. Sara, self-identified White CP faculty, described whiteness:

> It is the ultimate privilege, privileged identity in this culture and community in that it allows people to deny that they're privileged. Because of this, it is supremacy. And the greatest form of privilege is denying that privilege... because it's so prevalent as the privileged identity, it's easy to forget. People forget about whiteness and take it for granted that it's just this is human, and this is what it means to be human.

Socially constructed and systematically reinforced white norms of humanity bestow comfort and assign unfounded value to White people. Whiteness can be an invisible social construct and power system for White people in the form of positive regard, benefit of the

doubt, and comfort and trust that standards and procedures are built to benefit White people

and their interests. White success can further affirm already held beliefs that one is

intelligent and worthy. Eva, self-identified African American CP faculty, noted,

> …when I think about whiteness, I really think about whiteness as just one area of privilege. My understanding of that is that as a person with privilege, so in this case, as a White person, it's just you don't have to think about it. That your experience is that your way of being is the norm, and you don't have to spend a lot of time imagining how your norm impacts anybody else, for better or worse.

Mark, a self-identified White cis man CP faculty, acknowledged and articulated

whiteness being a psychological privilege. This privilege leads to different expectations

and treatment in academia when it comes to career advancement. Mark described his

experience of whiteness:

> I definitely experience it as a psychological privilege. I think some of this is put in context for me, like having colleagues of color I'm working alongside and have gone through the tenure process with. Really, that whole process has really illuminated the privilege that comes with being a White faculty member and the psychological perks of not having to worry about certain things, or being treated differently by my peers, having different expectations, and all of that stuff.

The burden of having to disprove stereotypes and to carry the cognitive and

affective burden of discrimination that CP faculty of color bear is something Mark

recognized not having to contend with, as he was assumed capable. Psychological

privilege instills confidence and advantages White people. This psychological privilege is

not something people of color benefit from as a matter of their ascribed race. Jack, self-

identified Black cis man CP faculty, noted,

> …[it] is this notion of not having to think about issues around race, racism, anything meaningful, or at least not in a way that brings them to question their own capabilities or abilities in the world in a way that they are perceived. It's the luxury of being able to think about other things or even having the comfort to know that this thing is not something that is a barrier for you.

Mark further elaborated on the privilege of trusting that tenure standards and his colleagues' regard will work in his favor as a White man, without needing to strategize to protect himself or to make additional considerations for career advancement. Reflecting on his psychological privilege and the discrepancy between his process and the experiences of his colleagues of color, Mark understood his privilege is a result of tenure standards being created by and for White academics. He understood that those standards and procedures dismiss, devalue, and render invisible the disproportionate work of CP faculty of color.

Ignorance to whiteness carries privilege and comfort for White people who do not see or face whiteness's impact on marginalized groups. Mark noted,

> It occurs to me that whiteness removes that requirement of strategy. I feel that way that whiteness removes the requirement to be as strategic in those ways. The closer you are to whiteness, the less strategic you need to be. The farther you are, and this gets for me [to] colorism, the farther you are from whiteness, the more strategic you need to be.

Privilege and meritocracy create a double standard in which White people are either unaware of or can afford to disregard marginalization experiences. Those who are marginalized are aware of whiteness manifestations as they need to be strategic, cautious of the danger whiteness poses.

Psychological Cost of Whiteness for White People. The cost of whiteness to White people was articulated mainly by CP faculty of color, who came to understand the cost via literature, through the personal experience of whiteness from their privileged and marginalized identities, and by witnessing the negative impact of "unexamined whiteness" (Emma) on White male clients.

Jack, self-identified Black cis man CP faculty, spoke to disconnection from self and others as a psychological cost of whiteness for White people, which he initially learned from Dr. Spanierman (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). He noted,

> There's some real cost to White folks for being within the system of white supremacy and oppression. It really distances. They can't other that process of othering… My own spirituality, my own journey, there are some implications for it there as well. It would be hard for me to try to really pinpoint and describe or expand on how much spirituality factors into that because I'm still working on it. But there certainly is something about separating ourselves from other people and othering them that does harm to us as well.

Jack reflected on the impact his privileged spiritual identity has on his psyche and his perception of others. He noted internalizing and thinking in identity binaries in "separating ourselves from other people" based on spiritual beliefs that led him to "other" those who do not hold his identity. White racial identity and other dominant identities operate similarly in that privilege carries a psychological and relational cost of othering and disconnection. Doris, self-identified African American cis woman CP faculty, articulated the burden and distress she witnessed in White male private practice clients as a function of interaction between sociopolitical context and intersecting White and dominant gender and sexual identities:

> … whiteness, there's this unexamined aspect of their lives, which I think correlates with whiteness. I think that they're buckling under the burden, but there hasn't been a path or an avenue to consider if this is a burden. And that is something that communities of color and women don't have to do… White males, in particular, don't get that, and then they're buckling under the pressure of hypermasculinity. But it's a non-examined thing. And so that is my experience of whiteness and private practice, that people come in distressed because of societal pressures, but there's no recognition of that stress as being society or contextually induced.

White men do not have to attune to how whiteness shapes their identity and daily lives, as people of color and women do, because cultural and systemic whiteness does not threaten their safety, nor limit their access to spaces, experiences, and resources. For

White men, beliefs of superiority are maintained by othering people of color, disconnecting from their own drive to connect with fellow human beings for companionship and learning about different realities.

On a professional level, several CP faculty of color noted that their White colleagues devalued their work and scientific contributions and those of other CP faculty of color, even when the contributions were specific to multicultural practice and training—an area of study and practice that participants noted CP faculty of color are too often tasked with. Unexamined socialization to whiteness and patriarchy benefits White men, and especially White CP faculty, as they justify psychological and systemic privileges as a function of personal merit rather than socialized and institutionalized advantage. However, it is also harmful and leads to psychological costs, as White CP faculty's ability to address the distress and burden inherent in whiteness is limited by socialized ignorance and complacence with whiteness. The cost also includes a limited understanding of cultural and systemic whiteness, missed opportunities to enact stated values in psychological practice, and carrying the psychological burden of ancestors with a shared racial identity inflicting violence and marginalization on people of color, along with the violence and marginalization they inflict on colleagues and trainees of color.

Implication of Whiteness for Counseling Psychology Faculty of Color

      The implications of systemic whiteness for CP faculty of color were noted to be epistemic privilege about whiteness and several forms of threat due to marginalization and oppression in a white system. See Figure 3.3 for a summary of themes.

Figure 3.3: Whiteness for Counseling Psychology Faculty of Color
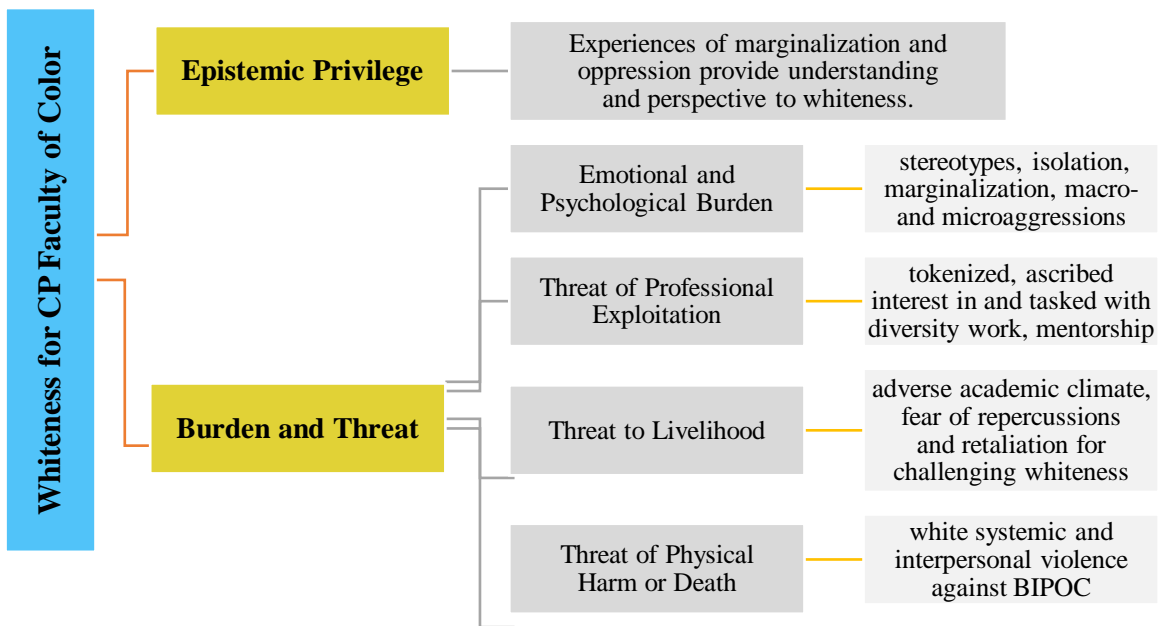
      Epistemic Privilege. CP faculty of color described experiencing whiteness on intrapersonal, interpersonal, and systemic levels as marginalization, violence, oppression, and harm. These experiences lead to an experiential awareness of what it means to be a person of color in a cultural, academic, and sociopolitical system informed by whiteness. Several participants of color noted that people of color and women are socialized to be vigilant and to navigate the threats of whiteness.

      Socialization coupled with experiences of marginalization and oppression can provide insight into "the process" (Doris) of how whiteness operates on interpersonal and systemic levels. Doris, along with several other participants of color and with

marginalized identities, described employing socialized behaviors and strategies to recognize whiteness and other dominant threats. Navigating whiteness was noted as a necessity for personal safety for CP faculty of color and participants with other marginalized identities. Socialization emerged as a tool of both domination and resistance. As a tool of domination, participants described being socialized to uncritical complacence with ascribed identity-related norms, and cultural and systemic whiteness. As a tool of resistance and self-protection, CP faculty of color and with other marginalized identities noted being socialized to evade threats of internalizing and propagating cultural and systemic whiteness.

CP faculty of color described growing in critical awareness of whiteness through experiences of marginalization and pervasive threat that permeate both their personal and professional lives. All the participants of color spoke about the current social and political climate, where the Trump administration bolsters overt and violent displays of white supremacy, as a stark reminder of reality for all regardless of race. Doris noted that for her as a woman of color, the threat of white violence does not waver, unlike for White people who may be under the illusion of "getting to be a post-racial society." She further stated, "but I don't think that's people of color. We like, anything's possible" (Doris). Jack shared about the heavy burden and threat he experiences as a Black man due to the increasingly violent white supremacist climate.

> There [are] many instances, too many to name, unfortunately, around President Trump's comments. Those are things when whiteness becomes very salient for me because of racism, in particular. Even as I'm recognizing that and responding to this question, whiteness is almost always about racism, race and racism, not necessarily about the privilege piece of it. That's probably because of my position, my social position as a person of color.

Jack described whiteness as ever-present based on the personal impact of racism from his "social position as a person of color." Vigilance and behavioral strategies to protect oneself, resist, and examine whiteness are socialized and learned by participants of color, women, and participants with other marginalized identities. Doris observed that whiteness "is not an unexamined thing for my clients of color and for some of the women who are not of color as well"—unlike for White clients who, while benefiting from whiteness, do not understand it. Doris elaborated that women and people of color are socialized to observe the system because personal safety may depend on identifying and managing threats inherent in interpersonal and systemic interactions.

> Women get socialized into how the world operates. You cannot walk through a park in the dark at 2 a.m… You can't go out and drink and not have a buddy with you. There are some things that women are trained to be aware of—taught to be aware of. There are some things that people of color are taught to be aware of. Look at the process. Look at what's really meant as opposed to what's said.

CP faculty of color articulated behavioral strategies and decision-making processes about when, where, and how to engage with violent and biased White colleagues in a system set up to prioritize White people's interest, authority, and knowledge. Emma stated, "I was in a department of white men." As a young African American woman and early career psychologist, Emma said that she "spent a lot of time watching how the game is played and how the rules were played before I decide how I'm going to play." Emma observed both the content and the process by which "rules" of interaction and training—social convention, training standards, and procedures—were enacted in her department. The white patriarchal culture underpinning social and procedural departmental processes has been noted as a prominent source of threat by CP

faculty of color. For Emma and other CP faculty of color, observing to critically understand the white departmental culture was an important step in managing threat.

Through experiences of marginalization and critical understanding of the self-preserving white system, CP faculty of color develop the epistemic privilege of understanding whiteness as power that informs culture and systems and that has adverse impacts on them as people of color with multiple intersecting dominant and marginalized identities. CP faculty of color noted the need for ongoing critical analysis of their personal and collective identity-related experiences, as everyone is subject to socialization and internalization of mainstream, normative whiteness.

Burden and Threat. Participants of color shared experiencing chronic and pervasive threat across personal and professional roles, such as partners, parents, coaches, teachers, therapists, and researchers. In navigating whiteness, CP faculty of color described being vigilant and cognizant of the threats inherent in a self-propagating hierarchical system of whiteness that aims to assimilate, subjugate, or eliminate those it deems inferior. Participants of color described their mere existence within the academic space as an act of resistance and challenge. CP faculty of color described the impact of cultural and institutionalized whiteness as multiple forms of threat and burden.

Emotional and Psychological Burden. All participants of color reported living in predominantly white neighborhoods and, with the exception of two participants, working in predominantly white institutions and departments. Participants of color shared pervasive emotional and psychological burden, resulting in adverse white spaces. Some of the reported experiences included: lack of community, lack of support, physical and emotional isolation in adverse white spaces, being tokenized, being professionally

exploited, being physically and professionally threatened, being subject to overt acts of racism, being subject to and witnessing white violence, marginalization, being scrutinized for physical appearance, and daily microaggressions. Emma stated,

> I've spent most of my life in predominantly white areas, so I've always known of myself as the other. Whether or not other people commented on it, and I am generally pretty aware when I'm the only one.

CP faculty isolated in white spaces noted feeling increasingly vulnerable and fearful of asserting themselves and challenging racist actions due to further negative consequences, such as being further targeted by White colleagues and students. Ana, self-identified woman MENA CP faculty, stated, "You're so isolated and you're so vulnerable as an assistant professor" after receiving negative evaluations for a multicultural class. Knowing she had support—fellow women colleagues who recognized and validated her experience—she shared a sense of relief: "Now I know I'm not the only one, I'm not the only woman."

CP faculty of color described feeling "othered" (Emma) as an "outsider" (Beatrice) and encountered frequent stereotypes in interactions with trainees and colleagues. Micro- and macroaggressions worked to disempower, marginalize, and undermine CP faculty of color. Eva described painful experiences after which she spent "a lot of cognitive energy" trying to make sense of what happened: "is this because I am Black? Is this because of something else?" Some microaggressions left CP faculty of color seeking colleagues of color and of other marginalized identities for support and validation. Participants also reported overt and intentional incidents of aggression by White colleagues and students. Jack shared about being stopped by a grocery store attendant while exiting the facility with his partner's father, who is White:

…it was very clear that we were together. He was not asked for a receipt, I was. That was one way in which his whiteness was operating for him. The person that stopped us was White, from what I could tell.

CP faculty of color navigate adverse personal and professional spaces being regarded with suspicion and negative attributions. Meanwhile, White CP faculty receive the benefit of the doubt, are positively regarded, and do not have to spend cognitive energy thinking about whether harmful and invalidating interactions are manifestations of systemic and cultural whiteness.

Experiences of stereotypes and microaggressions among CP faculty of color varied from assumptions of being "the help," having scientific contributions and service dismissed, assumptions of being intellectually inferior, accusations of being biased because of race and self-interested when speaking up about microaggressions, and racial profiling. Emma, self-identified African American woman CP faculty, stated, "I'm very aware of whiteness" as she lives in a predominantly white area. She noted,

I'm very aware of what happens when people have to deal with me or choose to deal with me or have their stereotypes of what it means to be me. I mean, still people don't assume that I'm a faculty member.

CP faculty of color, like Emma, reported that the burden of being the first faculty member of color (or one of few) is fraught with microaggressions from White colleagues and students. Participants experienced invalidations and negative stereotypes, like assumptions they are menial or support staff. Underlying these microaggressions are beliefs that CP faculty of color are less intelligent or capable than their White colleagues, and that people of color cannot hold doctorates or positions as faculty and instead belong in menial jobs. Emma shared another macroaggression she experienced at a restaurant where she went out to lunch with a colleague:

We were sitting in the restaurant and at that time of day there was no one else in the dining area where we happen to be. An older White woman came around the corner from another part of the dining area, holding a water pitcher, an empty water pitcher. She looked around, didn't see anybody, any employees. She saw us sitting there, walked over and handed me the pitcher and said she needed some water.

Chronic experiences of micro- and macroaggressions leave CP faculty of color in the challenging position of having to be vigilant as they continue to live and work in an adverse social and work climate. Emma indicated that, living in a predominantly white area, she does not feel wanted nor positively regarded by people around her: "when people have to deal with me." Feeling unwanted or criminalized can lead to feeling disposable and unsafe.

Some participants of color reported high levels of stress and fear for their own life or their family's lives, especially in the context of the Trump administration and police killing of Black individuals. Some participants who are Black or African American cited police killings as a major stressor: merely existing in a white society, a run-in with cops or White terrorists can have fatal consequences. The emotional impact of chronic vigilance and white supremacist violence can carry a heavy cognitive and emotional toll.

Daily harm indignities, and overt and covert racism leave CP faculty of color feeling othered, belittled, unsafe, and criminalized. Participants described feeling exhausted and burdened navigating a white supremacist system, being constantly vigilant and ready to protect oneself in a system that exploits them.

Threat of Professional Exploitation. Host institutions and programs were noted to benefit from CP faculty of color's labor without properly compensating or considering contributions in the promotion process. Experiences of professional exploitation of ranged from being tokenized, ascribed interest in psychology practice in marginalized

communities, tasked with diversity and inclusion work, and charged with mentoring students and faculty of color.

Except for two participants who work in historically Black colleges and universities, all faculty of color reported being the only or one of few people of color in their department. Participants noted feeling exploited and reduced to a visual diversity check rather than being appreciated for their intellect, skills, and contributions. Emma, a late-career African American CP faculty member, shared that she was the only faculty member of color when she started her first faculty job and that she "replaced the previous faculty member of color." Tokenization can leave faculty isolated, competing for the one position in a department, and being ascribed interest or opportunities based on biases of White colleagues who have power inherent to seniority, status, and consensus.

Assigning diversity and inclusion work to CP faculty of color is an overt action of white evasion of responsibility and accountability, one which curtails the professional interests and roles CP faculty of color may actually have or want. Mark spoke to this as a burden and an "example of different expectations" imposed on CP faculty of color:

> Even though I have some experience and expertise in the area, I am often not the first person who's looked to to do the inclusive excellence presentation on admission day or join a committee on inclusive excellence… those roles are important and great. But what we see is that faculty of color get overburdened and over-serviced.

Tasking CP faculty of color with diversity work implies that White faculty are not accountable for diversity and inclusion in their daily practice and, moreover, that some psychology practice is not socially and culturally situated. Both White participants and participants of color noted a need for White CP faculty to recognize that both personal

and professional aspects of life are socially situated, and that change requires joint commitment to action.

Another aspect of professional exploitation endorsed by CP faculty of color was the assumption that epistemic privilege about cultural, interpersonal, and systemic whiteness renders CP faculty and trainees of color automatically multiculturally competent. Participants of color noted that trainees and faculty of all racial backgrounds tend to seek faculty of color to process incidents of racial bias, gain support and reassurance about identity-related experiences, and find advice for strategies. Monica, self-identified multiracial Brown multi-ethnic CP faculty, noted that being a person of color does not translate to MC nor to expertise in equity, diversity, and inclusion work:

> Something about a person of color is seen as an expert or seen as able to talk about these things. That's not a prerequisite at all.

CP faculty of color are asked to implement institutional diversity- and inclusion-related goals in institutions where administrators do not value and resist change to the status quo. They are often expected to single-handedly carry departments' and institutions' recruitment, retention, and diversification agendas without appropriate support or resources. Moreover, diversity and retention work can carry added emotional burden as faculty take on vicarious experiences of marginalization and oppression. Participants acknowledged the emotional and cognitive burden of being part of a system that affords one less power while also being tasked with challenging power and fixing the system that White colleagues propagate. As a result, CP faculty of color reported feeling exhausted and burdened. Kate shared,

> The distribution of the emotional labor is not equally distributed. And so, I have to muster up the energy and say something that is not, people don't really like, feel uncomfortable about. It's my emotional [burden]. It's taxing me.

In addition to exploitation for diversity quotas, CP faculty of color reported a heavier load of responsibilities unrelated to promotion and thus, a reduced capacity compared to White colleagues for promotion-related activities. CP faculty of color are often tasked with mentoring students and fellow faculty of color. This can burden faculty who do not get credit for mentoring more students than their White colleagues. For example, Kate, an Asian American woman CP faculty noted that majority of the trainees she mentors are people of color, which carries a specific emotional weight. She shared,

> That's my role, and I'm honored to be that person that people come to. And at the same time, how awesome would it be that students of color felt comfortable going to a white male professor and having that person carry that emotional, just carry those emotions.

The division of labor among White CP faculty and CP faculty of color is unbalanced. CP faculty of color are assigned the emotionally laborious task of supporting those disproportionately impacted by whiteness and marginalized in departments, while they themselves are subject to the adverse climate. Furthermore, faculty of color are expected and recommended to volunteer work and time that is not systematically rewarded or recognized. On the other hand, White faculty enjoy cognitive freedom to pursue their interests and prioritize non-promotion-related service that may be monetarily rewarded and help them advance in career.

Threat to Livelihood — "Professional Suicide." CP faculty of color noted that speaking up about the impact of whiteness, articulating how whiteness informs policies and procedures, and advocating for change is often met with resistance, defensiveness, and dismissiveness by White colleagues. Resisting whiteness can have repercussions for both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. Participants of color isolated in adverse academic climates shared feeling fearful of repercussions and vulnerable to retaliation

from White colleagues (i.e., barriers to career advancement) for addressing whiteness interpersonally and in program policies and procedures.

Participants identified faculty meetings and multicultural classes as having the most contentious discussions about whiteness. CP faculty of color noted challenging procedures, policies, and decisions about admissions, hiring, remediation, and resource allocation in faculty meetings. Regarding multicultural classes, CP faculty of color described discomfort and fear of retaliation when providing feedback to White colleagues and students. Kate, a self-identified Asian American mid-career CP faculty, shared feeling fearful of repercussions and persevering in pointing out value incongruence during a faculty meeting:

> In the moment, I feel very fired up, and then I walk away and "Oh my gosh, have I just put myself at risk for being seen as a troublemaker or someone who's not playing well or is resistant"... It's usually after the fact that I feel and I start to just perseverate like, "Oh, should I have said that? How could I have said it differently?" and it's just exhausting because my hunch is that with white cisgender men, heterosexual men when they say things like that they go home and sleep very well.

Kate described a fear of being labeled as a troublemaker or resistant by White colleagues and weighing the risk of retaliation within a predominantly white department. She elaborated, "I worry about retaliation… that's what I take home with me." Losing an academic job has both professional and personal implications, as Kate has a family and kids to support. Late-career CP faculty with dominant identities may reprimand, delay promotion, terminate, or influence considerations for other open academic positions if a CP faculty member of color were laid off or decided to relocate. On a personal level, an adverse work environment is detrimental to the well-being of CP faculty of color, who already shoulder disproportionate burden and threat. Furthermore, promotion delays and

93

pay inequity impact the financial wellness of CP faculty of color. If faculty were to decide to leave a position for another job in academia, such a move may require relocation for the entire family and considerable financial loss.

When confronted with feedback from CP faculty of color, White CP faculty and administrators were noted to give discompassionate responses, use southern politeness, white fragility, anger, silence, disengage from dialogue, leave trainings, excuse current racist incidents by pointing out historical progress, and disarm feedback by claiming to have a social justice agenda. These responses served to heighten CP faculty of color's sense of vulnerability, uncertainty, and threat.

CP faculty of color consciously choose to address whiteness in academic and professional roles, embracing vulnerability and taking on considerable risk. Participants of color understood the necessity to assume risk, as silence and complacence with the status quo would only maintain a system that perpetuates their own marginalization. Beatrice, a self-identified Black biracial CP faculty, described weighing the consequences and benefits of disclosing growth edges in teaching multicultural courses. She feared consequences to her career if students were to report her as incompetent or biased as a Black woman. She consulted a mentor about "grappling" with being open and vulnerable and thus assuming the risk of defying the whiteness-informed expectation to be perfect:

> … she was really resisting the idea of—and she's also a woman of color—of disclosing her growth areas, particularly around race, because she didn't want to. She worried it would backfire. I think of what white students would say, "Oh wow, you got your own stuff. So why?" It sounds like she was like, "I'm not gonna air dirty laundry like that" or "I'm not gonna commit professional suicide in order for you to grow" deal. I've been grappling with that.

Beatrice noted ongoing struggle in deciding whether to present multicultural material in an intellectual versus authentic and vulnerable manner. She chose to assume

the risk of being authentic and vulnerable because "it's more effective that way," modeling reflexivity and lifelong learning to her students. She further noted,

> The alternative is that I come with a harsh judgmental [tone] and appear to be that way and not be vulnerable. Students will shut down and be super resistant and not want to be honest about where things are, some of the things that they've learned and need to try to unpack. So I'm okay with it, and there's some sort of grappling with it, too, at times.

Beatrice took a risk for her students' benefit, knowing that being vulnerable could be weaponized by White students and the department. CP faculty of color in the study often prioritized the department's and students' interests, embracing vulnerability and giving generously of themselves to further social justice and diversity values. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color shared feeling anxious about student defensiveness when examining whiteness and disclosing personal growth edges in classes. Some participants noted approaching multicultural classes as an intellectual exercise, rather than a personal and affective one, to alleviate their own and their students' anxieties.

Threat of Physical Harm or Death. The threat of physical harm and death by White people and systems are realities for people of color. CP faculty of color shared early experiences of physical assault by White people, personal and familial experiences with cops, and witnessing violence and murder of Black and Brown people in the media. Encounters with violence ranged from being stared at in public to physical assault. Emma related a childhood experience when her mother took her to the "white neighborhood":

> I remember being spit on by White kids in the car when I was walking with my mom once. I very vividly remember that experience. I don't know what I thought of White people at that point. I just remember that experience.

The experience informed Emma's understanding of whiteness as fraught with violence. She noted that her mother and father had different experiences with whiteness,

coming from the south and north, respectively. She pondered how her personal and vicarious experiences with White people and in white spaces inform how she feels about and relates to White people.

Participants of color noted living in predominantly white neighborhoods where they often have encounters with police or unfriendly neighbors. Doris, self-identified African American woman CP faculty, spoke about fearing for her son's safety as they live in an affluent white area with Trump supporters. When asked whether she felt safe in her neighborhood, Doris hesitated to acknowledge fear for her safety but noted,

> My hesitancy is because I have a son who's a boy and he is 11. When he's a teenager, I worry about "Oh, if he's walking around or driving around, will people notice him?" I think that maybe a Black male adolescent is more striking than a little brown boy… I have a friend who lives in a neighborhood similar to mine in Texas. When her son started high school and needed to catch the bus and walked through the community a certain path, her husband went to the HOA and was like, "Listen, this is my son. This is the path he's going to be taking. We don't want; I want you to be aware so we don't want any drama." … So maybe in several years, I'll need to sit down and have that conversation.

Doris hesitated to note fear of physical threat, as it is debilitating to live in constant fear. She discussed inviting neighbors to celebratory events and educating them about her spiritual and cultural heritage to connect, foster a sense of community, and develop safety for herself and her family. Other CP faculty of color described using their privilege, whether economic, educational, or service to the community, to navigate and bolster their sense of safety in white neighborhoods. Faculty of color expressed some sadness about capitalizing on status to navigate whiteness and leveraging privilege for security, because that privilege and power are byproducts of systemic whiteness.

The personal and professional experiences of both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color differed considerably. Participants expressed awareness of experiential

96

differences; however, CP faculty of color were more attuned to the process and manifestations of whiteness in relationships and training programs. Cultural and institutionalized whiteness informed all participants' experiences. White CP faculty experienced whiteness as mainly advantages and discomfort when apprised of their role in racism. CP faculty of color reported marginalization and navigating chronic threat. CP faculty articulated systemic aspects of whiteness in academia that enable maintenance and propagation of whiteness in psychology. Specifically, participants described the covert manner in which white values and conventions inform MC.

Multicultural Competence a White Construct

CP faculty experienced whiteness and spoke about whiteness in the profession and academia on multiple levels. Whiteness was elucidated through discussion of normative whiteness that permeates standards and informs the need for MC. CP faculty in their respective roles as educators, administrators, researchers, mentors, advocates, and leaders articulated ways that white values and norms covertly inform professional roles and standards, and even the profession's conceptualization of the need for and attributes of the competencies and skills that comprise MC. CP faculty emphasized MC as a skill to be acquired by White people without addressing whiteness.

CP faculty highlighted four challenges with the current approach to MC in the field and training: (a) it inherently centers white interest, (b) it leaves whiteness unnamed and unexamined, (c) it is often treated as an area of specialty and expertise, and (d) the competency-based learning model used in psychology graduate training leads to equating multicultural training with acquired mastery, knowledge, and skills. See a brief description and descriptive quotes in Table 3.1.

97

Table 3.1: Multicultural Competence a White Construct

Theme	Description	Example quote
Centers White Interest	Multicultural competence evolved as a theory and term to address the white normative aspect of the profession of psychology, lack of access, and harmful services by White providers.	"So it's interesting because I think we have, I hope this is not too controversial to say, but I do think we have created a multiculturally competent movement that is through the lens of whiteness. So, to quote-unquote fix White people." (Eva)
Leaves Whiteness Unexamined	Although aimed to "remediate White students," leaves whiteness unexamined by focusing on the non-White other.	"And I grapple a lot with just even the language that we use because it's still very othering, and it's essentializing. And I talked about this with my colleagues about multicultural orientation. Who are we developing this framework for? Because if you're talking about cultural comfort, people, lots of people of color, like a Black gay man, we don't need to be talking to him about feeling comfort." (Kate)
Competency-Based Education	Reduces cultural practice to an intellectual and time-limited process, something that one can gain mastery of through completing a class. Leads to complacency with normative whiteness and halts development.	"I think professionally, I have seen that as a major barrier, especially once you leave your training. I think in some ways, especially as a White person, it becomes even easier to get into a state of complacency and see that work as having been your training and disengaging. I just think academia is set up so that you could do that. And so that, I see that as a barrier." (Mark)
Expertise — Burden of Perfection	The assumption of expertise can be limiting and anxiety-provoking for faculty, who internalize expectation to be perfect, know everything, not make mistakes. Expertise does not leave room for humanity and need for continuous learning and attunement to the experiences of others.	"Sometimes in our academic spaces, I think we've become we, the royal we, become hostile in a way that doesn't leave room for people to be imperfect and grow, which I think traps us into a role and a pressure for being perfect ourselves. And I think that is antithetical to multicultural competence." (Melody)

Centers White Interest

Participants noted that MC as theory and movement aims to address the white normative aspect of psychology, diversify the predominantly White professional community, and address harmful services by White providers. In practice, faculty reduced the focus of multicultural courses to the "remediation" (Mark) of White psychologists and trainees. Participants noted that White CP faculty and trainees lack systemic understanding of whiteness and racial self-awareness. Eva stated,

> I hope this is not too controversial to say, but we have created a multiculturally competent movement that is through the lens of whiteness. To quote-unquote fix White people.

Participants identified a dynamic where multicultural courses center White trainees' education and development. Yet, the work of enacting social justice, diversity, and inclusion in all aspects of training falls on faculty and trainees of color. The current framework provides a bleak or no depiction of MC in all forms of psychology practice besides White psychologists working with clients of color. Participants noted that CP faculty of color and trainees are assumed multiculturally competent and experts as a function of being a person of color. Cultural competence becomes an attribute associated with White or non-White racial identity rather than training and intentional examination of one's relation to and participation in systems of power and domination.

CP faculty of color articulated that everyone is socialized to a profession informed by whiteness. It is impossible to escape it or exist outside of it. Kate noted that in the development of multicultural theory and professional jargon, psychologists inadvertently center white interest while attempting to educate and co-center diverse perspectives:

Even as a person of color, I am working under a white frame. This is a white phenomenon. This is therapy in the U.S. in that it's white. Even when we use terms like multicultural orientation, multicultural competence, social justice, diversity, intersectionality, those very, very terms are white constructs.

Kate observed that multicultural theories and approaches aim to educate White psychologists, thus centering the needs of White professionals and students. As CP faculty of color work under a "white frame" and practice remains a "white phenomenon," these theories serve only as a reminder for White psychologists to consider themselves cultural agents and the practice of psychology culturally informed and socially situated. Kate and several other participants highlighted that the participation of trainees and CP faculty of color does not diversify or expand the practice of psychology. The academic and professional frame socializes trainees and CP faculty of color, along with White colleagues, to center white interest, preserve white advantage, and prioritize White people's health.

CP faculty noted that the education and growth of trainees of color are often neglected in multicultural courses because the curriculum is based on the professional interests of White CP faculty and prioritizes the needs of White students. In MC classes, participants noted, students and faculty of color are often exploited for White students' educational benefit. They are at times expected to share painful experiences of violence and harm to educate White peers and faculty. Eva discussed managing expectations to center White student needs while working to also educate trainees of color:

…the idea of multicultural competence is to create equitable spaces for everyone, yet our focus has been White people. White people doing the work of White people. That's why a lot of times, multicultural competent and [in] multicultural classes we see a bunch of burdens placed on students of color or students of different sexual orientations to give of themselves to White people to help them understand, help them grow and help them be enlightened. Then you hear from

folks of marginalized identities in those courses, and they feel they've got nothing from it.

Participants highlighted that teaching White trainees about other racial groups also maintains and preserves the status quo. Trainees of diverse racial and intersecting identities do not have the opportunity to reflect on whiteness as historical, economic, and sociopolitical cultural power or on their participation in white systems that propagate oppression and marginalization. When history, systems, and actions remain unexamined, the status quo remains unchallenged. CP faculty noted that students of marginalized identities often report not benefiting from multicultural courses that aim to expand the cross-cultural experience and knowledge of White peers. Multicultural courses that exploit the pain and marginalization of students and CP faculty of color for the benefit of White colleagues are yet another form of violence and harm.

Several CP faculty of color noted that the language used to describe the impact of whiteness as a cultural, ideological, and structural hierarchy is substituted with privilege and racism to protect white comfort and avoid reactions of white guilt, fragility, and rage. Kate emphasized that even theoretical terms, language, and application of MC inadvertently center the "comfort" of White trainees and psychologists:

> I grapple a lot with the language that we use because it's still very othering. It's essentializing. I talked about this with my colleagues about multicultural orientation. Who are we developing this framework for? Because if you're talking about cultural comfort, lots of people of color like Black, like a Black gay man, we don't need to be talking to him about feeling comfort.

Along with several other participants, Kate reported struggling to expand the definition of MC and break away from the white frame of psychology that prioritizes White people's cultural comfort and. One of the challenges of the current training framework is that it seeks to facilitate "comfort" (Kate). CP faculty of color and other

marginalized identities bear chronic discomfort in white spaces, an experience that has not changed with diversity and inclusion efforts.

Several participants reported working to produce inclusive theories and knowledge that do not center White people's needs and comfort or enforce the dichotomous White-other divide. All participants recommended a shift toward redefining MC as humility and willingness to normalize the discomfort inherent in considering the heterogeneity of experience and power relations. Furthermore, CP faculty noted a need to rethink multicultural curriculum and training strategies to co-center diverse trainee needs. Current practices where White trainees are all deemed multiculturally deficient lead to trainees of color being neglected or exploited in classes because they are assumed to be multiculturally competent as a function of being a person of color. Such assumptions also deny the possibility that White trainees may not all be ignorant of their positionality.

Participants noted other aspects of MC that propagate whiteness: using MC as the end of development, the burden of being an infallible expert teaching multicultural classes, and assigning cultural competencies to faculty of color as a function of not being White.

Leaves Whiteness Unexamined

Multicultural classes center white interest by leaving whiteness as power and as a system of oppression unnamed and unexamined. Thus, multicultural courses preserve the status quo that advantages White trainees and faculty. Several participants reported that feedback from students with marginalized identities helped them engage in reflexivity about how their identities and position to power informed curricular content. Mark, self-identified White man CP faculty, received input from students of color that the multicultural curriculum is other-focused. He noted,

The way whiteness showed up for me in that example is satisfaction with status quo and, in a way, designing the course to meet the needs of White students.

After receiving feedback from students of color, he had a growing awareness of the pressure he felt to design the MC class to "remediate White students." The feedback helped Mark examine the role of his identity as a White man in propagating the status quo by focusing on and designing the curriculum to meet the needs of White students. He did not previously critically examine or consider that the professional convention is informed by white culture and centers the White public's, students', and faculty's interest. Unexamined whiteness lurks in the shadows of everyday practice, standards, curricular content, and pedagogic approaches. The detrimental impact of historical, cultural, and systemic whiteness on students, colleagues, and larger communities of color remains unrecognized.

Most participants reported that faculty did not include whiteness in the graduate curriculum, nor did they explore how whiteness informs systems, racial socialization, and the practice of psychology. The curriculum reduced MC to the cultural knowledge of non-White others rather than awareness of oneself as a socially located racial and cultural being. Bella, self-identified White woman CP faculty, described her multicultural class:

"You need to be knowledgeable of other cultures." But there wasn't really this emphasis on knowledge of whiteness and white culture and what that looks like and how that impacts every interaction. … it's often so focused on the personal level.

Bella further highlighted that the focus on knowledge about others and personal privilege, biases, and blind spots did not translate to a critical understanding of whiteness as a system, nor awareness of herself as a White racial individual. Several participants shared that the foundation of social justice values helped expand the meaning of MC; however, it did not facilitate a personal awareness of how whiteness informed and impacted their personal and professional life.

103

Some CP faculty did not have a multicultural class, and the program curriculum did not touch on the significance of race or whiteness to the practice of psychology. Several White CP faculty and faculty of color noted that they came to more critically understand the meaning and interpersonal dynamics of race as a social construct in graduate school. Along with other participants, Emma warned that neglecting to talk about whiteness and race in training can lead to complacency, maintaining the status quo, and failing to recognize how whiteness manifests in practice and informs clients' experiences:

> As a master's student, no one ever told me I needed to talk about race. I don't remember ever bringing it up with the clients I saw as a master-level trainee. As a doctoral student, I remember bringing it up, trying to figure out how to talk about it. […] But figuring out how to talk about race, how to talk about gender, how to acknowledge that I was not a White person. And what did that mean?

Emma, an advanced career African American woman CP faculty, reported having to broach the topic of race during her studies and training at predominantly white institutions because it was not part of the curriculum, which was developed and implemented by White faculty. Emma could not overlook racial dynamics in session and engaged in self-reflection independently due to adverse experiences of rejection and harm by clients. Her White supervisor failed to recognize these experiences as an interpersonal dynamic informed by whiteness and was unable to support Emma as a trainee of color.

Participants had minimal to no discussion about whiteness during graduate training. Discussions related to whiteness were limited to white privilege and racism. Multicultural courses did not foster systemic awareness nor enable CP faculty to develop personal reflexivity around whiteness. Bella noted,

> … within the last three years, [I have] probably grown the most. It's been probably the most uncomfortable. I've had the most growing pains in terms of multicultural competence but also my understanding of whiteness… I think that my focus as a graduate student was very much on how am I helping other people,

104

what am I doing for other people, without understanding my own whiteness and without thinking about all of the whiteness that pervades various systems that I walk through or that I'm a part of on a regular basis.

All CP faculty noted gaining and growing in their personal and professional understanding of whiteness as faculty rather than as students. CP faculty reported significant post-training development entailing personal growth in racial identity, as well as historical and systemic understanding of how whiteness and other dominant powers inform all aspects of systems, shape their experiences and those of their trainees and clients, and permeate program structures, content, professional standards, and processes. CP faculty highlighted the professional standard of competence as another aspect of psychology training informed by whiteness and propagating whiteness.

Competency-based Education

The dilemma participants raise is that psychologists who have taken a multicultural class or completed a degree are assumed to have met the MC standard. Several noted that competency-based professional standards foster complacency with and propagate conventional whiteness in psychology practice and halt the development of MC post-graduation. Mark, a self-identified White man CP faculty, commented on reducing the acquisition and practice of MC to an intellectual and time-limited process, something one can master through completing a class or a graduate program:

> I have seen that as a major barrier, especially once you leave your training. In some ways, especially as a White person, it becomes even easier to get into a state of complacency and see that work as having been your training and disengaging. I think academia is set up so that you could do that. I see that as a barrier.

Thus, academia promotes the idea that MC can be attained and does not require work post-graduation. CP faculty may elect to disengage without personal or professional repercussions. White CP faculty have the privilege to avoid or stop considering their

relationship with whiteness and how whiteness impacts others. Psychologists who believe competence is achieved rather than ongoing fall into complacency with whiteness and contentment with the status quo.

Several CP faculty shared that the incremental growth in privilege and power associated with age, socioeconomic status, position, publications, and career stage (e.g., tenure) can diminish the urgency to engage in continuous growth and to expand the theory and practice of MC. Melody stated:

> The older I get and the sparklier I get and the more secure I get in my position, because that's a privilege that's very relevant in this conversation, it's very easy for me to disengage from that and say, "we don't need to throw out cultural competence, and we don't need to replace that with cultural humility."… It's not a destination. It is a concept that points to lifelong learning. In theory, we should all be lifelong learners in our scholarship, in our clinical practice, and then also in our development of cultural competence.

Cultural competence is reduced to a *destination* that psychologists can reach through intellectual endeavor in graduate school rather than seen as continuous engagement in the growth process. CP faculty noted the need to conceptualize MC as ongoing cognitive, affective, and personal work rather than as a skill achieved during graduate training. Beyond personal awareness and practice, participants articulated a need to evolve as a discipline and develop new frameworks for the cultural practice of psychology.

Expertise — Burden of Perfection

Participants highlighted the expectation that CP faculty should be experts in cultural practice and teaching upon graduation as an extended implication of competency-based education. Some described buying into the narrative of expertise and internalizing the expectation to be perfect and "know everything" (Monica). Participants connected the burden of perfection to the binary and hierarchical white cultural

106

characteristic, where one can be either competent and worthy or incompetent and unworthy. Melody noted,

> In our academic spaces, we've become we, the royal We, become hostile in a way that doesn't leave room for people to be imperfect and grow, which traps us into a role and a pressure for being perfect ourselves. That is antithetical to multicultural competence.

The expectation of perfection and expertise does not leave room for humanity, continuous learning, and attunement to others' experiences. Thus, participants described feeling anxious, worried, and fearful of making a mistake, as mistakes imply personal unworthiness and professional incompetence.

CP faculty noted that white cultural values inform teaching, mentorship, research, administration, consultation, and leadership. Participants endorsed anxiety before, during, and after teaching multicultural classes due to "the pressure of being an all-knowing expert" (Monica). Under pressure to maintain the illusion of infallibility, faculty experienced "paralyzing" (Bella) fear, anxiety, guilt, and anger at making a mistake. Most participants perceived mistakes and growth edges as liabilities or grounds for scrutiny by students and colleagues. Bella cited the assumption of knowledge and expertise inherent in competence as "limiting" and "harmful" to both psychologists and the public they serve:

> I wanted to acquire all this knowledge and skills, but I also felt really limited by it and sometimes uncomfortable too. In my program, I don't think that we were really taught to think about what that looks like in terms of actual interactions and practice.

The current MC framework rests on the assumption that multiculturally competent psychologists can apply stereotypical knowledge learned in graduate school across roles and professional settings. It does not acknowledge the humanity and need for continuous learning and attunement to the experiences of others. Bella emphasized that multicultural practice requires flexibility and dynamic consideration of the intersectionality of

identities between therapists and clients. However, the multicultural training she received in graduate school lacked culturally responsive implementation of knowledge and awareness in therapy or other forms of practice, such as teaching, researching, mentoring, advocating, or leading.

Monica described the burden of perfectionism as believing that "there's a right way to do everything." She shared, "I went into psychology thinking that I could put people in boxes and understand them better," but later shifted from that mindset:

> What has changed is that we don't know anything… I find it freeing to move from a space of this is exactly how you do things… to knowing how to be authentic with other people.

Perfectionism and rigid application of knowledge and skill leave no room for authenticity with clients and ongoing growth in one's practice. Indeed, perfectionism is "antithetical to multicultural competence" (Melody). Counseling psychologists can exercise power, inherent in professional and identity-related privilege, to define client realities and shape scientific narratives. The positional approach is grounded in a personal and systemic context, and it requires listening and learning.

Fear of being seen as incompetent was especially prominent among White CP faculty. White participants expressed worry that students and colleagues may question their expertise. Mark shared about an instance when students corrected him after he referred to the class based on his perception of their gender identity:

> Teaching that [multicultural] class, there is this pressure you put on yourself to be competent and be the expert. It definitely stings a little bit, and it is, can be embarrassing when something like that happens.

Several White participants noted that the beliefs that experts do not make mistakes and that faculty of color are automatically multicultural experts led to anxiety

and fear of being "found out" as an "impostor" (Mark) or incompetent. Mark shared

concern that students may question his competence because he is a White man:

> That's the fear, it's like a raced impostor-ism thing, "Oh, no, I'm going to be found
> out as truly not knowing what I'm doing up here because [I am] a White cis man."

The pressure to be perfect, to maintain the appearance of expertise, can lead to

avoiding uncomfortable and challenging topics such as whiteness, white supremacy, and

other dominant identities in psychology practice. Monica noted that shifting her mindset

to lifelong growth was "freeing" and allowed for flexibility and "authenticity" in her

work. Normalizing the discomfort of being a lifelong learner can help facilitate a culture

shift. However, it remains one fraught with fear and anxiety for psychologists in

academic and professional spaces with a vested interest in the status quo.

Whiteness is adaptive and self-preserving in nature. In addition to informing the

conceptualization and operationalization of MC, cultural and procedural whiteness leads

to dispositions and behaviors that are counterproductive and often contradictory to the

multicultural movement. CP faculty dispositions and behaviors that propagate whiteness

are described next.

Dispositions and Behaviors that Propagate Whiteness

Both White and CP faculty of color described dispositions and behaviors White

CP faculty engage in that propagate and maintain systemic whiteness in academia,

namely: socialized silence and complacency, intellectualization, white guilt and shame,

white entitlement to access and comfort, lack of urgency for change, a superficial social

justice agenda, and white disengagement (see Table 3.2). Academic training socialized

both White faculty and faculty of color to be silent and complacent with white culture

and practice standards. White CP faculty named intellectualization, guilt, and shame as

barriers to change. Most dispositions and behaviors were articulated by CP faculty of

color, who experienced the behaviors as harmful, threatening and distancing.

Table 3.2: Dispositions and Behaviors that Propagate Whiteness

Theme	Description	Quote
Socialized Silence and Complacency	Complacency through silence in upholding norms, standards and structures that advantage White people.	"For example, you're often told 'don't talk in faculty meetings' or 'fly under the radar, lay low,' right? And so, when I started this job I took my advisor's advice and I did those things. And then where some of the guilt came in was when I started noticing that by my taking that advice, I was also reproducing white privilege…" (Mark)
Intellectualization	A pull to intellectualize, precluding White people from recognizing realities of people of color, and to keep emotional distance.	"There is a lot of armchair activism and I can find myself falling into that complacency. And that's what I think the white privilege can allow. It could get really intellectualized and you can sit around and talk about it and at the expense of doing things sometimes." (Sara)
White Guilt and Anger	Emotional response that hinders ability to process, connect, think critically about, and disrupt whiteness.	"I wish that I didn't experience white guilt, I don't think it's helpful. I think what's more helpful is to be a critical thinker and to do something. But there are certainly times when I still experience discomfort or guilt… And it's always, it's hard when it's this after-the-fact realizing my privilege and my blind spots really got in the way." (Bella)
White Entitlement to Access and Comfort	Access to space; feeling as though not centering white needs and interests is discrimination.	"I think that's the thing about whiteness, is that if you go to the world with an experience for which you own, you have ownership of everything then it is hard to imagine a place they don't get to direct, that you don't get to dictate." (Eva)
Lack of Urgency—"Being in Development"	Demonstrating lack of urgency to address whiteness as it benefits and affords advantages to White people.	"Yes, because 'I get to decide!' maybe it's just more of the entitlement. Like 'I get to decide on my own pace of growth. It doesn't matter if it harms you. I get to decide how fast or slow I go. So, if I want to go at a snail's pace, it doesn't matter if it's impacting your life. It's my choice.'" (Eva)
Superficial Social Justice Agenda	Claiming social justice, diversity and inclusion values without commitment to growth, action, and ownership for the impact of whiteness.	"Very, very patriarchal. Just budget rule driven, euphemisms used to describe, to rationalize inequity… for example, every single time the word diversity is mentioned, it's perfunctory. It's lip service. It's numerical rather than substantive." (Kate)
White Disengagement	Lack of interest in addressing systems of power and disengagement upon receiving challenging feedback.	"I've had even male colleagues at conferences say, 'Oh, well, I purposely did not participate in this roundtable discussion because I'm so aware of my identity as a man and I wanted to help give voice to the women at the table. To make space.' And okay, I appreciate that. Thank you. And I also value what you have to say! … I think that's important to be mindful of those dynamics, but also not to delete yourself from the conversation completely." (Monica)

Socialized Silence and Complacency with Whiteness

Familial and academic socialization emerged as the most pertinent facets of socialization to silence and complacency with whiteness among CP faculty. Socialized ignorance of whiteness allows whiteness to go unexamined as a pervasive cultural and systematic force.

Familial Socialization. White participants reported not thinking about whiteness and interacting with people of color based on their familial upbringing. In addition to parental socialization to "look at process" (Doris), CP faculty of color and faculty in interracial relationships witnessed whiteness and understood it through personal experiences and vicariously through the experiences of their friends, family, and partners.

Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color engaged in personal and professional development to understand ways they have internalized whiteness. Some CP faculty recounted familial and personal experiences that provided a glimpse of systemic and interpersonal whiteness. However, the White CP faculty raised in all-White communities with minimal cross-cultural contact noted a lack of awareness of whiteness until graduate school. For White CP faculty, the physical-communal segregation and relational gap contributed to ignorance and silence about whiteness. CP faculty of color living in predominantly white communities and working in predominantly white institutions noted feelings of isolation, exhaustion, and slower personal development due to lack of community of growth.

Bella, a White woman CP faculty, connected the fact that whiteness was not discussed within her family to the struggle to recognize and address racist incidents with

immediacy in meetings and class. When asked where in her personal life she is aware of whiteness, Bella reflected that she had not thought about this before:

> Wow, almost, so most of my friends and family are White. Thinking about in my personal life that also influences those conversations and what's talked about, what's not talked about too.

White CP faculty noted that socialization dictates terms of engagement and sanctions for non-complacency with social norms. Bella said that her family and friends do not talk about whiteness. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted struggling with value inconsistency, and one White CP faculty shared experiencing discomfort for breaking social norms in familial spaces. For White CP faculty, silence about whiteness and racism is incentivized by (a) the internal discord that arises when defying white social norms and (b) the potential sanctions (e.g., loss of esteem, fear of retribution) from White colleagues, peers, and family.

Bella shared that her gender and racial socialization in an all-White community contributed to ignorance about whiteness and complacency with the status quo. She did not critically examine what it means to be white and that the experience of people of color is different from her experience until graduate school. In addition to being part of an all-White community, she connected to gender and racial socialization to what makes addressing whiteness challenging. Bella stated,

> One of the things that come into place at times is my own socialization […] to this whiteness and even my identity as a woman, of not causing, not that it would necessarily stir things up but this idea that sometimes it's better not to say anything or […] I had a lot of these experiences with whiteness and speaking up, trying to be an ally or an advocate and knowing that sometimes from other White people that's met with defensiveness or anger. All of these things combined work together to, growing up in my socialization with whiteness, knowing that if I do say something, there is going to be a certain reaction.

113

When Bella spoke up about whiteness, she faced reactions of anger for breaking

social convention around expectations to be indirect, polite, and silent about whiteness as

a White woman. White participants noted that white anger, defensiveness, and fragility

are disincentives to addressing whiteness.

Meekness, emotional connection, politeness, and non-confrontational

interpersonal style are socialized gendered norms for women raised in the south.

Addressing instances of unfairness and disrespect is considered assertive for men. The

socialized submissiveness and affective alignment of women are considered inferior to

the objective and intellectually astute men. Socialized gender norms thus serve to

privilege and benefit men over women. White men have the advantage of not

experiencing marginality, while most everyone else is socialized to own the impact of

White man's ignorance to systemic advantage and oppression. Doris notes,

> Women get socialized into this is how the world operates. You cannot walk
> through a park in the dark at 2 a.m. You can't do it. You can't go out and drink
> and not have a buddy with you. There are some things that women are trained to
> be aware of, taught to be aware of. There are some things that people of color are
> taught to be aware of. Look at the process. Look at what's really meant as
> opposed to what's said.

While there is a cost to ignorance and silence for people of color and other

marginalized people, it is often reinforced and incentivized by labeling silence as civil

and professional, an alias for the status quo and white interest. CP faculty identified

faculty meetings as a space of contentious discussions about issues of institutional and

cultural whiteness in training programs. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color

shared fear of being labeled as "troublemakers" and "non-cooperative" due to naming

and addressing whiteness. Several White CP faculty shared committing to address

whiteness in academic spaces as sanctions are less severe for them than for colleagues of

color. Kate stated, "White women, they have whiteness to fall back on" and are more likely to be heard.

Although socialization to mainstream whiteness can lead to ignorance and silence, participants noted that there seems to be a slow awakening to reality as people witness and vicariously experience the consequences of white supremacy. Participants emphasized that the increase of white supremacist violence in police killings of Black people, exploitation of undocumented immigrants, and three years of the Trump administration have made the deadly, systemic, and economic consequences of white complacency more evident to White people.

CP faculty noted the importance of advisors and mentors in socialization to the whiteness-inoculated profession.

Mentors' Role in Socialization to Whiteness. In addition to familial socialization, academic socialization leads to the assimilation of white professional and scientific standards in CP training programs. Several CP faculty spoke to the significant role mentors had in socializing them to white values and standards of excellence guised as professionalism. Mentors also played an important role in socializing CP faculty to resist and challenge the status quo. Several CP faculty of color noted relying on mentors for support and guidance in navigating discriminatory policies and procedures.

Some CP faculty reflected on being socialized to preserve the status quo. Well-intentioned mentors and advisors shared strategies of succeeding and navigating academia without critical awareness of aspects of the system that advantage White CP faculty and students. Sustaining whiteness in academia instead of working collectively

toward changing whiteness-steeped standards propagates whiteness. Mark, self-identified

White man CP faculty, noted,

> Many of the things people tell you when you start a tenure track job are things
> that, in a way, reproduce whiteness and white privilege. For example, you're often
> told "don't talk in faculty meetings" or "fly under the radar, lay low," right? When
> I started this job, I took my advisor's advice, and I did those things. Then where
> some of the guilt came in was when I started noticing that by my taking that advice,
> I was also reproducing white privilege because then I'm leaving it to faculty of
> color in faculty meetings to say something when a microaggression occurs.

Mark was advised to take service roles that count toward professional

advancement and tenure and to be complacent with current practices and standards. He

recognized his complacency "reproduced whiteness" and harmed his colleagues of color.

Participants highlighted that faculty of color are over-burdened with diversity and

inclusion-related service roles, advise most graduate students of color, are the go-to

people when marginalization occurs, and are usually the people who speak to systemic

and procedural forms of racism in faculty meetings. Many of these activities do not count

toward tenure or promotion. As for White CP faculty, the current system affords them the

comfort of determining their research and service interests, a manageable student

advisory load, and positive regard as an expert and an able scientist. The preservation of

the status quo benefits White man CP faculty over all other faculty. Mark recognized that

he was socialized to stay silent when it came to seeing whiteness play out:

> Whereas initially, I'm just taking my advisor's advice, the way I saw that play out
> was me using my privilege to stay invisible and silent in those spaces. And so
> now? Well, not now, but over the years, I started to recognize that, and then I use
> my voice more because I could see that I was much more protected than some of
> my peers, especially some of my peers of color, to do and say things.

Mark deemed his mentor to mean well and invested in helping him advance in his

career. However, Mark recognized that by taking his mentor's advice, he contributed to a

toxic academic environment for CP faculty and students of all races. He shared being committed to speak up and work to change the environment.

CP faculty of color do not benefit from silence. Systemic and institutionalized whiteness negatively impacts faculty and students of color. However, it also negatively impacts White faculty and students when considering the psychological costs detailed above. Having predominantly White mentors, CP faculty of color noted feeling isolated and navigating white academia on their own. Eva, self-identified African American woman CP faculty, shared,

> I had amazing mentorship as a student, but no mentorship from anyone who looked like me. There were some amazing allies… who really help[ed] me along my career path. But I did feel like I missed a little something.

Participants described mentorship as advising and supporting trainees' racial identity development by helping mentees examine how their identities inform their professional identity and practice of psychology. Some White mentors did not see or understand the experiences of their trainees of color. CP faculty of color shared feeling isolated and alone, and struggling to consolidate marginalization and discrimination experiences. Supervisors and mentors were described as ignorant, colorblind, invalidating, and unprepared to consider how race may be relevant and present in therapy and across other forms of psychology practice. Emma shared,

> Our faculty supervisor was a heterosexual White male, and he had no idea what to do. He had no idea what to say. He just couldn't get there. I remembered those race discussions.

In Emma's experience, her supervisor could not attend to her needs as an African American woman trainee who experienced repeated rejection and microaggressions from White clients in a predominantly white southern area. Given adverse experiences and

harm, CP faculty of color could not ignore and be complacent with academic convention but engaged in a critical examination of whiteness in professional spaces. White mentors and supervisors did not appear to be aware of their positionality as racial beings, lacked self-reflexivity, and could not foster reflexivity for their trainees, regardless of race. CP faculty noted multicultural training was an intellectual endeavor rather than an applied and lived personal-professional activity. White participants reported their tendency to intellectualize as something they are working to change.

Intellectualization

CP faculty shared that intellectualization impacted their ability to connect with their students and colleagues of color, halted the development of critical awareness of enacting whiteness, and served as an excuse for stagnation in addressing whiteness. Intellectualization is a scientific practice, often encouraged under the guise of objectivity and science in academic settings.

Bella, self-identified White woman CP faculty, identified the need to go beyond an intellectual understanding of herself as a racial being and of the experiences of invalidation her students of color faced in the classroom. She described being approached by a student of color after an invalidating class discussion where White students did not perceive the impact their comments had on peers of color.

> I definitely have a tendency to intellectualize when it's not an experience that I'm particularly close to. And so, I have to be really [aware], I have to work hard to try to come closer to understand what the emotional experience of individuals might be.

Bella identified with the White students who have only an intellectual understanding but are not connected with racism's emotional impact on people of color. CP faculty noted the importance of both cognitive and emotional connection with

experiences of marginality for reflexivity about how their own actions impact colleagues of color. Addressing whiteness remains an intellectual activity when it lacks an emotional connection with folx of diverse identities. Sara, self-identified White woman CP faculty, noted that intellectualizing can lead to a lack of urgency in addressing inequities.

> There is a lot of armchair activism, and I can find myself falling into that complacency. That's what white privilege can allow. It could get really intellectualized, and you can sit around and talk about it and at the expense of doing things sometimes.

Despite psychology's focus on the human experience, a rigid and disconnected scientific approach can remove the affective and experiential aspects of self, rendering faculty and trainees disconnected from their own subjective cultural and racial experience and that of their colleagues, students, and clients. Furthermore, when psychologists approach practice as a removed intellectual endeavor, they miss the opportunity to use their skills and psychological science to benefit society. Psychology needs to move beyond what Sara called *armchair activism*, where scientific training and knowledge are highly valued but do not translate to action. Intellectualization can be a powerful tool of whiteness in preventing action that challenges whiteness in training, the profession, and society.

White Guilt and Anger

Delving into colleagues' and students of color's emotional experience, White and White-passing CP faculty noted experiencing guilt and anger about historical and current manifestations of whiteness. Some participants found that guilt hindered their ability to recognize interpersonal dynamics informed by whiteness and their ability to think critically and disrupt whiteness. Other participants channeled guilt and anger into self-reflection and action. Melody, "light skinned Latina" woman CP faculty, stated,

119

I don't feel guilty for what my ancestors did. I am pissed about it! I wanna correct all that they fucked up! So guilt is not me feeling guilty and scurrying to the side. Like, "Okay. No, that was crap, and I have a responsibility to help clean up this mess."

Melody owned her role in propagating systemic whiteness with deep historical roots. She noted guilt and anger as a signal of responsibility to work toward change and reconcile ancestors' mistakes. While all White participants reported experiencing guilt about their privilege, connection to whiteness, and unearned advantages, guilt did not consistently move them toward a sense of ownership, systemic reflexivity, or action. For example, Mark described anger and guilt that whiteness is an automatic system:

There's definitely a tinge of anger that that's the dynamic. There's also a feeling of guilt that is automatically the system that I'm walking into, one that treats me as unequal, in the advantage sense of the term.

White CP faculty articulated guilt and anger as a result of unfair advantage in a white system. Some White CP faculty perceived guilt, shame, and anger among White trainees and even themselves as a hindrance. Although Mark noted the feelings as an automatic response to awareness of whiteness, he did not speak to the utility of the affective response. Still, he did note responsibility to change systemic whiteness.

Some White CP faculty qualified guilt as a barrier to critical awareness and action. Bella, a self-identified White woman CP faculty, noted that she experienced guilt as paralyzing in that it took up affective space and hindered her ability to think critically at the moment:

I wish that I didn't experience white guilt; I don't think it's helpful. What's more helpful is to be a critical thinker and to do something. But there are certainly times when I still experience discomfort or guilt or walk away thinking, "I could have done more. Why? Why did that conversation happen that way?" or "Who is not represented in that conversation?" It's hard when it's after-the-fact; realizing my privilege and my blind spots really got in the way.

120

Bella described wanting to move beyond paralyzing guilt that hinders her ability to act in the moment. Although Bella posed critical awareness of how whiteness manifests as an ongoing developmental process, she did not deem the affective experience of guilt as a necessary or helpful component of growth.

White and White-passing participants connected with the feelings of guilt and anger that accompany their awareness of whiteness in various ways. For some participants, white guilt and anger signal responsibility. Challenging feelings helped White CP faculty develop a critical awareness of whiteness and motivated them to act. For others, guilt was paralyzing and challenging, leading them to move away and leaving them frustrated with themselves.

Participants of color indicated that racial and systemic awareness required emotional work and tolerance of distressing and challenging feelings of threat. White participants' attitudes toward the surfacing guilt, shame, and anger differ in that challenging feelings were transient and could be avoided by being complacent and not engaging in reflexivity about whiteness. As participants of color encountered adversity in daily life, White participants had the comfort of co-existing in a whiteness-steeped system. Thus, CP faculty of color noted that whiteness instilled a disposition of entitlement to access and comfort in their White colleagues, trainees, and clients.

White Entitlement to Access and Comfort

CP faculty of color indicated that cultural and systemic whiteness work to center White people's comfort, well-being, and interest. Since mainstream whiteness translates into an entitlement to comfort and access to space, not centering white needs and interest is in itself oppression and discrimination for White colleagues.

Participants described white entitlement as believing White people have the right to access and to be in every space, whether it was designed to serve them or not. Eva connected whiteness and entitlement to access:

> That's the thing about whiteness, that if you go to the world with an experience for which you own, you have ownership of everything. Then, it is hard to imagine a place they don't get to direct, that you don't get to dictate.

CP faculty of color noted White colleagues demanding access to and disrupting the formation of communities of support for faculty of color. For example, Eva shared that White colleagues had a "negative reaction" and contested psychologist-of-color-only meetings at professional conferences. These White colleagues suggested that they should be included as allies if psychologists of color decide to meet. Eva noted,

> Sometimes it feels like there's an entitlement with whiteness, an entitlement to be present… And my reaction or my interpretation of that [negative] reaction was "as a White person, we are entitled. Like, you can't have a space that's all yours, but if we want to come, we can come!"

White socialization instills a sense of entitlement to have access and be comfortable in all spaces. White psychologists at the conference demonstrated a lack of awareness of how whiteness informed their attitudes and experiences of access. At the same time, White psychologists did not understand the necessity and importance of community given the realities and experiences of psychologists of color. White people experienced professional spaces as comfortable, inclusive, and affirming.

CP faculty of color described white entitlement to access and comfort as pervasive across the professional and personal spheres. Emma started an art-focused group for women of color to foster community and healing. She noted that she had to reject several White women who attempted to attend the group:

I put this email out. I had a couple of White women claiming they were women of color, too, and they just didn't understand why they couldn't participate.

The white women did not respect boundaries nor think that there were spaces and communities they could not just access, as usual. As White people are not marginalized because the world centers whiteness, sharing power and space may feel like a loss rather than fairness and equitable access. For White women, access to the art group was a privilege they were used to and expected. In contrast, for the women of color and psychologists of color in the previous example, it was not a given comfort but rather a necessity created by adverse experiences of whiteness.

Awareness of dispositions and behaviors that propagate whiteness can vary from ignorance to believing in their own superiority to clarity and commitment to change among White people. CP faculty of color noted that although there may be growing awareness among White CP faculty and administrators, there is often complacency and a lack of urgency to change behaviors and systems.

Lack of Urgency — "Being in Development"

CP faculty of color noted that White colleagues and students often exhibit, in addition to reactions of guilt, fragility, and anger, a lack of urgency to address whiteness. The lack of urgency is self-interested, as it preserves and perpetuates white privilege and advantage. CP faculty of color noted that White colleagues often excuse their ignorance and harmful behavior by claiming to be in development and deeming historical progress sufficient. Eva, self-identified African American woman CP faculty, stated,

> I'm not sure what type of environment around multicultural competency and growth we created that makes that [challenging] difficult. I think the relation of whiteness is that sprout. We had this slow-going growth because White people always say, "Well, at least we have this. It's way better than it was fifty years ago!" "Oh, you're a Black faculty. There used to be none!"

Eva and other CP faculty of color shared that it is difficult to challenge White colleagues who claim to be working on themselves and to value social justice. White colleagues were noted to invalidate and rebuff responsibility to act by citing historical progress. Their dismissiveness points to a superficial commitment to growth and willful complacence in contributing to the marginalization of colleagues of color. Eva articulated the underlying message of demonstrated fragility and lack of urgency to act when confronted with white supremacy:

> It's more of the entitlement. "I get to decide on my own pace of growth. It doesn't matter if it harms you. I get to decide how fast or slow I go. So, if I want to go at a snail's pace, it doesn't matter if it's impacting your life. It's my choice."

It is violent to deem historical progress sufficient from a position of advantage, especially when presented with lived examples of ongoing harm to people of color. White colleagues who resolve to watch their colleagues of color suffer in a system that privileges them are conscious participants in continuous harm and oppression. Several CP faculty shared that some White colleagues blatantly assert power when they center their comfort at the expense of harm and impact on the lives of CP faculty of color.

Entitlement to comfort and inability to connect with the experiences of colleagues of color are tools of domination to preserve whiteness as a dominant power. Other progress-stalling strategies among White colleagues included white fragility, disinterest in the needs and experiences of people of color, claim to have done one's part through meeting competency standards during training, and avoidance of discomfort associated with white racial identity growth. Eva shared,

> I experience whiteness as there's entitlement attached to it. And the other piece that's attached… [is] the idea that "If I'm in development, I could not be challenged. If I'm working for something, you can't be pressuring. You can't challenge me because I'm doing. I'm working. I'm in progress. If I'm in progress,

I can't be challenged." The thing is, growth just doesn't happen that way. I think about a track runner. If someone's training for a four hundred meter first, it was one time around the track. Typically, if they run one time, you required them to do more, not less.

Eva notes that White colleagues need to develop endurance in holding discomfort, embrace feedback aimed to facilitate connection with colleagues of diverse identities, and practice "doing more." Growth requires practice and building stamina to examine one's relation to whiteness. Giving feedback and offering an opportunity for expanding awareness and growth is a risk for CP faculty of color, especially when White CP faculty have academic standing and the privilege to be vengeful and disarm change by silencing feedback. The use of white fragility by White faculty in deflecting responsibility to enact change for a more equitable and inclusive environment, as well as the lack of accountability for the impact of actions, is harmful.

CP faculty of color noted that white colleagues' lack of urgency combined with entitlement to comfort renders the status quo intact and whiteness unchallenged. Eva stated that all CP faculty enable white stagnation by accepting rather than critically examining professional standards of MC informed by whiteness. As a CP faculty of color, Eva noted that she "found it difficult…to challenge" what seems like an underlying trend in academia to center and prioritize White people's comfort. She further noted,

> We have soaked in whiteness so much that it can only be helpful for White people. And yet, we let them decide how much of that they want to engage in or not. So, it's not even like we say, *"Oh, if you aren't multiculturally competent, you can't move forward."* We're just like, "Hey, if you're growing, we'll stop challenging you."

Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color are socialized to current conventions through MC training and operationalization. Thus, they can adapt dispositions and assumptions that preserve and propagate complacence with whiteness in the profession.

While a lack of urgency to dismantle whiteness on a personal and systemic level halts progress, so do superficial social justice agendas in CP training programs.

Superficial Social Justice Agenda

Social justice as a professional CP value takes on personal, professional, and programmatic dimensions. CP faculty reported discord between claimed social justice agenda and personal interactions in the CP community. On a programmatic level, CP faculty articulated how policies and procedures reflect white standards rather than social justice values and the problematic ways in which diversification agendas are enacted in CP training programs.

CP faculty noted that claiming social justice, diversity, and inclusion values without commitment to growth, action, openness to feedback, ownership of mistakes, and reconciliation efforts can be more insidious than the predictable, overt, and anticipated forms of racism. Eva elaborated,

> Counseling psychology is really interesting because we really value and talk about equity and justice a lot… but sometimes I feel more vulnerable to harm by White people in counseling psych spaces. And it's because, for me, it's been harder to challenge whiteness in spaces where White people claim allyship.

Eva noted that it is particularly difficult to give feedback and confront whiteness in a program and among colleagues who do not act in accordance with claimed social justice values. CP faculty shape and contribute to professional and program culture as they enact values in various professional roles through policies, procedures and diversification agendas.

Policies and Procedures. Participants noted that whiteness underpins academic policies and procedures. White resistance surfaced in quick fixes to diversification goals, contentious faculty meetings, and differences between White faculty and faculty of color in

126

strategic agenda for the necessary change to the status quo. Institutions of higher education claim to value equity, diversity, and inclusion; however, without tangible changes to the policies and procedures that propagate whiteness, these claims are performative. Reflecting on her host institution's diversity and inclusion efforts, Melody noted:

> Most people are operating at the diversity level of definition where we're counting beings, how many of these, and how many of those as opposed to how do our structures create the conditions for everybody to participate meaningfully and equitably.

Several participants noted that the number of diverse faculty is not a good measure of inclusive culture or systemic and procedural equity. CP faculty emphasized the need for close examination of underlying white values in policies and procedures to foster an inclusive academic space. Ana assumed responsibility to change the program culture:

> I don't think my position would be any different if we had other faculty of color because it shouldn't be on the faculty of color. Just because you have one or two faculty of color doesn't make the space any less white. The white space I refer [to] is about the policies and procedures. The way we teach classes… it's all of that culture.

CP faculty reported that academic policies and procedures reflect white cultural values, leading to inequitable access to graduate psychology training or disadvantages for students of color in CP programs. Examples of whiteness reflected in policies and procedures spanned and were not limited to admission procedures, superficial recruitment and retention strategies, evaluation and remediation procedures, formal and informal standards of professionalism, and the inequitable dissemination of funds. Mark noted,

> I teach Intro to Assessment class and talk at great length about how the GRE disadvantages people of color and people from lower socioeconomic groups. In a way, I feel like a sellout, like I'm not being genuine [in] the fact that we still use that. I actually have a committee now that's looking to revise our admissions policies. One of the first things I'm going to take an aim at is making the GRE, if not eliminating it, making it optional.

Modifying policies and procedures is an actionable way to address overt and covert whiteness in academic norms, policies, and procedures. As Mark highlighted, awareness that policies and practices are discriminatory does not automatically lead to action or change on behalf of faculty, staff, and administrators. Several participants adopted a proactive stance to carefully examine and modify policies and procedures that limit access to education and care. Efforts for change were often met with resistance by White and late-career colleagues. Beatrice expressed feeling reassured by departmental conversations to increase recruitment of diverse students and address policies and practices that perpetuate "structural racism":

> We have hard but open conversations about admissions and diversifying our students and remediation plans, and how we can better account for cultural differences or structural racism.

Along with several other participants, Beatrice shared that their programs engage in conversations about institutionalized racism and expanding policies and procedures to be inclusive. While no participant provided examples of policy or procedural changes besides expanding the multicultural curriculum, this does not mean changes were not instituted.

Most participants shared awareness that whiteness permeates standards of professionalism and success in graduate school. Students and CP faculty of color reported having to code-switch in professional settings and to engage in impression management with students, staff, colleagues, and administration. Beatrice expanded on how white standards and values permeate psychology programs:

> Particularly in student training, admissions, remediation planning. [Whiteness has] been pretty present as I'm considering what, how I grade, what I grade on, what I'm look[ing] for in success or not, how to support students find their own authentic voice.

Beatrice noted that she encourages her students to consider how their identities inform their theoretical orientation, and facilitates the integration of the authentic racial-cultural self with professional identity. Appreciation of the interplay between personal and professional identity helps CP faculty and trainees develop positionality in their psychology practice, as it contextualizes psychologists and psychology's role in society.

Policies and procedures reinforce a hierarchy and binary of white superiority and non-white inferiority, privileging White people. Another example that CP faculty of color shared is the assumption that Western or American English and norms of relating are professional, advantaging White students and rendering everyone else inferior. A growing awareness of diverse ways to embody "professionalism" may challenge the expectation that students and faculty of color have to "force-fit into these standards" (Beatrice). In contrast, White faculty and students feel their values and culture are affirmed by academic standards. Participants noted a need for continued efforts to create more inclusive policies and procedures across educational and professional spaces. CP faculty also expressed frustration about diversification agendas. They characterized current programmatic and institutional approaches as superficial quick fixes that do not challenge the systemic white cultural underpinning of academia.

Diversification Agenda — Lip Service and Tokenism. Participants acknowledged the insidious manifestation of whiteness in diversification agendas that reduce staff, faculty, and students of color to bodies that are counted. Values statements and recruitment efforts are insufficient for systemic and cultural change. CP faculty noted that in a meritocratic white system, change requires a financial and personal investment from institutional leadership and faculty. Along with other participants, Melody highlighted

129

a tendency for institutions to form diversity recruitment and retention committees without

addressing and attending to interpersonal, systemic, and cultural whiteness:

> I was at a faculty meeting, and this faculty member, who is… [a] representative in the faculty senate… was so excited [that] we have a new diversity committee. I rolled my eyes so hard that they practically strained. Somebody picked up on my absolute and deep contempt. I said, "I have been here for 19 years. I have seen many, many people get ground up through the system. People that work in areas of diversity are valued temporarily for what they can bring and what the university can tick off on a to-do list. And then, when you're all ground up and washed out, they kick you to the side and keep going in on the daily lives as they were."

Institutions use diversity committees as lip service without investment in

changing the status quo that centers White faculty, administrators, and students.

Recruitment and retention approaches are often developed without consideration for the

social and cultural context that faculty, students, and staff of color enter and without

concern for the cognitive and emotional "tax" (Kate) that marginalized individuals bear

in white institutions and systems. Kate shared,

> There was a faculty meeting where I challenged that. I said, "Okay, so the university is really, really emphasizing the recruitment and retainment of diverse, more racial-ethnic diversity in terms of students and faculty." And then I said, "Well, that's great. Where's the money? … You can't say that and not have a clear plan with funding, long-term funding, mentoring, support that also requires funding and hiring in clusters and not individually because people, it's so isolated. So has there been an increase in the budget for that specific area?"

CP programs claim a social justice agenda without allocating appropriate finances

to invest in and support diversity initiatives. CP faculty described institutional

distribution of finances as a qualifier of worth. In a meritocratic value-ridden setting, the

lack of financial and structural investment on behalf of administrators signifies a lack of

care for marginalized and diverse members in the institution. Value statements and

diversification efforts without tangible change are an investment in the status quo.

As previously noted, participants deemed faculty meetings contentious. CP faculty committed to creating an equitable and inclusive climate noted value incongruence and problematic systemic and cultural whiteness. Kate described the meetings:

> Very, very patriarchal. Just budget rule-driven, euphemisms used to describe, to rationalize inequity… For example, every single time the word diversity is mentioned, it's just perfunctory. It's lip service. It's numerical rather than substantive.

Despite the numerical measure, most CP faculty of color shared being among the few people of color in their department. They reported facing a hostile environment alone. Several participants of color reported relying on White women colleagues they deemed allies for support and being accomplices in initiating or echoing feedback.

CP faculty of color reflected a lack of genuine care in enacting values of diversity, equity, and inclusion beyond hiring one to two faculty of color and establishing one-off diversity committees to tackle whiteness in academia. Recruitment would require close attention to what fosters an affirming, healthy workplace for faculty of color and support in their various responsibilities. Monica noted that even policies that aim to increase access and diversify programs, such as affirmative action, are othering and quick fixes:

> It comes up in faculty searches where we think about representation, visible representation of minorities on our faculty, and trying to think about how I feel about that… on the one hand, we definitely need more representation, and on the other hand, it feels weird. But I don't see that anybody is being accepted just because of their color. They have more than enough qualifications… So whiteness just comes up all the time.

The challenge inherent in these programs is that they alone cannot dismantle or transform the more significant issue of systemic and structural whiteness. Furthermore, Monica felt reduced to her ascribed race rather than appreciated for her skills and contributions, some of which are grounded in her lived experiences as a person of color

with intersecting identities. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty color noted that for meaningful cultural and systemic change, White faculty in CP programs need to take ownership of the stated diversity mission and responsibility for working to unearth departmental and cultural whiteness. Ana stated,

> I'm in charge of all the faculty meetings, and we're a White faculty. I'm as diverse as we get. I learned in the last two years to label it very explicitly. I am very directly saying that we are a white program, and I know that's making some faculty a little bit [uncomfortable]…we don't talk about whiteness a lot, and there's a lot of shame and guilt when you start talking about whiteness. So it's easier not to talk about it.

As Ana noted, the commitment to social justice needs to be owned and enacted by White counseling psychologists. Naming whiteness is a necessary step for examining how whiteness presents in policies, procedures, and processes enacted by faculty. Ana said the resistance and discomfort from White colleagues is something to contend with as part of the change process, as it is easier and more comfortable not to talk about whiteness.

CP faculty noted several ways that the professional community and White colleagues' dispositions work to disarm and resist change. CP faculty of color indicated that White CP faculty willfully disengage and remove themselves when challenged, examples of overt behaviors that halt systemic and personal transformation in institutions.

White Disengagement

CP faculty of color interpreted the absence or disengagement of White male colleagues as disinterest and unwillingness to participate in activities that do not center White male interest. Participants provided several examples of White CP faculty, especially senior and male-identified faculty, expressing disagreement or disengaging from spaces and conversations on power and marginalization. One participant of color

132

described an instance where a White male colleague, advanced in career and position, responded to feedback by leaving. Monica shared about an incident where a male colleague did not attend an identity-specific roundtable discussion to "make space":

> I've had even male colleagues at conferences say, "Oh, well, I purposely did not participate in this roundtable discussion because I'm so aware of my identity as a man, and I wanted to help give voice to the women at the table. To make space." And okay, I appreciate that. Thank you. And I also value what you have to say! … I respect that, and I think that [it]'s important to be mindful of those dynamics, but also not to delete yourself from the conversation completely.

Deleting oneself from conversations and not being present to witness each other's experiences carries weight. Absence sends a message to colleagues of color and other marginalized identities about what one deems worthy of being present for and interested in. Furthermore, it is a missed opportunity to learn from the experiences of CP faculty of color and folx of other marginalized identities, and a missed opportunity to engage in collective action to challenge systems of power and oppression. Removing oneself as a privileged individual can signal a lack of care and an unwillingness to engage in action and share power. White colleagues and colleagues of other dominant identities cannot connect, partner, or share power if they are absent from discussions on challenges and actions to create a more inclusive and equitable space.

CP faculty of color reported disengagement by White colleagues after faculty have spoken to whiteness-steeped policies and procedures, discussed racial incidents, or provided feedback to White colleagues. Disengaging after receiving challenging feedback signals rejection, disagreement, and threat to colleagues of color. Jack, self-identified Black man CP faculty, related an instance where he gave feedback to senior White faculty during a day-long training:

My first year, I said something to somebody about things being very colorblind approach and problematic… And this is my first year as a faculty person, and I just called it out… That happened in the morning part of the session. We had lunch, and they did not return for the afternoon… so that person's response was to disengage.

Jack reported feeling anxious as a Black man about potential repercussions.

Disengaging is itself a privilege that may not have been allowed if the person were not a White senior faculty member. It is also a statement of unwillingness to see, hear, and recognize how one uses the privilege inherent in career stage and position within the department. The option of leaving training due to discomfort without repercussion is a form of entitlement and privilege not afforded to everyone. Responding by dismissing, expressing anger, and disengaging can also function as intimidation and silencing of CP faculty who are engaged and want to address processes that propagate whiteness.

Positional Practice of Psychology Informed by Critical Understanding of Whiteness

CP faculty redefined MC from a personal and systemic understanding of whiteness detailed in the previous sections. The definition of MC shifted from fluency in awareness, knowledge, and skills across cultures to the positional practice of psychology. CP faculty identified several components of the positional practice of psychology: systemic and personal understanding of whiteness, positional professional reflexivity, cultural humility, lifelong learning, connection and empathy, and advocacy and action (see Table 3.3). CP faculty defined MC as ever-present in all spaces and all interactions as they bring their cultural and racial self to all contexts, whether personal or professional. Melody noted,

> The thing about multicultural competence that makes it so difficult is that it is in every single moment… It's being aware of the power differential, how things are playing out, and taking responsibility or behaving in appropriate ways within the context of that relationship. So, it's everywhere. It's teaching. It's research. It's

everything. It's saying good morning to staff. I can't think of a moment when it's not relevant.

Table 3.3: Positional Practice of Psychology

Theme	Description	Quote
Whiteness "Has to Be Understood"	Positional practice is defined as the ongoing dynamic process of "being mindful of where this person sits in terms of their relationship to whiteness" (Jack) and being able to "engage with difference and power in any context" (Sara).	"...the role of whiteness in oppression and structurally and institutionally has to be understood. And that I think people who are White have to have an understanding of it and their role in it. And how to navigate with power and how it relates to identity is key. I don't think you could be multiculturally competent without having awareness of whiteness and how it plays a role in institutionalized racist systemic oppression. I do think it's a different avenue for people to understand it based on where they reside culturally." (Sara)
Positional Professional Reflexivity	Positional practice is critical awareness and systemic understanding of how personal position to whiteness informs identity, professional practice, and experience of the system, and systemic understanding of how whiteness propagates inequities.	"As I see [it], an individual would demonstrate this cultural competence by being mindful of where this person maybe sits in terms of their relationship to whiteness, privileged or sort of oppressed within that kind of a system. And they would hold that position, that client's position as possible influencer into what their presenting concerns are, or at least to what their, this person's experience in the world is." (Jack)
Cultural Humility	Shift from expertise and pre-acquired knowledge to cultural humility. Cultural humility as an approach (disposition) of curiosity and openness to learning about others' experiences. Humility is adopting a stance of lifelong learning rather than achieved competence and expertise. It is normalizing mistakes and not knowing everything.	"When you question the answer that you have in yourself. So, the questions are the answers that you may have about a person's experience. When you begin to question those, there's a curiosity here that is developed, and with that a humility as well. If you refuse to take your perception as an absolute truth with like a capital T, Truth. I do think that those are things that can be ingrained or were born with or trained." (Jack)
Connection and Empathy	Connecting with oneself and those whiteness designates as others. Learning to humanize and relate to others' experiences. Cultivating empathy among White people for people of color and vice versa, as both are impacted by whiteness in creating an affective gap.	"So my relationship with whiteness is complicated and I have been challenged in all the good ways. Right, for how to work with that and how to work with it in a way that doesn't create distance, that creates connection and that fosters understanding." (Melody)
Advocacy and Value-Directed Service	Commitment to dismantle whiteness. Changing behavior and structures, processes, and policies that perpetuate marginalization and oppression.	"And some of this was brought by one of our doctoral students. Because we can't pay attention to everything all the time, but we can learn from what, we can grow, and we can acknowledge that. And so, we're working on trying to change all of our syllabi to be more inclusive. We have the standard ADA language. But how do we actually put that into practice?" (Sara)

Multicultural competence is redefined as a positional practice of psychology, where awareness of whiteness and associated values is foundational to all professional activities as whiteness informs all aspects of systems, content, and interactions. Given whiteness is a power that permeates all spaces and that can shape identity and experience, CP faculty noted the necessity to understand whiteness personally and systematically. Participants noted personally expanding the rigid operationalization of the widely adopted tripartite model of MC to a stance of humility and lifelong learning.

Whiteness "Has to Be Understood"

Some CP faculty appeared to critically examine and articulate how their definition of whiteness informed their understanding of MC and multiculturally competent practice during the research interview. Some White CP faculty reported whiteness and race becoming more pertinent in social and professional company of diverse racial colleagues, while other White CP faculty noted whiteness becoming more relevant and making an effort to be attentive to its manifestations when in predominantly white spaces, such as faculty meetings. CP faculty of color reported that whiteness is ever-present, although they may not label it as whiteness but rather name the impact of whiteness in racism, white privilege, discrimination, marginalization, and macro- and microaggressions. The challenge in naming and understanding whiteness as culture and systemic power permeating all aspects of society was attributed to socialization to whiteness and normative-ness of whiteness in all structures. Developing a systemic and personal understanding of whiteness helped CP faculty expand their multicultural practice.

Systemic and personal reflexivity about whiteness emerged as central to the culturally conscious and responsive practice of psychology. Positional practice is defined

137

as the ongoing dynamic process of "being mindful of where this person sits in terms of their relationship to whiteness" (Jack) and being able to "engage with difference and power in any context" (Sara). CP faculty described the importance of understanding their personal experience of whiteness, their relationship with whiteness from their position as racial and cultural beings with intersecting dominant and minoritized identities, and ways in which whiteness as power informs all systems and structures in society. Sara, self-identified White woman CP faculty, shared,

> The role of whiteness in oppression structurally and institutionally has to be understood. People who are White have to have an understanding of it and their role in it. And how to navigate with power and how it relates to identity is key. I don't think you could be multiculturally competent without having awareness of whiteness and how it plays a role in institutionalized racist systemic oppression. I do think it's a different avenue for people to understand it based on where they reside on in culturally."

CP faculty including Sara noted the importance of developing awareness of how personal relation to whiteness and interpersonal experiences within systems are determined by whiteness as power through norms, culture, convention, and socialized superiority and inferiority. Participants emphasized that understanding oneself as a racial and cultural being is different for White individuals and individuals of color, as the experience and relationship with whiteness are varied.

CP faculty referred to whiteness as a dominant power that, along with other dominant identities, bestow privileges on White people to disproportionately define reality, norms, and society. Melody stated, "I don't think we can talk about multicultural competence without talking about power." The process of coming to critically reflect on one's own blindness, socialization to superiority-inferiority, and relationship with whiteness is considerably different for White CP faculty compared to CP faculty of color.

138

Participants articulated three interrelated aspects of understanding whiteness: a dynamic interplay between the historical, systemic, and personal parts of relations to power. Sara noted that CP faculty need to go beyond the standard definition for a functional description of MC.

> I think it's an awareness of the ways that society and power and history have come together to create inequities and create different points of access for people based on the groups that they ascribed to or the groups that they belong to. And that you can't ignore that the ways that these identities and communities shape and form who we are, also, our experience in the world.

Sara noted that MC is an understanding of how inequities are propagated and White people privileged solely based on race. Sara and other CP faculty noted that historical narratives help elucidate how whiteness has shaped the social construct of race and systematically embedded the hierarchical notion of race to propagate and sustain it. The historical and systemic frame of reference can make sense of how race and relation to whiteness shape personal experience and identity. Such a frame of reference allows counseling psychologists to develop positionality in a white system. Jack noted,

> An individual would demonstrate this cultural competence by being mindful of where this person maybe sits in terms of their relationship to whiteness, privileged, or sort of oppressed within that system. And they would hold that position, that client's position as possible influencer into what their presenting concerns are, or at least to what their, this person's experience in the world is.

A nuanced understanding of faculty position to whiteness as power can facilitate both self-awareness and contextualization of the client's, colleagues', and trainees' experiences, whether or not these are similar to one's own experiences. Eva noted,

> Learning how to reflect, self-reflect, but then also reflect on the way we're integrated into a larger society in a grander system, and be able to do that non-defensively for me is the foundation of multicultural competency.

A historical and systemic frame of whiteness was noted to aid the process of self-reflection and the growing awareness of the impact one's identity and relation to whiteness has on self and clients. In addition to the intellectual and knowledge frame, Eva noted the importance of approaching self- and systemic-reflexivity non-defensively. All participants reported concern about making a mistake or feelings of guilt, fear, anger, anxiety, and insecurity when discussing or addressing whiteness. Sara noted that MC is:

> … going beyond the awareness, knowledge, skills to a stance of not knowing, a cultural humility of having to be able to engage with difference and power in any context, in any level and bringing it into that context sufficiently and not being concerned about that and being able to mess up with it.

The positional practice of psychology requires learning to tolerate challenging feelings to engage in critical self-, other-, and systemic reflection. CP faculty recognized their predisposition to self-judgement for mistakes or for experiencing uncomfortable feelings, instead of normalizing the process of making mistakes and being learners. Emma exemplified that positional understanding of her relation to whiteness in therapy:

> Part of who I am as a counseling psychologist is definitely in the guise of the visible and invisible aspects of my salient identities with you and how my salient identities affect what happens when I interact with other people. It shapes how I view the world. It shapes the kinds of questions I choose to ask. It shapes what other people think my identity is, shapes how they respond to me, and vice versa.

CP faculty, regardless of race, noted that to understand and critically examine whiteness, they intentionally engage in racial identity development. CP faculty of color shared that experiences and engagement in communities of color helped develop awareness and skills in deconstructing whiteness, recognizing processes that lead to marginalization and harm, resisting, and taking action to challenge whiteness. However, CP faculty noted the need to develop skills in facilitating personal growth for all students and colleagues and the need for a collaborative community approach in addressing

140

whiteness inherent in interactions and systems. Kate stated that she grew through community and research:

> For me, it's taken a while, and I didn't come to this all of a sudden. It's been many, many, many years of my own reflection and research and work with students and other colleagues to come to this place of recognizing that.

Kate reflected that recognizing and labeling whiteness is but a first step: it does not change the status quo, and it is not sufficient to enact change. Thus, developing critical personal and systemic awareness of whiteness is one step toward understanding oneself as a racial and cultural being who is a part of and interacts with others in a system of whiteness. CP faculty articulated the need to go beyond personal and systemic aspects of understanding whiteness and critically examine how whiteness informs the field and profession of psychology.

Positional Professional Reflexivity

CP faculty identified their professional identity as counseling psychologists and various roles as educator, trainer, faculty, learner-teacher, scientist, "momma-scholar," researcher, consultant, leader, advocate, therapist, and practitioner. CP faculty reported struggling with rigid professional roles and responsibilities that reflect white norms and values and do not allow the flexibility to be responsive to graduate student and community needs.

Participants noted varying levels of awareness of how they enact whiteness through their roles. CP faculty used accompanying anxiety, contentiousness, and inherent identity dynamics as opportunities to slow down and examine whiteness. Two examples below exemplify varying levels of critical reflection about enacting whiteness in professional roles as teachers-educators and mentors.

White Silence and Teaching about Whiteness. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted that naming whiteness in multicultural classes is ridden with challenges. Some personal challenges reported by CP faculty were concern over how students may perceive them as a racial and cultural being, worry about balancing the needs of both White students and students of color, anxiety about undermining their own authority by making a mistake that reveals bias, and white fragility in students and colleagues. The noted challenges arise in reaction to naming and examining whiteness and can act as social and affective sanctions to deter faculty and trainees from challenging whiteness. CP faculty recognized the intrapersonal struggles of managing racial and intersecting identity perceptions and the interpersonal dynamics of white fragility as symptoms of internalized and systemic whiteness. However, these struggles left CP faculty managing imminent reactions within current didactic and professional frameworks, serving as barriers to systemic reflection and action toward change.

CP faculty noted that in teaching multicultural classes, they contend with pressure to cater to White students' comfort level in conversation about whiteness and race, as well as pressure to maintain an image of expertise and competence. Both White faculty and faculty of color expressed concern about how their identities may impact student willingness to be vulnerable and engage in authentic conversation about whiteness and race. Beatrice, a Black biracial woman CP faculty, shared,

> Our program is predominantly White women, we are in [midwestern city], and there's this culture called [southern] nice, which is passive-aggressive. People have a hard time with confrontation and conflict… students, in general, want to say the right thing and be perceived as bright. So, I wonder to what extent they're filtering a lot more with me than they might with a White faculty member where they might feel safer to fumble or say something wrong.

Beatrice linked southern white culture, student perceptions of her as a Black biracial CP faculty, and white fragility and defensiveness that arise when whiteness is discussed. Mark, a White man CP faculty, similarly expressed worry about how his dominant identities could work to undermine his credibility and call into question his qualifications to teach a multicultural course, especially when he made an assumption that revealed bias in the classroom. Mark noted,

> I'm always a little bit aware of my positionality teaching that class and then occupying so many dominant social locations and privileged social locations. And that specific instance, of course, gender. And I think whiteness too because a lot of that insecurity around teaching the class and coming from a privileged position, not knowing if people are going to view you as competent or expert enough. A lot of that does come back to whiteness, and that was definitely salient too.

Mark's anxiety was partially not wanting to offend or invalidate students, and wanting to preserve an image of competence and perfection—inherently whiteness-informed rigid binary standards. Disrupting silence about whiteness leads to faculty contending with their internalizations of whiteness-steeped academic and professional standards, as well as anxieties about potential social sanctions by students and professional sanctions from colleagues whom students may complain to. Faculty navigate whiteness in academia in various ways. Jack noted,

> In dealing with whiteness and the fragility of whiteness and how threatening folks can find discussions around whiteness if they identify as White, how difficult those conversations can really be, certainly, it has altered the way to have conversations with White folks.

Jack noted that white fragility had shaped discussions with White students in multicultural classrooms. He highlighted that the training community had made an effort to attend to the feelings, training needs, and comfort of White students rather than focus on developing didactic approaches that attend to both White and student of color training

143

needs. Although CP faculty expressed awareness of how systemic whiteness permeates

academics and interactions inside and outside the classroom, teaching about whiteness

without centering White students remains a challenge. Mark noted,

> One of the fears is that [white] students are going to get so emotionally
> dysregulated that we're going to spend the whole time having to take care of
> them, which, of course, re-centers whiteness. It is unfair to other students in the
> class.

Along with several CP faculty, Mark reported struggling to address whiteness in

multicultural classes in a manner that allows space for shared vulnerability and

authenticity and that does not derail or shut down discussion about whiteness. Strong

emotional responses were noted as something CP faculty fear and avoid, as these defied

the standards of professionalism and professional development in other psychology

classes. Yet, embracing challenging emotional responses was deemed necessary and a

normal part of development by participants.

Although CP faculty detailed how whiteness and sanctions for breaking the

silence about whiteness impacted their roles as faculty, teachers, and educators, they

struggled to shift from conventional white didactic practices and standards of expertise.

Sanctions for challenging the status quo in psychology practice carry cognitive and

emotional costs and distract faculty from transforming inequitable and harmful practices

by preoccupying faculty with keeping their job, protecting their sense of competence, or

their White students' comfort. Sanctions of whiteness are distractions that leave faculty

with little time, resources, or energy to critically examine or challenge the white

academic and interpersonal frame that produces these dynamics, or to expand teaching

practices and standards of didactic excellence.

White Norms and Mentorship. CP faculty of color reported tension and dissonance related to rigid white norms of mentoring relationships and academic standards. CP faculty identifying as mentors noted their responsibility to support students of color navigating white academia and acknowledged adverse impact on students. Some faculty discussed struggling with role rigidity and expectations to socialize students of diverse identities to socially constructed identity hierarchies and systems. Kate shared,

> Whiteness is about having these distinct roles that are not integrated because we think about our sense of self-control and who we are, our sense of self. A lot of Western quotes and a lot of quotes from old White men are like, "I am. Therefore, I think. Therefore, I am" and "Be yourself." What does "be yourself" mean? Is there just one self? What's wrong with having all of these multiple selves and that my relationship with my advisees are multiple and don't have to be just one way? Academia as a whole does force us into having one specific type of mentorship role.

The value of individualism and the level of support needed to succeed in graduate school are normed based on White student needs. CP faculty reported struggling with value incongruence in their roles as mentors. The prescribed and rigid professional standards do not foster an affirming and supportive mentoring relationship for students of color or other marginalized identities.

Mentors socialize mentees to dominant academic standards, which, when left unexamined, reflect white educational and scientific standards. CP faculty noted tension in fulfilling their roles as mentors and the inherent challenge of choosing whether to socialize mentees of color to white academic and scientific norms, which imply their values to be inferior, or to expand program standards to allow for cultural diversity. Beatrice, self-identified Black biracial woman CP faculty, shared,

> I've got other faculty of color mentors at other institutions… [who] discouraged me from doing that. They would say, "You're not doing these students any good to prepare them for what it's gonna be like." Are we having separate standards,

separate expectations, which doesn't feel good either. So, I'm leaning more towards… I don't know what that would look like. It might be talking through the reality that we're in and then helping students navigate that while also holding them to the same expectations as we know the profession will hold them to. Maybe that's what the answer is.

While Beatrice intends to create an affirming space for diverse trainees, she noted the impasse of not having the agency as a faculty member to influence standards in the discipline and profession. Several participants expressed awareness of having to socialize and hold trainees of diverse backgrounds to white norms. Beatrice indicated feeling torn and pondering how she may respond and engage with mentees of color. Some CP faculty of color chose to expand rigid role definition of professional boundaries and responsibilities as a mentor, some socialized trainees to current program standards and facilitated student awareness of the whiteness inherent in systems and roles. At the same time, other participants maintained current standards and referred trainees of color to seek additional mentorship from CP faculty of similar racial backgrounds.

Some White CP faculty shared being conscious of their limitations or ability as mentors to support mentees of color in navigating white academia. Several White CP faculty noted feeling anxious working with mentees of color and attentive to understand their experience in training programs. Sara, self-identified White CP faculty stated,

> When I have students of color that I'm [mentoring], I say we should talk about this and that I can't be your only support and that I want you to feel support[ed]. There's other organizations on campus and African American communities or groups that may provide other things that I might not be able to, recognizing my limits and that there's things that I may not see or understand, and that I'll try to do what I can.

Sara noted checking-in with mentees of color and openness to hear challenging feedback. CP faculty connected mentees with faculty who shared their identity for added support and validation. Participants noted an overall awareness that academia is adverse.

146

However, the focus was more on supporting graduate students and navigating current systems rather than changing training standards and procedures to be more inclusive.

CP faculty of color challenged rigid adherence to the operationalization of mentorship based on White student needs in academic spaces. CP faculty expanded mentorship to include being relational, using self-disclosure, providing emotional support, and sharing logistical information in navigating adverse white academic spaces as people of color. Eva noted,

> I also tried to mentor. How do I develop as a person along with my professional self? How do I make sense of what it means to be a woman of color in spaces? How do we make sense of what it means to carry, to be harmed in these spaces that are supposed to, that claims to value social justice? And when I experienced hurt, how do I navigate that? How do I navigate my own allyship? I am wrestling with those things myself, and I hoped to bring those into my mentorship style.

CP faculty of color themselves struggled with a lack of mentorship and support in navigating white spaces. Participants of color noted feeling isolated and lonely in predominantly white programs and institutions. The primary strategy for support among CP faculty of color was fostering professional communities of color across campus and even state lines when there was a lack of diversity within a host institution. Furthermore, White CP faculty connected mentees of color with colleagues who shared their mentee's identities because they recognized that there are areas of experience and support where their mentees need a community of care.

Overall, CP faculty appeared to be attuned to the adverse experiences of colleagues and students of color and made an effort to learn and be humble in their approach. Cultural humility surfaced as another facet of the positional and culturally attuned practice of psychology.

Cultural Humility

All CP faculty defined MC to include cultural humility as a way of being and orientation toward culture and power in addition to the profession-wide adoption of the tripartite model. Melody described, "There's the *whats* and the *hows*, and the *whats* are the tripartite model." Participants noted the need to shift from whiteness-informed operationalization of MC as expertise, perfectionism, pre-acquired knowledge, and achieved competence to cultural humility to the "*hows*" (Melody). Beatrice noted,

> Competency has gotten a lot of pushback in the field as a term for multiculturalism because it assumes a one-and-done. So, I agree that it is a lifelong journey that you can never really be competent multiculturally because there's just so many ways that people's identities intersect and what it means to them. And even if they match racially, it doesn't mean that they're gonna experience their race in the same way. So, I appreciate the nuance there. We're a competency-based profession, so I could see why people tend to stick with that language.

CP faculty articulated that culturally conscious practice requires a stance of lifelong learning rather than achieved competence and expertise. Noted components of cultural humility include curiosity, flexibility, and openness to learning about others' experiences, whether shared or different social locations and identities. Jack stated,

> But I certainly understand it [in] terms of competences as a real sense of humility around others individual experiences, but also a curiosity around what their intersecting identities are and what may be the things that are influencing their experiences… but also remaining humble in the sense that I don't believe that I have all the answers.

Humility in practice was described as an awareness of own assumptions and acceptance that psychologists could not know and predict others' experiences solely based on a class or shared identities. CP faculty noted that humility also requires challenging notions of perfectionism inherent in academic socialization, and normalizing mistakes as a function of growth. Mark described his response to having committed a

microaggression in class: "role modeling by owning up to my mistakes, and demonstrating humility in that way."

Normalizing lifelong learning allowed faculty to approach mistakes with humility by acknowledging them, taking responsibility for the impact, and being committed to acting in more affirming ways. Participants noted demonstrating humility in teaching by owning mistakes, being receptive to feedback, committing not to repeat a mistake, and modifying behavior. Sara reported being mindful of her privilege and inherent assumptions and limitations in understanding research participants' realities. Thus, she asks research participants for input about what they may want the world to know or questions they think she may have missed about their experiences. Kate similarly noted engaging in participatory action research, recognizing her limited knowledge of culturally different research participants, and wanting to honor and empower research participants as equals despite power differences inherent in education, class, and racial identity. CP faculty in service and leadership roles noted entering spaces with humility and awareness of limited ability to represent all voices. Eva emphasized the need for humility and the burden of representing all diverse individuals as a woman of color on a board of all White men. Jack shared about having to be humble, willing to learn, and embracing the vulnerability of making a mistake in using his privilege to advocate for a student with a marginalized identity that Jack felt he did not have expertise and knowledge to serve.

Checking one's assumptions of expertise and knowledge by asking questions was identified as enacting humility. Jack further elaborated: "…if you refuse to take your perception as an absolute truth with like a capital T, Truth." Bella stated that it took a

personal effort to educate herself post-graduation to challenge the socialized mindset of

knowledge and achieved competence:

> I started to read a little bit more about this idea of cultural humility and being
> humble and not knowing. Not assuming that you know everything about another
> person's experience and being open and trying to understand, as opposed to my
> young mindset, had this idea that I needed to know everything. And I actually
> think, I'm sure there were times when I probably ended up harming a relationship
> because of this desire to be knowledgeable or to make assumptions.

CP faculty described working through personal struggles with anxiety and

engaging in ongoing personal work to shift from their academic socialization to expertise

and perfectionism to cultural humility. CP faculty shared that cultural humility was not

taught in graduate school and connected cultural humility with the willingness to examine

how whiteness influences client experiences, therapist perspectives and assumptions, and

even the structural frame of therapy in content and construct.

Closely connected with cultural humility was the concept of lifelong learning by

de-centering assumptions and taking a position of curiosity and openness to learning.

Monica stated,

> It's a way of being. You're striving to grow and develop lifelong. You're willing
> to be humble. You know that you don't know everything, that it's messy, and it's
> okay to be messy so that if you're talking with someone, you might make a
> mistake, and you might inadvertently offend somebody.

A lifelong learning process requires contending with concerns about how

colleagues and students may perceive faculty and overcoming the fear of making

mistakes or being seen as imperfect or incompetent. Ana described normalizing mistakes

and modeling humility when she makes mistakes in class:

> I'm learning too. There are times when I may say the wrong thing, or I may not
> know an answer. And in those moments, trying to be vulnerable and try to role
> model that "Yeah, I did mess up with this. So, let's see what I can do"… I'm
> curious, and I'm developing, and I'm learning.

CP faculty noted that lifelong learning includes embracing the vulnerability of not knowing, the ambiguity of learning about one's own relations to power through feedback or witnessing impact on those who are marginalized, and the discomfort associated with making mistakes. CP faculty noted that lifelong learning requires ongoing reflexivity about one's position to power and others, identity development, and responsible management of limitations. Approaching roles and responsibilities with cultural humility, curiosity, and openness to learning was noted to be freeing by several CP faculty. It also led to breaking down barriers and connecting with others.

Connection and Empathy

Whiteness through hierarchies and binaries produces divides and disconnection: White versus Black, superior versus inferior, professional versus unprofessional. The costs of whiteness were described as disconnection from self and others, co-opting identity, and socialization to whiteness for White people. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color reported encountering experiential and affective distance toward *the other*. Thus, connecting with racial-cultural selves and cultivating empathy was noted as an essential aspect of understanding one's positionality and the cultural practice of psychology.

CP faculty described engaging in various strategies to humanize people of diverse identities by listening to experiences with whiteness. Grounded in a humble approach, CP faculty sought to familiarize themselves with the narratives of both White people and people of color to learn about experiences and needs. Sara shared,

> We can't learn everything about every single culture and community in the world, but we could certainly take the stance of not knowing and wanting to know and wanting to learn and doing the groundwork to be open and to being inclusive and

knowing where to look to find out more when you're not. And knowing what questions to ask to open up those conversations and create connections.

Sharing and witnessing experiences across the knowledge and affective divides created by whiteness, CP faculty reported learning to recognize that whiteness is limiting in connecting and valuing self and others. Whiteness lends itself to "boxing in folks" and othering by focusing on hierarchies and justifications of those hierarchies through meritocracy and binaries of superiority-inferiority. Melody discussed the distance whiteness can create:

> My relationship with whiteness is complicated. I have been challenged in all the good ways. Right, for how to work with that and how to work with it in a way that doesn't create distance that creates connection and that fosters understanding.

Several CP faculty reflected that the "distance" is perpetuated by ignorance about the reality of conventional whiteness and ignorance of how CP faculty participate in professional practice informed by whiteness. Melody discussed engaging in a worthwhile struggle to challenge herself to go beyond the stereotypes and differences often taught in multicultural courses and the media. Jack noted,

> If we can take a position of not believing what the books we've read tell us about what is good and valuing our own experiences as well as the experiences of the folks who with whom you'll interact in whatever capacities.

As educators and clinicians, participants noted cultivating empathy among White people for people of color and vice versa, as both are impacted by whiteness in creating an affective gap. Melody stated that fostering empathy requires "building bridges" across divides that have been created by power:

> Most people are gonna have an experience of being the person that has more power in a context and then has less power in a different context. And I think we're waging battles. I think we're waging battles, period, instead of trying to achieve understandings. And I do worry about that. I love reading these books,

and I'm all for calling things out. Also, this is the educator in me; I'm also very interested in building bridges.

Participants reported overcoming divides and developing empathy "as my understanding of whiteness has become more fine grained" (Jack), which required work for both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. Jack noted working with White students and students of color and encouraging them to develop understanding of their own and others' positionality within systemic whiteness:

> "Well, I'm a person color, so I understand this, and I'm not gonna get much from this particular class," to work to develop within them a sense of humility and curiosity around the experience of White folks and whiteness. [It] has been an intricate dance… I have to become more nuanced in my understanding of the people of color's experience so that I can and connect the dots for them to build this sense of empathy for White folks.

Jack shared encouraging students of color to complicate their understanding of whiteness beyond the epistemic privilege inherent in experiences of marginalization and oppression and to engage with curiosity about the experience of whiteness. Jack noted that, unlike White people who perpetuate white supremacy, people of color distance for safety and self-preservation from White people, leading to a pull to disconnect. Developing empathy requires vulnerability and openness that comes with risk and a substantial threat for trainees and CP faculty of color. Monica shared about the challenge of connecting with clients who act in harmful ways:

> I can see that from the other [White] person's point of view. I don't necessarily condone it, but I also understand it. And that's really hard to do. That's what we have to do in counseling all the time as well, develop empathy for people who may rub us the wrong way and are being very sexist or ageist or racist.

The distance for people of color can be protective, while for White CP faculty and students, the disconnection is self-serving and comes with a personal cost. The intellectual understanding facilitated in multicultural training does not translate to relating

to lived experiences and connecting within and across racial lines. For clinicians, it is also challenging to relate to clients of diverse racial backgrounds with empathy and humanity when that divide is constantly propagated and incentivized as superiority, comfort, positive regard, and unearned advantage.

CP faculty noted using their own identity-related experiences of marginalization and power to relate with trainees, colleagues, and clients. White CP faculty sympathized with faculty and students of color through their own experiences of marginalization. Sara reflected on her experience of being isolated as a lesbian woman in another city:

> But being in that society [the last city resided in] where I was very marginalized, it was always on my mind. It helps me to think about what that experience is like for students of color coming into a program. That is, there are more White graduate students or coming into a practicum sites or placements.

Sara experienced marginalization and isolation due to heterosexism and homophobia. Adverse experiences helped her connect and relate to her students of color in a predominantly white institution and training community. Besides relating via own experiences of marginalization, CP faculty also noted empathizing with White students based on personal experience of privilege and proximity to whiteness and power. Beatrice shared,

> Because I'm biracial, I notice other ways that I've probably internalized whiteness or white supremacy, maybe more so than other folks of color. So, I can identify with the White students in some ways because of that.

CP faculty identified with their students' and clients' growing pains of white racial identity development through their own experience of internalizing whiteness and messages about self. Beatrice observed that connection was aided by being genuine and authentic in relating to students of all racial backgrounds.

154

Experiences of marginalization, privilege, and the universality of internalizing whiteness helped CP faculty connect with their students' pull to distance and the challenging affective reactions to examining participation in whiteness. Connection and empathy facilitated a more profound understanding of whiteness in its multiple forms and locations, whether internalized (intrapersonal), interpersonal or systemic. CP faculty noted that connection also facilitated community and action toward change.

Advocacy and Value-Directed Action

CP faculty noted that beyond personal-professional-systemic reflexivity, action to change whiteness-steeped academic and professional standards was an integral part of the positional practice of psychology. Participants engaged in service to the profession through various leadership roles within departments, universities, state and territorial psychological associations, divisions, and APA boards and committees. Across these service roles, CP faculty owned their cultural and racial positionality. They made concerted efforts to use their privilege to disrupt and change white systems that served to harm, exclude, and marginalize folx. Melody stated,

> As [redacted position], I worked to advance social justice. Part of the reason why I took that role on is because it actually allows me to advance social justice at the level of specific research projects.

Melody also noted that "my goal in my professional role… is to diversify psychology" and to "feel a sense of responsibility for taking action… being part of the solution" in enacting social justice values and implementing systemic and procedural changes. CP faculty demonstrated commitment to social justice through actions. For example, Emma shared that she used the "power and influence" inherent in her

155

departmental position to make graduate training in psychology accessible to diverse

students, "to make things happen for people that might not otherwise happen."

Participants grounded their work as leaders in social justice values and an

understanding that whiteness permeates policies, procedures, processes, professional role

definitions, and curricular content, and it self-propagates when it remains unexamined.

CP faculty made the systemic, process, and content changes to dismantle whiteness.

Several CP faculty took the initiative to change procedures and solidify new methods of

addressing microaggressions in training programs, and revised curricula to address areas

of silence about whiteness and dominant identities. CP faculty sought to actively examine

and challenge the white systemic status quo. Jack noted,

> I'm part of our diversity committee. I'm actually the lead faculty. We are
> revamping how it is that we, as a program, respond to microaggressions. Not just
> racial microaggressions but microaggressions broadly within the program and
> how we structure and train students around understanding and addressing those
> sorts of things.

Creating systems and procedures that address white aggression and

microaggressions helps make whiteness visible and allows for accountability. Some CP

faculty expanded the multicultural curriculum to include literature about whiteness,

intersectionality, and diverse identity-related experiences and forms of marginalization.

Sara noted,

> Let's add this to the agenda on the first meeting of the year to see how are we
> putting this in practice? Making this an opening for people who are struggling
> with disability concerns that they can come directly to us and how they do that.
> And so, trying to implement it at a structural level.

Sara noted the need to expand curricular content regarding abilities, foster

systems of support, create affirming space, be a resource, and widen access to people of

diverse abilities. Thus, CP faculty emphasized that leadership and advocacy grounded in

values of social justice, diversity, and inclusion should not fall only on leaders and faculty of color. Mark noted,

> We try to emphasize lifelong learning and getting our students involved in leadership. Sort of trying to have a ripple effect in a sense so that students are also pursuing some of these opportunities where they can engage in more advocacy and systems change interventions.

Although not part of the training curriculum, leadership and service allowed CP faculty to enact change on a systemic level. Participants noted advocacy and leadership as essential skills they sought to instill in the next generation of CP psychologists. The experiences of White CP faculty and CP faculty of color in advocacy were qualitatively different and thus will be discussed separately.

Advocacy and Counseling Psychology Faculty of Color. CP faculty of color reflected on the burden and importance of being present in predominantly white academic and professional spaces. Participants reported being tokenized in service roles and being asked to represent several marginalized communities' heterogeneous needs. Most boards, committees, and departments have several White leaders representing the diverse needs of White people. Dominant interests are represented by multiple leaders, while the representation of diverse communities often falls on one representative of color or other diverse identity. Emma stated,

> I am the only female on the board, I'm the only ethnic minority member on the board, and I'm the only academic on the board. If I step off that board, unless they replace several versions of me with new board members, there are aspects of who I am and what I do and how I influence things that won't be there.

Emma noted that her contributions and advocacy are crucial on a board of White men, as legal decisions about the profession would otherwise be limited to the needs and interests of White people who are unaware of the academic climate. CP faculty of color

identified increasing representation of CP faculty and students of color in programs as action and advocacy.

CP faculty of color noted the importance of visual representation as academia is predominantly white. White academia and the visible absence of faculty and students of color further reinforce assumptions of superiority and stereotypes of worth and intellect to White people. Monica shared,

> Mostly other students of color will chime up and not the White students and say, "I really appreciate seeing you in a position of power, doing this work, et cetera, et cetera." I also have the thoughts of like, well observing that there are people of color or some minority identity of some such that are in the roles of doing this work.

Several CP faculty of color noted that their presence in white spaces could challenge and disrupt whiteness. It can also serve as a helpful tool to challenge internalized assumptions among White students and students of color about what a counseling psychologist looks like and who belongs in the field. Emma stated,

> I decided to become a faculty member as a role model. I was very clear that people need to know that people who look like me can and do this kind of work... And that's not just modeling for ethnic minority students. That's modeling for everybody.

Emma made a conscious choice to be a faculty member to challenge stereotypes and make academia accessible to everyone. That entailed living in a white state and rural community, where she was the only faculty of color in the program and one of few on campus for decades. Similarly, several other Black and African American CP faculty reported being the only faculty of color during their training and tenure in academia. Eva shared,

> I am the first African American woman in our counseling, in the history of our counseling psychology program. The first person of color as a faculty member... I

158

recognize my presence is something that is in itself revolutionary for the grand scheme.

CP faculty of color often reported being the first or only faculty of color and choosing to be trailblazers in breaking stereotypes and disrupting whiteness. Despite challenges, CP faculty of color emphasized a commitment to more inclusive academic spaces for all. White CP faculty's experience of advocacy and action differed significantly from that of their colleagues of color.

Advocacy and White Counseling Psychology Faculty. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color described using power and privilege derived from their racial, professional, and educational standing to advocate for themselves and others. White CP faculty noted awareness of the power they hold as a function of their white racial identity and expressed commitment to exercise this unearned power with responsibility. Ana shared,

> My whiteness actually becomes more whiteness with White people. I need to use that power… when I'm with other White people. I just need to be much more intentional and need to use my power to keep reminding over and over what a white space we are. So, as you're saying it, I'm just realizing that.

Ana came to ponder how white power was more significant for White CP faculty in white spaces than in a community of color. She noted increased comfort in the company of people of color and guardedness in predominantly White groups, as she felt responsible for how she enacts and propagates whiteness in unison with other White colleagues. Addressing the lack of diversity and increased likeliness of reproducing whiteness through the unexamined status quo, Ana tried to bring awareness and to collectively examine whiteness during faculty meetings. Mark also noted the importance of White CP faculty addressing whiteness:

Over the years, I started to recognize that, and then I use my voice more because I could see that I was much more protected than some of my peers, especially some of my peers of color, to do and say things.

Mark recognized that making whiteness visible and bringing it into colleagues' awareness will result in sanctions. However, he also noted that being a White cis-gendered man provides him with privileges compared to colleagues of color. All CP faculty stressed the importance of allyship, accountability for current systems, and support of colleagues with marginalized identities. Melody noted,

Sometimes you're gonna be advocating for something on behalf of this suppressed identity, and sometimes you're gonna be advocating for something on the basis of your privilege and that you have the space to advocate and be an ally… be an accomplice.

Melody reflected that power and privilege associated with whiteness and other dominant identities are ever-present and can be used to advocate, recognize one's role in maintaining or dismantling the system, and engage in collective action by being an accomplice. CP faculty engaged in several strategies and behaviors to continue developing systemic and personal reflexivity vis-à-vis whiteness.

Dispositions and Behaviors that Facilitate Systemic and Personal Reflexivity

Participants reported the following actions and dispositions that promote systemic and personal reflexivity of whiteness: naming and decentering whiteness, embracing subjectivity, slowing down, consultation, feedback, taking care of self, and participating in a community of growth and accountability. See Table 3.4 for a brief description of emerging dispositions and behaviors that facilitate reflexivity and exemplifying quotes.

Table 3.4: Systemic and Personal Reflexivity

Theme	Description	Quote
Naming Whiteness and Adopting a Theoretical Frame	Adopting language that names whiteness and methodologies that create a theoretical frame from which whiteness can be critically examined. Decentering white comfort and processes across professional roles despite resistance.	But I guess what I'm realizing more recently, since I graduated, maybe even since I've come to [current city], maybe it's because the discourse is changing. But recognizing ways that whiteness shows up in institutions as a cultural ideology, that's been sort of like 'phewwww' in some ways, a little bit mind-blowing." (Beatrice)
Embracing Subjectivity	Challenging mainstream whiteness in the guise of traditional, neutral and detached-from-values standard of objectivity, by asserting personal subjectivity and considering the ways in which personal values and experiences are ever present.	"And for me, actually, the process of science is also personal. So I call bullshit on the fact that we call it objective." (Melody) "And I sometimes think about that a lot of research and a lot of what we do is personally driven." (Monica)
Slowing Down	Slowing down to examine how whiteness, power, and privilege may manifest in interactions, teaching and when challenging feelings surface.	"So whether I'm interacting with a student or a group or I'm thinking about a class that I'm going to teach, I often have to slow down and think critically about what those interactions are like, what I'm doing because of the privilege and that it's so automatic for me not to think beyond the whiteness." (Bella)
Consultation	Consulting, using resources and asking for help when aware of lack of knowledge or skill.	"I noticed that the curriculum that I had originally used to teach a class was not really working anymore and in a way was kind of marginalizing. And so, a combination of that and then also consulting with my colleagues. I have another colleague who teaches a class who identifies as Latina and we also have a great resource here at [current university], it's an office of teaching and learning. We have a director of inclusive teaching practices. The executive director of that office also identifies as Latina, [she] is an expert in inclusive curriculum design. And so, when we re-did the course, we consulted with students as I mentioned." (Mark)

Table 3.4 (continued)

Theme	Description	Quote
Feedback	Welcoming feedback despite feelings of defensiveness. Learning to think critically and engaging in self-reflection from feedback.	"Me and this friend, we have talked about that experience since because he really did me a huge favor in trusting me enough to come to me, trusting me to hold that emotion enough. […] But, for me that was a learning experience where awareness of how I use my privilege in the room was critical. But it was awareness that someone else had to put out there for me that "hey, this is what was my experience of it." And he had a strong reaction to it, and it was an uncomfortable for me to hear." (Eva)
Taking Care of Self	Engaging in self-care by taking self-care breaks, being compassionate with self and others, setting boundaries, giving White people ownership of whiteness, picking and choosing battles, remaining vigilant, and being in community for support and care.	"Do I still get mad? Yes. Do I still get my feelings hurt from time to time? Yes. Do I sometimes have to step back and be frustrated with myself because I didn't say, do, block, respond to something in a different way? Yeah, Yeah. I mean, I'm human. I we certainly have those moments. I'm not perfect." (Ella)
Community of Growth and Accountability	Seeking out and participating in professional communities for support, validation and continued growth, and to keep challenging self.	"This radical healing collective of other psychologists, most of whom are counseling psychologists that focus on healing from racial trauma. So that's been useful. So even if not on a daily basis but to have spaces to kind of hold me accountable and feel grounded that have been important." (Beatrice)

158

Naming and Decentering Whiteness

CP faculty reported that theoretical frameworks provided language to name and articulate white cultural values. Theoretical frameworks helped participants critically examine the processes by which whiteness informs culture and academic standards and shapes narratives, and the dynamic and intricate manner in which whiteness self-propagates. Participants described current training approaches, such as socialization to professional roles and standards informed by whiteness and multicultural curricula focused on knowledge about marginalized groups, as instrumental in maintaining complacence with the status quo. Adopting a theoretical frame that enables critical examination of whiteness can help make whiteness visible as a cultural and systemic convention that shapes dominant narratives of professional standards.

Several CP faculty described the importance of developing and adopting existing theoretical frames that facilitate systemic reflexivity about whiteness. Beatrice noted,

> It's really taken me working with a colleague of mine who's [redacted], which is an indigenous tribe in [redacted], and who has been thinking more critically or helping me think more critically about decolonizing things and methodologies. Which I was introduced to in grad-school too. But because I was working primarily with Black faculty around racism, we weren't using the same language as decolonizing. I think that decolonizing frame helps me think about whiteness a little bit differently than structural racism.

For Beatrice, adopting decolonizing research methodologies helped elucidate the pervasiveness of whiteness in scientific standards in shaping the narrative of what and who is valuable. Participants asserted that psychology as a profession was founded on white cultural values; thus, whiteness informs all aspects of psychology practice. Beatrice and other CP faculty further emphasized the importance of naming whiteness as power and white supremacy rather than white privilege, "structures and cultural racism":

163

The naming it whiteness and white supremacy has been relatively more recent…What I'm realizing more recently, since I graduated, maybe even since I've come to [current city], maybe it's because the discourse is changing, but recognizing ways that whiteness shows up in institutions as a cultural ideology, that's been sort of like phewwww in some ways, a little bit mind-blowing.

Framing whiteness as power allows for the reality of systemic whiteness and its self-propagation to be examined and studied. Psychological science reflecting whiteness as dominant and violent power can be a transformative tool. It provides a framework for reflexivity, and White people cannot avoid or deny its existence. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted that the shift in conceptual framework helped them move beyond intellectualization to action.

Adopting decolonizing, intersectional, critical, liberatory, and feminist theoretical frameworks, CP faculty understood that cultural and systemic processes center White people and marginalize people of color and people with other non-dominant identities. Attention shifted from whiteness's impact on people of color or understanding "the other" to resistance and liberatory strategies that dismantle whiteness. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color reported an understanding of their role in enacting and maintaining the status quo, as well as the resistance and sanctions that may follow when whiteness is disrupted. Ana shared,

I can deal with the White man who is grumpy because he's not happy with this because he's not my focus right now. He is not my goal. My focus is these students or this issue. As long as I'm keeping my respect, my inclusiveness, and doing everything I can to keep everybody engaged, I am okay with people not being happy.

Ana and other CP faculty noted decentering White colleagues and the white status quo as they understood their position to whiteness. Participants reported feeling empowered to embrace the risk of challenging a self- propagating system that caters to

164

White people's comfort and norms. CP faculty's strategies of disrupting the status quo varied from silent protest and grounding self in values to being strategic, developing communities of support and allies, being accomplices, and coming into one's own power. For example, Emma shared an instance when "White males and senior professors" undermined her leadership, exhibiting a sense of white superiority and entitlement:

> They're big deals, who all felt entitled to expect things to go the way they wanted them to go and get offended if we didn't bend to their will because "don't you know who I am?"… I pretty much reached the stage of "Yeah, I know who you are, but apparently, you don't know who I am. I'm the president of [redacted]. This is how it's gonna go. I'm sorry that we're not going to see you. Do whatever it is that you were supposed to do. Good luck with that in the future. Yeah, have a good time."

Emma courageously exercised power and privilege in her leadership role, bearing the insult to her authority and accepting potential retaliation. She did not surrender to an inferior position or submit to her White male colleagues' demands to be centered. Emma chose to use the power inherent in leadership to decenter the interests of White male colleagues and co-center the needs of those who have been marginalized.

CP faculty noted that critical and liberatory theories provided the language necessary to discuss covert whiteness that centers White people and culture. Theories and terminology that enabled critical examination of whiteness built bridges in understanding, fostered connection and community, and helped participants examine how they may resist whiteness and enact change.

Embracing Subjectivity

Engaging in personal and professional reflexivity, CP faculty challenged the neutral and detached-from-values standard of objectivity in research and practice. Participants asserted that objectivity is a cultural artifact that reflects ignorance about the

white cultural values underpinning whiteness-as-neutral in science. Furthermore, they emphasized that whiteness operates as an invisible norm in the cultural and historical foundation of psychology; thus whiteness can be overlooked and generalized as objective, scientific and professional. Melody noted, "The process of science is also personal. So, I call bullshit on the fact that we call it objective."

Objectivity presumes that psychologists can detach from their worldviews and conduct research by suspending their values, identities, and experiences. Recognizing that whiteness informs the illusion of objectivity, CP faculty affirmed the importance of connecting to cognitive and affective dimensions of experience, identity, and power. Sara described the need for positional reflexivity in research:

> Asking really good questions, that's what we spend a lot of time with research. Like, what are the biases and assumptions that are embedded in any of these research questions that people come up with? Because I don't think you can get past the racist dimensions of what we were brought up in. We breathe it in. We have to really go through things with a fine-tooth comb because we've all breathed it in. We're all polluted with it. And to think that you're immune is part of the problem.

Sara and several other CP faculty highlighted that research questions intrinsically indicate scholars' framework, values, and worldview as well as what they consider relevant and meaningful. The standard of objectivity grants researchers permission to uncritically enact racism that "we've all breathed in" and "we're all polluted with" as Sara noted. Participants observed that through academic socialization, trainees and faculty internalize whiteness, then uphold it in the guise of scientific objectivity and professional standards. Monica noted,

> A lot of research and a lot of what we do is personally driven. So I made my peace with that in some ways, I'm a stereotype. But I also worry. Would I have more or less effect or impact if I was a White person? Or is this being seen as

"Oh, this is another person of color who's complaining or trying to get us to think a certain way."

Monica noted the predicament of being seen as biased or complaining for authentically owning how her positionality to whiteness informs her research and other roles as a psychologist. Accusing research of subjectivity for focusing on the needs of those who are marginalized by society and in psychology is invalidating. It leads to the work of scientists of color being dismissed as less valuable, less scientific. The assumption that science based on the narratives of marginalized populations lowers standards or is a self-interested endeavor propagates whiteness and ignorance; it disarms examination of scientific objectivity that centers White people and poses White people's welfare as the only human experience worth studying.

CP faculty of color noted that standards of objectivity are used to imply that research grounded in faculty's lived experiences of marginalization is less valuable because it does not uphold the whiteness-informed illusion of objectivity. Ana shared,

> We're all political, for sure! But becoming political in ways that that's my personal life. Like, definitely doing much more advocacy and loving and calling and, but even in my professional work, using my power to bring those injustices, make them more visible.

CP faculty challenged the status quo via scholarship or by breaking normative silence about whiteness, risking the perception of subjectivity, and acknowledging personal agendas of raising awareness of social ills, thus facilitating systemic understanding of whiteness with the goal of collective liberation and healing. Participants noted the need to consider cultural implications of the "traditional definition of science" (Melody) and to embrace personal development and subjectivity across all psychology

practice. Consultation, openness to feedback, and slowing down to examine the process were delineated as practical strategies that facilitate systemic and personal reflexivity.

Slowing Down

Both White participants and participants of color noted that systemic and personal reflexivity required committed and ongoing reflection about internalized whiteness. Counseling psychology faculty described concerted efforts to decelerate processes and articulate underlying assumptions, as socialization to whiteness inevitably led participants to participate in and enact whiteness. Bella, self-identified White woman CP faculty, shared the following about interactions with students while teaching:

> I often have to slow down and think critically about what those interactions are like, what I'm doing because of the privilege, and that it's so automatic for me not to think beyond the whiteness.

Bella reported making a conscious effort to slow down and consider how whiteness and privilege may inform class interactions and her orientation towards teaching. Some CP faculty used challenging feelings—such as anxiety, discomfort, guilt, or anger—as signals to slow down and engage in personal and systemic reflexivity. Melody shared,

> I've learned to pause. If I hear myself saying that, I will pause and go: "Okay, wait! Is this internalized oppression, or is this something actually legit? Because it's become a red flag, and more times than not, it's a manifestation of some sort of participation in an oppressive system.

Melody, along with other women CP faculty and CP faculty of color, used challenging feelings to examine whether her actions enact and propagate whiteness, as she did not want to perpetuate her own and others' oppression. Working to develop critical thinking and attunement to one's own and others' relationship to whiteness was not exclusive to White CP faculty. On the contrary, racial identity and critical analysis of

systems were skills that CP faculty of color and faculty with other marginalized identities actively worked toward during and after graduate studies. As Sara noted, no one is "immune" to white supremacy as "we've all breathed it in."

CP faculty reported making a conscious effort to reflect on whiteness and expanding their understanding beyond their personal experiences by connecting with the experiences of diverse students and colleagues. Other strategies shared by CP faculty were consultation and receptivity to feedback.

Consultation

Recognizing their limitations due to the privilege and power inherent in dominant identities, White CP faculty sought consultation from colleagues and, overwhelmingly, from colleagues and students of color. Mark discussed his awareness that the curriculum he developed centered White student needs as the student body became more diverse:

> I noticed that the curriculum that I had originally used to teach a class was not really working anymore, and in a way, was marginalizing. And so, a combination of that and then also consulting with my colleagues. I have another colleague who teaches a class who identifies as Latina, and we also have a great resource…an office of teaching and learning. We have a director of inclusive teaching practices. The executive director of that office, also identifies as Latina, is an expert and inclusive curriculum design. When we re-did the course, we consulted with students.

As White CP faculty recognized the epistemic privilege inherent in experiences with marginalization, they turned to colleagues and students of color for feedback. Education and ongoing efforts to learn and grow equipped colleagues of color with a more critical lens about whiteness in process.

Participants reported asking for help, collaborating with students and colleagues, and making responsible use of available resources when they became aware of enacting programmatic, systemic, and interpersonal whiteness. All CP faculty endorsed

consultation with colleagues, collaboration in adjusting practices and policies, and self-education through reading literature by people of color, learning history, and joining communities of growth for accountability. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted that experiences of marginality, vicarious experiences of marginality and dominance, and feedback were crucial in exploring their positionality to whiteness.

Feedback

Feedback was invaluable for learning about blind spots and ways participants automatically enact whiteness interpersonally and in performing professional roles. Mistakes and associated feelings of anxiety and defensiveness were inevitable in reflexivity. CP faculty who reflected on feedback were committed to attending to the impact of their actions or inactions, rather than their intent. They assumed responsibility for their use of unearned privileges afforded through dominant identities. Participants decentered their comfort and needs, which allowed accountability and growth in awareness about their position vis-à-vis whiteness.

CP faculty learned through feedback about behaviors, dispositions, and inaction. This was especially true for White participants, who reported increased consciousness of their whiteness, biases, and ways they enact whiteness primarily in the presence of people of color. Mark noted,

> Sometimes it's hard to be aware of what you're not aware of. But for sure, there are moments where people point things out that I didn't really notice or appreciate in the same way as a White person.

CP faculty described satisfaction with the status quo as ignorance about their privileges and the white underpinning of standards and culture that inform dispositions and behaviors. Through feedback, all participants gained a valuable opportunity to reflect

and grow in self-awareness. Thus, feedback and conversation about experiential differences increased CP faculty's awareness about their own and others' positionality to whiteness. Eva discussed an instance in which a friend had a "strong reaction" to a microaggression she committed during a meeting and imparted their experience to her:

> Me and this friend, we have talked about that experience since because he really did me a huge favor in trusting me enough to come to me, trusting me to hold that emotion enough. […] But, for me, that was a learning experience where awareness of how I use my privilege in the room was critical.

While Eva expressed embarrassment, she also felt grateful for the opportunity to learn about her own position, behaviors, and power, and for the chance to do things differently. Eva described the relationship with the friend deepening as a result of engaging with authenticity and openness. Giving feedback requires vulnerability from the person that was offended, invalidated, and marginalized. The perpetrator of the offense has the power to change or continue the behavior. The choice and responsibility lie with the individuals who hold power and privilege.

CP faculty noted that receptivity to feedback is crucial to self-reflexivity, as is willingness to learn about others' experience with whiteness. Most participants expressed gratitude for feedback, even when initial reactions of defensiveness or guilt were unpleasant. Participants worried about placing the weight of education on students and faculty with marginalized identities and tried to educate themselves when made aware of blind spots and biases.

Responses to feedback included taking responsibility for impact, acknowledging and apologizing for harm, tolerating feelings of defensiveness, and enacting behavioral changes. Melody, a White-passing woman CP faculty of color, gave an example of the importance of focusing on impact over intent. In meeting with a trainee of color, Melody

acknowledged the experiential differences between herself and the student due to

Melody's light-skin privilege. She shared that the impact of owning her privilege was that

the student of color "felt like I was putting distance between them and myself by bringing

that to the fore":

> I preached that intent and impact are not the same things. So then now I gotta deal with the impact that just had, right? And how do I move forward and take responsibility for my piece in creating that distance…?

Instead of retreating or being defensive, Melody acknowledged and validated the

student's experience. She took responsibility for the impact on the student, as she was in

a position of power and privilege. By doing so, she was able to center her student's well-

being and to better understand the student's need to feel connected and supported.

All CP faculty reported initial feelings of defensiveness in response to challenging

feedback. Unchecked defensiveness could be a barrier to connection and to reflecting on

their bias and the impact of their behaviors. Bella shared how she approached feedback

from students of color about an invalidating experience in class:

> [I was] wanting to do better and being careful not to be defensive, not be too focused on [me but on] what these students needed and what I needed to do differently. So being open to feedback. Because it's one thing to apologize but then another thing to focus on making things different or better.

Bella tolerated feelings of defensiveness and remained open to hearing feedback

so that she could rectify harm and learn how to foster a more constructive and affirming

space for all students. Personal and professional reflexivity entailed both affective and

cognitive work. It also required embracing subjectivity and vulnerability, tolerating

discomfort and risk of appearing incompetent, and remaining open to lifelong learning.

CP faculty also emphasized the value of action and accountability for their own

participation in whiteness.

Taking Care of Self

Participants identified self-care as an integral part of lifelong learning and reflexivity. CP faculty engaged in self-care by taking a break, observing their energy store, asking for help, and giving self and others compassion. Specific self-care and resistance strategies employed by CP faculty of color are giving White people ownership of the problem, picking and choosing battles, remaining vigilant, and seeking or creating affirming spaces.

Taking a Break. Participants emphasized the importance of normalizing the need for breaks from engagement with the destructiveness of whiteness and other dominant identities. CP faculty engaged in activities that were soothing, restful, and fulfilling in their personal and professional roles. Self-care activities brought joy and offered a temporary escape from the painful realities of whiteness. Doris, a self-identified African American woman CP faculty, described disengaging from whiteness to protect herself and cope:

> It is hard not to think about it, but it's also that I am consciously aware of my limits. If I face it every day, I will be paralyzed.

Taking a break is a form of self-care and resistance in an adverse environment that aims to harm and marginalize people of color. CP faculty of color took breaks by finding affirming spaces and communities of color, where whiteness was not a threat.

Sara, a White CP faculty who identifies as lesbian, noted the importance of engaging in self-care, especially when under constant threat. She asserted,

> After a while, being in [mid-southern state], dealing with the LGBT kinds of stuff all the time, you have to take more breaks. I'd have to, I really hate the term of self-care, but there were times you just had to disengage.

Taking a break to enjoy life and the company of loved ones was necessary self-care, especially for CP faculty with marginalized identities who experience chronic threat

173

in their everyday personal and professional lives. CP faculty described relaxing by spending time with family and friends, in the community, traveling, and enjoying movies.

Pacing Self. White CP faculty experience pervasive whiteness as affirming, compared to CP faculty of color who reported pervasive threat. As White CP faculty grew more aware of their role in perpetuating whiteness, they struggled with guilt for engaging in self-care and taking a break from anti-racist work. Some White CP faculty reported fear that self-care and taking a hiatus would mean complacency with the status quo. Simultaneously, CP faculty recognized self-care as necessary for racial identity growth. Sara shared struggling with her own white identity and relation to whiteness:

> You could really beat yourself up about it, over and over. Like, "Did I not do enough, did I do enough?" And that's not really helpful to anybody after a while. So, to figure out, "Okay, what works for you is just a very personal decision."

As a White person, Sara reported having to find a balance between self-care and the pull to do more to disrupt systemic whiteness. She identified prioritizing her kids and family and grounding her everyday life in values as ways to address the internal struggle that surfaces when she does not see the direct link to resisting whiteness in her actions:

> I try to figure out what is my energy that I have and what are my values related to that. My kids are gonna come first, and then I have an internal sense of when it's not fitting with my values and what I can do and what I can't possibly do.

Sara described taking a break from thinking about and engaging in self-reflexivity about whiteness as a constant struggle. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color labeled critically examining whiteness consistently across roles and spaces as a capacity that evolves and expands over time. In the meantime, CP faculty managed uncertainty and doubt by practicing self-compassion.

Being Compassionate. CP faculty coped with challenging feelings of overwhelm, hurt, disappointment, and guilt by being compassionate with self and others. Emma came to accept that she may not live up to her expectations of being impermeable, perpetually strong, and consistently effective in her approach to disrupting whiteness:

> Do I still get mad? Yes. Do I still get my feelings hurt from time to time? Yes. Do I sometimes have to step back and be frustrated with myself because I didn't say, do, block, respond to something in a different way? Yeah, yeah. I mean, I'm human. I certainly have those moments. I'm not perfect.

Self-compassion helped Emma and other CP faculty humanize their struggles with whiteness, and to realize that expectations of personally changing a historical, embedded, cultural and systemic issue are an unreasonably high bar for one person. Self-compassion also allowed participants to normalize breaks and self-care and to observe their "humanity" in sometimes failing and making mistakes.

CP faculty identified the Trump administration as a source of persistent violence against anyone who is not a White, Christian, affluent man. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted that in addition to taking a break and engaging in affirming activities, they must exercise compassion with themselves and others who need to disengage and practice self-care. Sara, a self-identified White woman CP faculty, noted,

> The compassion for the singular experience of the world, but also that intense, what's happening on this global structural level right now… I have to find compassion for all kinds of different ways of managing and finding allies in that. A good friend of mine I was just with said, "I've had to disengage from the news completely to just stay present." I have compassion for that.

Compassion towards self and others helped CP faculty give themselves grace and allowed for a temporary respite from the continuous battle with whiteness. CP faculty did not use compassion to justify inaction, but more so to care for themselves, protect their physical and mental health, and refuel so they may engage in long-term anti-racism work.

In addition to the above noted self-care strategies, CP faculty of color articulated specific resistance strategies that transferred ownership of the impact of whiteness to White people, and that served to protect their self-worth amid chronic adverse experiences of intrapersonal and systemic whiteness.

Giving White People Ownership of the Problem. Participants articulated a troubling trend of White people deflecting and delegating responsibility to fix whiteness to CP faculty of color. Participants of color noted spearheading and serving on diversity committees in academic spaces without the resources, power, or even collaboration of White colleagues. CP faculty of color reported frustration, exhaustion, loneliness, and disappointment when bearing the responsibility for systemic change and seeing their efforts fail or be blocked by White students, staff, colleagues, and administration.

Some participants of color refused to burden themselves with swimming against the tides of white resistance and disengagement, and shifted the responsibility for dismantling whiteness back to White colleagues. Emma shared that she came to understand whiteness and racism as a White people's problem during high school:

> That was just weirdness with people that made us all go, "There's a problem with you all. And this is why there's a bias. We're not having an issue. You're having an issue. If you would stop having an issue, there wouldn't be an issue."

Emma's growing awareness about racial tensions evolved as she observed the discomfort of her White high school peers. Several CP faculty of color described giving White colleagues ownership of perpetuating whiteness through willful ignorance and complacence and holding colleagues accountable for the impact of their actions. Jack, self-identified Black man CP faculty, stated,

> I have a high bar for my White colleagues in terms of their abilities to have difficult conversations around race because of their whiteness… when there's

concerns around racism, this weight, religious, or that hierarchy that exists, I expect a lot of my colleagues. I expect them to own their -isms, their racism in particular.

Framing whiteness and discrimination as a White problem, rather than as a thing for people of color to fix, helped CP faculty of color assert their worth and freed them from the burden of correcting a system that grants them limited power to do so. It also bestowed on White CP faculty the expectation that they use their power responsibly for changing the cultural and systemic whiteness embedded in departments, and with accountability for their impact on colleagues and students of color.

"Choose your Battles." Participants of color shared that they are expected and feel pulled to educate White colleagues and students about whiteness. Recognizing that we all have limited personal energy stores and that anti-racism work can be exhausting, CP faculty of color had to choose when to engage in resistance strategies and when to engage in education, advocacy, and direct action. Eva shared that when her institution was going to allow "a white supremacist [to] come and speak on campus," she chose to exert effort to address the problem instead of taking a covert resistance approach:

> We wanted a departmental response, an official response. That felt too important. I couldn't! That was not something where I sat back and was the nice, quiet, docile Black woman. For that, I felt like I need to speak up.

Eva and other CP faculty reported weighing their energy stores as well as potential harm to themselves and others when making decisions on how to engage and resist whiteness. For Eva, the potential to prevent large-scale violence and injury to the campus community made speaking up worthwhile. She chose to advocate for a departmental response and demanded accountability from university leadership, who claimed to uphold social justice values. CP faculty of color reported examining value

congruence and likelihood of the desired outcome before intervening. Monica described

her decision-making process:

> You have to be able to check in with yourself and see if you have the resources and energy to go into a conversation or address this with the other person in a way that's not too harmful to yourself while also balancing the needs of the other person and saying, …What do I want to achieve here? Do I have to achieve something? What is my role here?

Monica and other CP faculty of color weighed potential consequences for

themselves and colleagues before giving feedback or challenging interpersonal and

systemic whiteness. Participants of color recognized that they must navigate whiteness,

and taking ownership of whiteness will only add a burden. Emma stated,

> I'm surrounded by whiteness. I cannot invest all my time and be angry [about] everything that's said to me, being frustrated or trying to make everything a teachable moment. Because if I do all of that, I can't get anything done… Sometimes, being a role model is being able to say choose your battles, make fun of things when you need to, go on and walk on.

Emma could depersonalize disparaging messages and set boundaries as she

deflected ownership and responsibility for fixing whiteness to White people. CP faculty

of color shared being strategic in their approach, eliciting the support and involvement of

White allies, and protecting themselves from taking on others' burden when possible.

Several CP faculty described learning the balance and coping by using humor, remaining

vigilant, and seeking affirming communities for self-care.

Remaining Vigilant. CP faculty of color described coping with the all-

encompassing and chronic threat whiteness poses by staying vigilant and cautious. CP

faculty of color reported living in white neighborhoods, and most participants of color

attend predominantly white faith communities. All but two participants of color work in

predominantly white institutions where whiteness and the threat of being othered,

stereotyped, micro and macro-aggressed, or harmed is ever-present. Jack, self-identified

Black man CP faculty, noted,

> My spiritual home is predominantly white… I live in a predominantly white neighborhood. I frequent predominantly white stores, grocery stores… [whiteness is] not something I ever escape. It's a matter of how much attention I give to it.

> Jack, who works in a Historically Black College and is married to a White

woman, acknowledged that whiteness pervades his daily life. Participants of color also

described the political climate and the uptick in white terrorism under the Trump

administration as adverse and harmful. Doris shared,

> Out of eight years of Obama, many people thought, "Oh, are we getting to be a post-racial society?"… but I don't think that's people of color. We like anything's possible. I never feel comfortable. Keep that awareness up.

 "Keep that awareness up" translates to constant anticipation of threat and harm, a

burdensome vigilance that occupies considerable mental and emotional space. Jack noted

the potential for chronic threat and vigilance is harmful in itself:

> It's very infrequent where I feel defensive, where I feel reactive to something. It's more sort of proactive, getting-a-lay-of-the-land, preparing myself, but not necessarily something where I have to feel threatened. I'm trying to keep my stress down.

> Jack and other CP faculty of color described engaging in "proactive" vigilance,

constantly assessing for and anticipating threats in an attempt to temper the impact that

the stress of being defensive and guarded can have on health and well-being. Another

strategy CP faculty used to manage stress was seeking affirming communities.

"Space where I Could Be my Whole Entire Cultural Self." To counter harm

inherent to the current sociopolitical climate, escalating overt white supremacy and

violence, and the burden of constant vigilance, CP faculty sought affirming spaces and

spent time with family, with friends, and in communities of color where they felt

validated and supported. Beatrice reflected that she "need[s] to be more selective of who I share time and space with, so I end up feeling affirmed versus diminished or degraded." Some CP faculty of color realized during the interview process that they do not have a safe and affirming community.

CP faculty of color wanted space where their experiences are understood without having to educate and justify their perceptions of adverse experiences. Emma shared, "Sometimes I just want to talk to women of color, so I don't have to spend all my time explaining." Having to prove one's experiences as valid to White people is exhausting.

CP faculty of color classified friends of color, family gatherings, familial homes, neighborhoods and faith communities of color, and social events with colleagues of color as affirming spaces. Eva shared,

> We have this thing called Black Friday, which is when all of the Black faculty and staff go and have drinks. It's once a month. I don't go every month, but it is a Black space… I feel completely comfortable to act an entire fool and be my whole self. And to make cultural references and folks understand those cultural references and to laugh and to let go. That's one space that feels really, like really good. And then the other is at home… where we grew up. It's a Black community, a Black church, and so that's another space where I could be my whole entire cultural self without needing to explain it or restrict too many pieces.

CP faculty of color found it burdensome to code-switch and to perform cultural and professional whiteness in academic and social settings. While some participants of color engage in communities of support, others who live in predominantly white neighborhoods or are in interracial relationships with White partners wished they had a community and expressed interest in finding or developing one. Emma shared that a university-wide and virtual network of Black colleagues are sources of support:

> There's that group where conversations can happen, where interactions can happen, where the recognition that sometimes you really are the only one in whatever part of the world you're in. Yes, those various aspects of living my life.

180

Whichever piece I need, I can usually find. Maybe not always here… sometimes I just need to email somebody and have them tell me I'm not crazy today.

CP faculty of color articulated the need for solidarity and validation from a supportive community, especially when they are isolated as the only faculty of color in a department or institution and subject to gaslighting by White colleagues. Emma expressed appreciation for a community of colleagues of color in similar positions across states. Finding that she needed a support system to succeed as a CP faculty of color, she developed mentorship networks, which she extended to students of color. Several participants of color emphasized that communities of support often evolved into communities of growth and reflection about systemic whiteness.

Communities of Growth and Accountability

For ongoing growth and support, several participants reported attending weekly, monthly, or yearly meetings at their university or at conferences with colleagues and scholars interested in social justice. Participants noted that communities of growth helped to normalize lifelong learning, provide support and solidarity, and facilitate collective action to dismantle racism and healing. CP faculty described being intentional in seeking opportunities that support ongoing growth and deepen their understanding and reflexivity about whiteness. Eva shared,

> At my university, there is this [redacted] group, which is a lot of scholars. Most of them are critical race theorists or feminist theorists, or queer theorists. But that's a place that I find I can really be pushed to think about being differently and to explore areas like… I've never considered myself necessarily feminist, more womanist. And I struggled with the term intersectional feminism for a while… That group was a place where I could really express with other scholars what my struggle was… finding spaces like that has been, felt transformational.

CP faculty made concerted efforts to join academic and scholarly groups where they engaged in discussions about theoretical frames and personal questions or struggles

181

inherent to lifelong learning and development. Participants noted benefiting from a community of colleagues invested in racial identity development and anti-racism. Beatrice shared that being part of a community has helped her personal and professional growth and healing:

> Professionally, this radical healing collective has been very helpful in both helping me challenge or think about whiteness… Even if not on a daily basis but to have spaces to hold me accountable and feel grounded has been important.

Beatrice noted that the radical healing collective helped hold her accountable to engage in personal healing and to continue complicating her understanding of whiteness. Communities of growth provide opportunities to challenge internalized dominant narratives, ground oneself in individual and collective experiences, and facilitate connections.

Some CP faculty remarked that universities and programs with a clear focus on social justice can become the community that facilitates personal and professional reflexivity about whiteness for both faculty and students. Bella shared,

> Being in this current the program… it's actually stretching [me] a lot, and I think it's because of the social justice focus in our program. But also because of certain students and certain faculty who have paved the way and really make that an integral part of the program, of the conversations we have and how we think about these things.

Despite CP programs claiming social justice values, they often do not serve as a community of accountability and growth for CP faculty. Among the participants, only White CP faculty and CP faculty working in HBCUs benefitted from the community in their programs, learning from colleagues and students of color who provided feedback and articulated concerns about interpersonal and institutional racism.

Chapter Four: Discussion

This study aims to describe how CP faculty's understanding and experience of whiteness informs the definition of MC and translates into multicultural practice. The study contributes to the extant literature on MC by providing a rich description (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Haverkamp & Young, 2007) of how CP faculty engaged in teaching multicultural courses, researching, and practicing psychology with a cultural lens informed by a critical understanding of whiteness. Whiteness emerged as ideology, power, and socialized beliefs of superiority and inferiority that permeate (a) systems and structures privileging White people (Helms, 2017) via (b) the social construct of the hierarchical binary race of White versus Black and non-White (Casas, 2005; Helms, 1990; Rothenberg, 2012; Tochluk, 2010) that (c) further propagates hierarchies and interlocks with power systems across other binary hierarchical identity categories (Frankenberg, 1993; Wildman & Davis, 2012; McIntosh, 1988). Along with binary hierarchical race, the social construction of white superiority is propagated through the associated myths of meritocracy and democracy (McIntosh, 1989), and through white superiority and whiteness-steeped standards of normality, beauty, work ethic, and professionalism (Tochluk, 2010). Helms (1990) noted that internalized whiteness and white cultural values influence the cognitive and affective perception of self and others as racial beings, and lead to dispositions and behaviors that propagate whiteness.

CP faculty described whiteness and white privilege as ever-present, self-propagating, and self-adaptive (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tochluk, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 1995). Participants articulated multiple ways in which white values permeate the personal, cultural, and structural (Frankenberg, 1993) facets of multicultural training and

CP programs. The following sections elaborate on how CP faculty personally experience whiteness in academia, how whiteness informs operationalization of MC, and how structure and policies contribute to the insidious propagation of whiteness through academic socialization and resulting dispositions. The policies, procedures and behaviors that become *tools of oppression* (Richards, 2019) and the dispositions that serve as barriers to change by perpetuating and preserving whiteness are highlighted within the CP faculty narratives. I then describe how experiences and understanding of whiteness helped CP faculty make meaning of MC definition and practice, as well as behaviors that CP faculty engaged in to cultivate dispositions that foster positional practice of psychology.

CP Faculty Intra- and Interpersonal Experience of Whiteness

Whiteness was described as ever-present in daily personal and professional convention (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Sue et al., 1982) by CP faculty. However, consistent with extant literature (e.g., Ahluwalia et al. 2019; Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Sue et al., 2011), White CP faculty reported starkly different levels of awareness and experiences of whiteness in the personal and academic space compared to CP faculty of color. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color described privileges and costs as a function of positionality and relation to whiteness. Understanding the barriers and tools of whiteness that CP faculty enact and encounter in academia can help distinguish and shift these.

White CP Faculty and Whiteness

White CP faculty reported experiencing *ultimate privilege* in being socialized to internalize a sense of superiority (Smith, 1986), while CP faculty of color noted

socialization to inferiority (Collins, 2000). Moving beyond an intellectual understanding of race and whiteness required conscious and deliberate effort on behalf of White CP faculty (Smith et al., 2017), as normative whiteness within and outside of academia socializes ignorance to the racial identity, personal privileges, and realities of people of color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

White CP faculty noted benefiting professionally from mainstream cultural and systemic whiteness: it bestowed on them the psychic and material freedom (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) of feeling valued, being positively regarded, experiencing personal and academic spaces as affirming, and being prioritized in all processes and facets of content within the profession. The literature mirrors White faculty's experiences benefitting from cultural whiteness. Tochluk (2010) explored the meaning of whiteness by interviewing eight pairs of friends, White and people of color, who acknowledged that race plays a prominent role in society. The author conducted interviews individually and in pairs. Meanings of whiteness that emerged via qualitative thematic analysis included (a) unearned privileges, (b) opportunities conferred individually and systemically, (c) a sense of entitlement as a racial dominant group, (d) being normal and invisible, (e) ignorance of privileges and their impact on people of color, (f) being portrayed and dominantly represented as valuable, and (g) assumed to be knowledgeable (Tochluk, 2010).

Other intersecting dominant identities (i.e. man, educated, affluent) compounded the white privilege and power of White CP faculty to shape the narrative of what is valuable (Tochluk, 2010; DiAngelo, 2012) and define disciplinary and professional standards (Sue, 2003), enabling them to work toward anti-racism in practice or to willingly or unwillingly deny and remain ignorant to the realities of colleagues, trainees,

and clients of color (Sue & Sue, 2008). White CP faculty expressed commitment to using power responsibly across personal and professional roles, acknowledging that biases and blind spots are an inevitable part of white racial identity development and lifelong learning (Helms, 1990). White participants experienced normative and conventional whiteness as affirming and advantageous (DiAngelo, 2012) , which made it more difficult to recognize climate, culture, behaviors, standards, policies, and interactions as harmful, invalidating, and marginalizing for colleagues and trainees of color.

The costs of whiteness for White CP faculty entailed (a) affective disconnection—disconnection from people of color (Kendall, 2006), and bearing discomfort associated with coming to see oneself as racially White and benefitting from, contributing to, and enacting racism (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001), (b) relational— difficulties recognizing and connecting with experiences of colleagues and students of color (Burkard et al., 1999; Ponterotto et al., 2010; Tokar & Swanson, 1991), and finally, (c) personal—disconnection from white ethnic identity, feeling robbed of racial identity (Helms, 1990; Ponterotto et al., 2010; Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). White participants noted becoming aware of white privilege while witnessing colleagues of color being held to higher standards and delegated diversity work (Ahluwalia et al., 2019; Constantine et al., 2008; Guzman et al., 2010), even when diversity and whiteness are White CP faculty areas of research interest. One White CP faculty noted feeling vigilant that she may be complacent with the status quo in the company of White colleagues, and examining how whiteness manifests in white spaces and with White colleagues. White CP faculty described being cautious, feeling anxious, and feeling fearful of making a mistake, offending, failing to intervene and disrupt whiteness, failing to affirm colleagues and

students of color, and failing to meet their own expectations and those of colleagues and students of color. When racialized, White CP faculty felt discomfort in the form of guilt, shame, and anger (DiAngelo, 2012; Helms, 1990; Saad, 2020) about their role in enacting cultural-systemic whiteness. These experiences correspond with extant literature noting the psychosocial and relational costs of whiteness (Ponterotto et al., 2010; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), as do White CP faculty reluctance and tension in attending to race and whiteness in multicultural classes (Smith et al., 2017; Sue et al., 2009).

Enacting whiteness comes with a cost. White CP faculty more readily recognized the relational costs with people of color than the cognitive distortions and biases toward people of color. Most White CP faculty noted connecting with people of color through school, though being raised, working, and living in predominantly white, affluent communities. White spatial and emotional isolation leads to limited exposure, which in turn leads to disconnection from "others" but also to lack of awareness about one's unearned advantages (Israel, 2012). Several themes emerged as cognitive and affective facets of whiteness: disconnection, isolation, and emotional superficiality within racial and in cross-racial relationships (Tochluk, 2010). These themes reverberate through many multicultural and anti-racist scholars' work (e.g., DiAngelo, 2012; Helms, 1990; Saad, 2020; Sue & Sue, 2008). Tochluk (2010) specifies that inability to form meaningful relationships may be inherent in disconnection from self as a racial and cultural being.

The current study raises concerns about White CP faculty's ability to understand the costs associated with white racial and other intersecting identities. White CP faculty labeled disconnection from white ethnic identity as a cost and qualified the affective and relational gap as a challenge and potential barrier in establishing deeper relationships

with mentees, students, research participants, clients, and colleagues of color across professional duties. The empirical literature reflects that White counselors' disconnection from themselves as a racial and cultural beings leads to emotional distancing and disconnection (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Tochluk, 2010), empathic numbness towards non-White clients (Burkard et al., 1999), and inability to form meaningful relationships within and across racial groups (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). White CP faculty did not articulate as a cost the affective and cognitive gap that triggered insecurities in teaching MC classes or ability to empathize with and recognize experiences of colleagues, trainees, or clients of color. Rather, White CP faculty focused on the guilt, shame, anxiety, and fear associated with being perceived as multiculturally incompetent, being wrong, losing credibility, slowing down the tenure process, and having trainees or colleague question their expertise. White CP faculty appeared to struggle to recognize the dissonance between their values (i.e., social justice, allyship) and their behaviors that maintain and propagate status quo. Striving to teach and practice in a culturally responsive manner with the goal of avoiding negative associations of being White or the perception of incompetence is concerning, because it still centers White people's interest and leads to superficial commitment to social justice.

White CP faculty fail to recognize the personal, interpersonal and systemic impact of their privilege on people of color when they reduce affective and relational cost to challenges that signal whiteness is at play. Furthermore, White CP faculty also fail to see *the loss*—loss of the benefits of establishing a healthy racial identity that is not just fraught with guilt, shame, and anger over violence and dehumanization of self and others. Buried under the weight of expectations to maintain competence, perfection, and

expertise, White CP faculty often miss out on the opportunity to form authentic

relationships with colleagues and students of color. Forming trusting and mutually

affirming relationships across races is mutually beneficial and can foster connection and

empathy (Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

The socially constructed, hierarchical racial category of White versus Black and

non-White socializes all to internalize ascribed racial identities and associated beliefs of

inferiority and superiority (Collins, 2000). Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color

articulated the manner in which the ascribed racial identity of whiteness and its

sociocultural power was experienced as erasing ethnic and cultural heterogeneity. The

cost included the identity of whiteness co-opting other ethnic and cultural identity,

perpetuating the illusion of homogenous meanings (e.g., racial stereotypes, superiority-

inferiority), and leaving some White CP faculty and CP faculty of color stereotyped and

feeling invisible. White CP faculty experienced the homogenizing pull of whiteness as

positive for its identification with positive meanings of whiteness (Tochluk, 2010) such

as "professional," "knowledgeable," and "valuable." The homogeneity of whiteness also

carries a cost, which became more prominent for one participant who immigrated to the

U.S. and reported desire to distance herself from the negative associations of being

identified as White American. Sociologist Woody Doane (2003) referred to White people

losing sight of their cultural heritage vis-à-vis people of color as experiencing a

hollowness of identity. Invisibility of whiteness causes White people to see themselves as

raceless while perceiving people of color as having race (Dyer, 2012). This dynamic

allows White people the privilege of psychic freedom from having to think about race

(DiAngelo, 2012) and leads people of color to confront race on a daily basis (hooks,

2012). On an intrapersonal level, Dalton (2012) asserts that the "American delusion" (p. 15) of rugged individualism sustains the illusion of disconnection from a collective White race. However, this lack of racial self-awareness can be experienced as an absence of community or belonging by White people (Tochluk, 2010; Sue, 2001).

CP Faculty of Color and Whiteness

CP faculty of color noted epistemic privilege (Collins, 1986; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Haraway 1988; Smith, 1997) in understanding whiteness, white privilege and racism because of chronic and daily experiences of marginalization, racism, and microaggressions (Carter, 2007). White counseling psychologists also recognized colleagues and trainees of color being more attuned to manifestations of whiteness interpersonally and structurally (Sue et al., 2009). Given negative stereotypes and socialization to inferiority, attunement and recognizing whiteness is necessary to preserve self-worth and well-being (Cross et al., 2017; Thomas & Speight, 1999).

The cost of whiteness for CP faculty of color compared to White colleagues was severe. Faculty of color experienced whiteness as an ever-present (a) emotional and psychological burden that takes a toll on mental and physical health (Guzman et al., 2010; Meltz, 2019; Neville et al., 2012; Zambrana, 2018), (b) threat of professional exploitation and (c) delayed promotion and tenure (Guzman et al., 2010; Sue et al., 2011) with accompanying economic loss (hooks, 2000; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000), and (d) threat of violence, physical harm, and death (Carter, 2007; Cross et al., 2017; Young, 1990).

CP faculty of color reported blatant racism, discrimination, witnessing and experiencing violence through historical and current sociopolitical climate (Jones et al.,

190

2020), and daily microaggressions (Ahluwalia et al., 2019; Constantine et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2020; Zambarana et al., 2017). Faculty of color's experiences of whiteness across roles and while teaching multicultural classes reflected the emotional and psychological burden of adverse program climate (Ahluwalia et al., 2019; Sue et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2020). CP faculty of color also experience severe threat compared to White CP faculty, who acknowledged the relatively minimal social or professional sanctions they endure.

Participants of color reported chronic and pervasive threat that started in childhood and permeated all facets of life, including relationships with self, families, faith-spiritual and other communities, colleagues, and trainees (Cross et al., 2017). Participants in interracial marriage with White spouses noted anticipating invalidation and a cognitive and empathic gap from their partners, which required participants to educate in addition to suffering marginalization and discrimination. CP faculty of color endorsed threat and stress inherent to attending and teaching in predominantly white higher education institutions and living in predominantly white neighborhoods, where they encounter an adverse climate (Ahluwalia et al., 2019; Cross et al., 2017, Zambrana et al., 2017). In a mixed methods study of 543 faculty of color in predominately white higher education settings, sociologists Zambrana and colleagues (2017) explored the experiences of racism that contributed to recruitment and retention challenges. The authors found pervasive subtle and blatant discrimination, as well as faculty of color being tokenized and assumed as spokespersons for ethnic and racial groups. In her book *me and white supremacy*, non-academic scholar-activist Layla Saad (2020) described several forms of tokenism that participants either observed or experienced. CP faculty of

color shared their image being used as the sole attempt to diversify (brand tokenism) and expected to engage in emotional labor tokenism (Saad, 2020). In addition to the burden of representing ethnic and racial groups, female faculty of color were expected to engage in service to the institution and sought by students at a higher rate than male faculty of color (Zambrana et el., 2017).

Geographic and physical isolation in white spaces and symbols of white supremacy (e.g., Trump flags) were experienced as violent by participants. People of color encounter daily experiences of personal threat ranging from microaggressions to financial and bodily threat (hooks, 2000; Cross et al., 2017), which carry adverse mental and physical health consequences (Carter, 2007). In addition to isolation in predominantly white spaces, several CP faculty of color endorsed a sense of interpersonal loss. Two participants of color shared that they felt disappointed after learning that neighbors they admired support Trump. Participants of color noted a sense of loss in relationships within their departments and social circles.

For CP faculty of color, the cost of hierarchical race and socialization to whiteness in academia included internalizing negative stereotypical messages and beliefs of inferiority (Helms, 1990) and enacting whiteness as a function of socialization (Cross et al., 2017). In a review of the theoretical literature, Cross and colleagues (2017) assert the racial and ethnic identity "is enacted in everyday life as a set of behavioral and psychological negotiations" that can be categorized as intergroup (i.e., buffering threat, code-switching, bridging relationships) and intragroup enactment (i.e., bonding, community, internalized racism and oppression, and expression of personal individuality). The authors note that parents socialize children of color in behaviors that

range from managing adverse social interactions and navigating threat to internalizing

harmful messages and beliefs. Furthermore, Cross and colleagues (2017) distinguish

between personal and social dimensions of racial and ethnic identity. The personal

dimension includes the "being," "feeling," and "knowing" aspects of human development

(p. 1). The authors highlight Verkuyten's (2005, 2016) shift from personal to social

identity, in which people manage and enact socially ascribed racial and ethnic identities.

Given the whiteness-steeped discipline and profession of psychology (Sue, 2003;

Korman, 1974), CP faculty of color are socialized to internalize whiteness and the white

values underpinning professional standards of practice, and to enact whiteness at their

own disadvantage and detriment.

The harms that come from racist incidents (Carter, 2007) are not limited to blatant

and covert acts of interpersonal and systemic whiteness. Intrapersonal "hidden injuries"

(Pyke, 2010) also arise from internalizing stereotypes and beliefs of inferiority-

superiority (Speight, 2007). Internalized racism can lead to enacting whiteness and

propagating the oppression of oneself and other people of color (Cross et al., 2017; Pyke,

2010). Speight (2007) noted the more insidious harm of internalizing stereotypes,

dominant ideology, and inferiority-superiority beliefs. CP faculty of color reported

recognizing that they need to "learn the rules" (Emma) and perform them in order to

practice and teach psychology. Mastering the language and processes of the dominant

culture is necessary to navigate systems, protect oneself, and survive (Oyserman &

Destin, 2010). For example, several CP faculty labeled the standards of Western English

in academia as discriminatory, yet held students to these standards because altering

program requirements would only result in students failing to learn to navigate the dominant system of the discipline.

Internalizing stereotypes and beliefs of inferiority and superiority can harm the way that people of color perceive themselves as ethnic and racial individuals (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Belief of own inferiority could limit CP faculty of color's mobility, leading to economic loss (hooks, 2000). Moreover, internalizing negative stereotypes and white values (e.g., meritocracy) can lead to attributing failure to oneself rather than to institutionalized disadvantage (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). The impacts of cultural and institutional whiteness for faculty of color ranged from enacting whiteness that propagates marginalization of self and others, to loss of livelihood, loss of physical and psychological safety, and threat of death. The continuum of threat was exemplified by CP faculty of color across personal and professional realms.

The cumulative experience of white violence causes trauma (Carter, 2003) and significant physical and mental health consequences (Guzman et al., 2010; Meltz, 2019; Neville et al., 2012; Zambrana, 2018) that are more severe for CP faculty with multiple marginalized identities (Goerisch, 2019; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015; Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). The increasing number of police and White people killing Black people and the adverse sociopolitical climate led to CP faculty of color describing interactions with police as ridden with anxiety and fear for their own and their family's physical safety. Some faculty expressed concern for their husbands or sons and reported trying to reduce stress and its detrimental impact on their health. Chronic and severe stress re-enacted in the microcosms of academia and the psychology profession carries detrimental cognitive, emotional, and physical implications for CP faculty of color.

In addition to the historical and current social-political context, CP faculty of color working in predominantly white institutions reported feeling exhausted, isolated, lonely, and frustrated (Turner et al., 2008). Professional exploitation and loss of livelihood emerged as significant areas of professional and personal threat. Professional threat has been captured in the extant literature as microaggressions (Ahluwalia et al., 2012; Guzman et al., 2010), lack of recognition for scholarly contributions (Helms, 2017; Zambrana et al., 2017), and burden of unequal distributions of labor, specifically diversity-related labor (Ahluwalia et al., 2012; Saad, 2020; Sue et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008; Zambrana et al., 2017). Inequitable demand on CP faculty of color corresponds with extant literature on delegation of diversity-related work (Ahluwalia et al., 2012; Ahmed, 2012; Salazar, 2009) such as serving on diversity committees, teaching multicultural courses, and mentoring trainees of color.

The current study contributes to the literature in considering the *financial tax* (hooks, 2000; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000) of unrecognized and unpaid labor of CP faculty of color, in addition to the *cultural tax* described by Ahluwalia and colleagues (2012) and Saad (2020). CP faculty of color reported tokenization, being reduced to the sole visual cues that exemplify departmental values of diversity (Ahmed, 2012; Saad, 2020; Salazar, 2009; Zambrana, 2018), and representing multiple marginalized groups on boards where they were the only person with a marginalized identity (Ahluwhalia et al. 2019; Saad, 2020; Sue et al., 2011). In addition to the microaggression of assuming all CP faculty of color are experts in race and ethnicity as a function of not being White (Guzman et al., 2010), there is also a harmful assumption of racial homogeneity: on a board where several White people represent white interests and needs, one person of

color would suffice to represent everyone non-White. Several participants of color endorsed pressure to continue serving in leadership roles. Emma noted pressure to represent several minoritized groups, as she was the only person of diverse racial and ethnic, gender, and educational identity on a team. Other participants expressed disappointment and frustration about serving on diversity committees that have been given neither resources nor agency to enact change. Such pressure is heavy to bear when CP faculty of color's *racialized equity labor* in addressing systemic racism is generally met with resistance and remains uncompensated (Ahmed, 2012; Lerma et al., 2020).

CP faculty of color are often in the challenging position of being ascribed interest in diversity work and assigned to transform a system that disenfranchises and harms them—by the perpetrators of the harm, and without support, participation, or accountability from White colleagues and institutions. Faculty of color encounter the real threats of loss of livelihood and delayed career advancement (Guzman et al., 2010), which carry financial implications (hooks, 2000). CP faculty of color invest their time in activities that benefit the larger institution, without appropriate credit or compensation, while White CP faculty are granted the courtesy of electing interests and activities. However, institutions that claim commitment to diversity and inclusion should not take for granted the labor of CP faculty of color and should reward and finance diversity-related work, regardless of who performs it. Furthermore, resistance to address whiteness—from White students' complaints and low course evaluations in multicultural classes (Richards, 2019) and organizational resistance to change (Ahmed, 2012; Lerma et al., 2021)—leave CP faculty fearing retaliation by White colleagues, students and administrators who react with defensiveness, guilt, shame, anxiety, and fear (Saad, 2020;

DiAngelo, 2012; Sue et al., 2011). Resistant and harmful white fragility can be a barrier to change (Saad, 2020; DiAngelo, 2012) and can discourage CP faculty who often choose to risk professional advancement and financial security to serve the common good.

White CP faculty and CP faculty of color reported divergent experiences of whiteness. While White CP faculty enjoy privilege and psychic, material, and professional advantage, CP faculty of color carry the burden-threat and the responsibility to address cultural and systemic whiteness in CP training programs. White CP faculty and university administrators assume epistemic privilege of CP faculty of color (Guzman et al., 2010) to avoid accountability and responsibility for perpetuating an adverse climate and maintaining the status quo.

Whiteness and Multicultural Competence

As MC evolved to address the culturally inoculated practice of psychology (Sue et al., 1982; Sue & Sue, 2008), it was inevitably subject to operationalization in an academic system based on whiteness-informed standards and values. Students, faculty, researchers, and providers all operate within a white academic and ethnocultural framework (Fine, 2006; Sue, 2003). Therefore, white cultural values inevitably inform MC in psychology training and practice. Unexamined whiteness in the profession can also present barriers in meeting the APA Strategic Goal of diversifying the profession and addressing social ills (APA, 2019).

Whiteness was characterized as self-propagating: it informs all content and procedures in the discipline, and thus propagates due to unexamined enactment of professional standards and practices (Helms, 2017; Sue et al., 1982) that oppose stated values of inclusion, diversity, and celebrating cultural heterogeneity. CP faculty noted the

impasse of enacting whiteness either consciously or unconsciously, across personal and professional roles, due to the cultural whiteness inherent in the discipline and profession of psychology (Guthrie, 2004; Sue, 2003). Participants articulated several ways in which whiteness informs the role of MC in training and practice of psychology.

For one, multicultural curriculum centers White trainees by limiting the focus of multicultural courses to knowledge about non-White racial groups and white privilege (Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999; Pieterse et al., 2009; Rogers et al., 1998) rather than complementing the lack of awareness of racial identity and white cultural and systemic racism. CP faculty described their formal graduate training as limited to intellectual examination of white privilege and systemic racism. These descriptions correspond with criticism of multicultural courses emphasizing knowledge over awareness and skill (Pieterse et al., 2009; Reynolds, 2011), and focusing on stereotypical knowledge about non-White clients (Atkins et al., 2017; Sue & Sue, 2008) rather than racializing psychologists themselves. In effect, multicultural curriculum preserves white advantage and propagates the status quo by perpetuating ignorance about cultural and systemic whiteness and by failing to racialize and facilitate reflexivity about the White racial self.

CP faculty deemed their graduate education lacking because it did not (a) name and examine whiteness, (b) provide skills to translate awareness and knowledge into practice (Pieterse at al., 2009), (c) facilitate reflexivity about cultural and positional self and others (Helms, 1990), or (d) include critical examination of how whiteness informs the discipline, policies, procedures, and the content and process of training. Some examples of White people's interest and needs being prioritized in multicultural training were designing multicultural curriculum to meet White trainee needs, neglecting the training of students of

color, and basing tenure and promotion structures on White faculty performance and responsibilities. Several participants noted that multicultural classes have been designed to *remediate* White trainees, who are unaware and ignorant to the advantages of systemic whiteness, and classes often neglect the needs of graduate students of color. These are examples of white-centering and optical allyship that Saad (2020) highlights as behaviors which are counteractive in dismantling whiteness. Scholarly literature also reflects that multicultural training leaves historical whiteness and white supremacy invisible (Pieterse at al., 2009) and unexamined in the discipline and practice of psychology (Guthrie, 2004; Hills & Stozier, 1992; Sue, 2003), while centering and preserving the status quo advantaging White clients, trainees, and faculty.

Next, MC is conceptualized as a competency (Fouda et al, 2009; Mosher et al., 2017) that can be achieved through graduate training. CP faculty developed critical awareness and skills in practicing in a more culturally responsive manner through personal efforts either during graduate training or after graduate school. As curricula remain geared toward White trainees, CP faculty struggle to expand psychology training to facilitate personal and professional racial identity growth for students of all racial and intersecting backgrounds. This study stresses that the current competency-based educational framework used in psychology training is incompatible with the personal and racial identity development process necessary to grow in racial and cultural self-awareness (Helms, 1990; Reynolds, 2011). Participants noted efforts to supplement graduate multicultural courses, to compensate for the lack of historical and contextual knowledge needed by trainees of all racial backgrounds, and to introduce skills required for translating awareness and knowledge to practice (Pieterse at al., 2009). The format of a

single multicultural course may be insufficient to counterbalance the purposeful silence on white violence in American history and present.

The assumption of competence and expertise upon graduation was noted to disincentivize White CP faculty from engaging in ongoing reflexivity and growth. Fouda and colleagues' (2009) competency-based framework, which is used to evaluate trainees in health service psychology at different levels of development, purports to assure quality training and public safety. However, it perpetuates the idea that the awareness, knowledge, and skill necessary for culturally responsive independent practice can be achieved in a time-limited fashion during graduate training. Regulatory standards in licensure further perpetuate the assumption of achieved competence and expertise upon graduation. For example, while most states require continuing education credits in ethics or law for psychologists to maintain a psychology license, very few (i.e., Georgia, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Tennessee) require continuing education related to diversity and culture (State Requirements for Psychologists, 2019). Thus, the educational structure and regulations around psychology practice imply that cultural competencies are achieved and do not require ongoing education and effort. This is inconsistent and contradictory to the experiences of CP faculty participating in the study, who noted that graduate training in culturally responsive practice was insufficient, superficial, or non-existent. CP faculty emphasized that culturally responsive practice requires conscious effort and entails considerable ongoing growth (Tervalon & Murray-Garcia, 1998) post-graduation.

Lastly, CP faculty teaching multicultural courses deemed the label of *expert* limiting, perpetuated by expectations of faculty being all-knowing and infallible as a function of occupying a position of power compared to trainees. The rigid binary

200

competent-incompetent (mirroring superior-inferior, good-bad, perfect-imperfect) inherent in psychology training programs does not harmonize with the flexibility and ambiguity required when considering the complexity of individuals' experiences in relation to power systems. Okun (2001) described perfectionism as a characteristic of white supremacy culture in organizations, where mistakes are attributed to individuals and interpreted as lack of personal or professional worth. Perfectionism as a standard for MC does not allow the flexibility needed for ongoing growth. Expectations of perfection can vilify both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color who make mistakes, leading them to avoid topics that were not covered in their training (e.g., whiteness, power, racializing White students, etc.) or that may lead to white discomfort, fragility, and resistance in the classroom.

Both White CP faculty (Smith et al., 2017; Sue et al., 2009) and CP faculty of color (Salazar, 2009; Sue et al., 2011) shared feeling anxious and fearing consequences due to an adverse classroom climate in teaching multicultural courses. They reported anxiety about White trainee reactions, the possibility of committing microaggressions, making a mistake, or handling classroom dynamics poorly. This anxiety is warranted given the potential backlash for defying expectations to protect white comfort. Growing in racial and systemic awareness requires cognitive and affective work (Helms, 1990), which inevitably includes building stamina to hold challenging feelings of guilt, shame, anxiety, and anger (DiAngelo, 2011; Tochluk, 2010).

Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color in the study reported increased vigilance, anxiety, and fear, mainly due to White trainees' reactions of white fragility and resistance (DiAngelo, 2010; Utsey et al., 2005). One participant noted that as a profession

we have changed the manner in which we talk about whiteness in classrooms, to protect the feelings of White trainees and to reduce initial resistance. Participants demonstrated commitment to normalizing lifelong learning by embracing vulnerability in multicultural classes, and to modeling accountability for personal-professional growth, humility, and behaviors that are affirming to all. The risk associated with defying standards of perfection (e.g., disclosing growth edges, addressing others' and own mistakes) was more significant for CP faculty of color compared to White CP faculty. Disproportionate negative consequences for CP faculty of color reinforce a challenging dynamic, where participants of color are overwhelmingly assigned diversity-related work or multicultural classes without appropriate support.

Unexamined whiteness in systemic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal realms serve as barriers to the principles of social justice, advocacy, diversity, and inclusion underlying the MC movement in psychology. The following section details additional systemic and interpersonal barriers noted by participants in transforming the discipline and profession to be more culturally responsive.

Program Culture and White Dispositions that Propagate Whiteness

Whiteness was described as self-adaptive through personal and disciplinary dispositions and behaviors that maintain systemic whiteness. The professional awakening to whiteness and dominant power within psychology is not novel (see Korman, 1974). However, there has been a slow response to addressing the multifaceted manner in which whiteness permeates structural, conceptual, and cultural aspects of the profession. Examining personal and disciplinary dispositions can help clarify and address these in efforts to move toward anti-racist training and professional practice. Whiteness emerged

as adaptive through multiple venues, including all trainees and faculty being subject to (a) socialization to complacence with cultural and procedural whiteness in academia, and (b) participation in superficial social justice agendas through white dispositions and disengagement from anti-racism and related work.

Academic Socialization to Whiteness

Counseling psychology training programs socialize trainees to the profession (Sue & Sue, 2008), indoctrinating trainees with values and practices that are grounded in articulated CP philosophy, as well as in unexamined normative white cultural values that permeate curriculum, standards, interpersonal interactions, and procedures. Academic socialization to the profession can either compound prior socialization to whiteness or be corrective by helping trainees develop critical awareness of cultural and systemic whiteness and inform culturally responsive practice. White CP faculty and CP faculty of color noted being socialized to ignorance, silence, and complacency with cultural and systemic whiteness (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tochluk, 2010) via academic socialization (Sue & Sue, 2008).

Socialization occurs when born into a culture where shared systems of meaning and norms are assigned to individuals based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other intersecting identities (DiAngelo, 2012). In the study, most White participants claimed to be allies and noted early awareness of racism via experiences that elucidated privilege and parents who held social justice values (Atkins et al., 2017); however, they reported coming to understand cultural and systemic racism and white privilege through academic graduate study. One White participant noted growing up in predominantly white schools and neighborhoods and having limited contact with non-White people in

203

their personal life. They connected this to their ongoing struggle to grow and attend to interpersonal, cultural, and systemic forms of whiteness in their training program.

Participants of color developed understanding of racism, white privilege, and differential treatment of people of color as early as childhood. Parents and caretakers of color play a role in socializing a personal sense of identity and in the social enactments of racial and cultural identity (Cross et al., 2017). Cross and colleagues (2017) distinguish between adaptive self-protective behaviors that people of color engage in, and harmful behaviors such as internalizing and acting in accordance with stereotypes and oppression. Racial socialization by parents and caretakers is important because it informs kids of color of the existence of racism, raises awareness about racism and prepares them to handle challenges, and helps them develop a positive self-image and ability to navigate the world (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Some participants noted socialization as women and people of color to be vigilant to avoid threats of white and patriarchal violence. Thus, CP faculty of color entered graduate school with some understanding of racism, white privilege, and differential attributions and experiences of being White or Black and non-White. However, both White CP faculty and CP faculty came to critically examine whiteness and power through conscious and ongoing effort, often post-graduation.

Mentors and supervisors played a crucial role in transmitting values and socializing trainees to the profession (Falender et al., 2013; Wong et al., 2013). Very few CP faculty in the study reported having mentors who helped them grow in their identities and navigate their professional role with a critical lens. The lack of culturally affirming mentorship among CP faculty of color (Guzman et al., 2010) has been noted as a barrier to advancing diversification agendas and social justice program goals. Consistent with the

literature, most CP faculty of color received culturally unresponsive supervision (Burkard et al., 2006) where identity and culture-related topics were entirely neglected by supervisors and mentors. These experiences replicated societal oppression and microaggressions toward trainees of color (Wong et al., 2013) and caused missed opportunities to contextualize and address culture and identity in practice of psychology.

The challenge of uncritical socialization to academic conventions (e.g., admissions criteria; professional standards in writing, research, evaluation and promotion) is that it leads to unexamined acquisition of white cultural norms and inequitable standards, policies, and procedures. One White participant noted being advised to "lay low" in order to avoid social sanctions, retaliation, white resistance, and white fragility. CP faculty of color and faculty with other marginalized identities were labeled as emotional, angry, troublemakers—defying standards of professionalism and civility—for addressing cultural, interpersonal, and systemic whiteness in CP programs. Grus and colleagues (2018) defined civility as part of professionalism for health service psychology trainees as "acting in good faith and with respect in interactions with others and seeking mutual understanding and common ground in the face of differences" (p. 452). However, the authors simplify "differences" by failing to consider how cultural whiteness informs the definition and norms of professionalism, and the power differential where White trainees or colleagues and their interests are continuously centered. "Civility" can easily become a measure of complacence with white professional norms that marginalize faculty and trainees of color. Furthermore, White trainees and faculty may require extensive and conscious effort to know oneself as a racial-cultural being before they can understand "differences." Without racial self-awareness, engaging with mutuality places the burden of

education on the person of color who was harmed, while granting "good faith" to perpetrators.

"Seeking mutual understanding" is often not desirable for White people, who are centered and advantaged by current professional standards. Thus, socialization to current professional standards and civility would be settling for "negative peace." Martin Luther King noted about the White moderate:

> …who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action;" who paternalistically feels he can set the timetable for another man's freedom…

Whiteness pervades all policies and procedures and calls for evaluating white cultural values (Guthrie, 2004; Sue, 2003) underlying departmental processes. Unexamined policies and procedures institutionalize whiteness and become invisible convention. For example, Mark spoke about the use of GRE scores for graduate admissions as a practice that disadvantages applicants of diverse backgrounds. He noted commitment to erasing or at least making optional the GRE. The current study calls for the profession to engage in a meta-level examination of the academic socialization process, including the foundational standards of professional training and practice that are informed by and propagate cultural and ideological whiteness.

One area of procedural resistance has been the "quota"-based institutional approach to diversification agendas (Guzman et al., 2008). Consistent with extant literature, CP faculty noted often being tokenized, isolated, and delegated to perform diversity-related work (Guzman et al., 2010), without commitment or meaningful financial investment from the host institution or program to carry out changes. Institutions of higher education must

move beyond superficial commitment and diversity by numbers, toward overcoming institutional resistance and toward accountability to transform institutional climate and culture to be more inclusive and affirming (Ahmed, 2012; Lerma et al., 2020).

White Disposition and Disengagement

CP faculty in the study emphasize that rising above internalized, interpersonal, and institutionalized whiteness requires sustained, intentional, and collaborative effort by both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color (Helms, 2017; Tochluk, 2010). Being born in the U.S. means being subject to the normative power of whiteness as a White cultural and racial being (DiAngelo, 2012). The institutional context, dispositions, and behaviors of White colleagues that propagate whiteness are manifestations of cultural and systemic whiteness and are barriers to advancing multicultural training and practice in CP. Socialized white dispositions and behaviors that emerged are consistent with existing academic and non-academic literature: (a) intellectualization (Sue et al., 2010; Watt, 2007), (b) avoidance of challenging feelings and hindering reactions of guilt (DiAngelo, 2008; Helms, 1990; Saad, 2020), (c) white entitlement to access and comfort (Saad, 2020; Tochluk, 2010), (d) appeals to empathy for white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018; Saad, 2020), (e) claim of sufficient historical progress (Grzanka et al., 2019), and (f) white exceptionalism and apathy (Saad, 2020). Saad (2020) described harmful behaviors and dispositions White people enact that preserve rather dismantle white supremacy: white apathy, white centering, tokenism, white saviorism, optical allyship, and defensiveness or avoidance of mistakes. These dispositions and behaviors are an overwhelming narrative of interpersonal stalling behaviors, both conscious and unconscious, and performative

207

social justice values among White CP faculty across roles as faculty, educators, administrators, leaders, researchers, advocates, and mentors.

While the noted dispositions and behaviors correspond with existing literature about white resistance, a review can raise awareness of the manner in which whiteness manifests on an interpersonal and programmatic level in training programs and the profession.

One, intellectualization can serve as tool of whiteness that enables emotional and even cognitive distancing for White CP faculty from experiences of marginalization (Watt, 2007; Sue et al., 2010). Intellectualization, avoidance of fear and challenging feelings, passivity when faced with own participation in whiteness, and lack of urgency to dismantle whiteness are forms of *white apathy* (Saad, 2020). Although White CP faculty expressed willingness to hold discomfort, challenges can arise when academic socialization encourages intellectualization through teaching knowledge, rather than racial self-awareness and cultural and systemic whiteness, in multicultural courses. Intellectualization is a form of resistance to address whiteness. Sue and colleagues (2010) explored White trainee reactions to discussion about race and racism via two focus groups (N-8 and 6). The author found intellectualization to be a cognitive reaction among White trainees that allows disconnection to persist. Focus on knowledge of others can restrict personal reflexivity as cultural and racial agents. Ignorance to oppression and harm enables dismissal of and disconnection from the daily reality of whiteness for people of color, and in turn allows engagement with marginalization to remain an intellectual exercise for White CP faculty and trainees.

Two, white guilt, shame, (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and white fragility

(DiAngelo, 2008) were noted as paralyzing by White CP faculty and were used to

disengage from examining and understanding privileges and participation in enacting and

propagating whiteness. Anger about racism and one's own participation in systemic

whiteness facilitated participants' empathy and movement toward action, which is

consistent with findings by Spanierman and Heppner (2004) about white affect.

Three, as academic and social places center white norms, White individuals can

develop a sense of entitlement to be comfortable in all space and an inclination to

centering whiteness and White people (Saad, 2020). White centering grants White CP

faculty the privilege to choose "whether to struggle against oppression" (Wildman &

Davis, 1995) as they may lack a sense of urgency. This can be understood as a symptom

of *white exceptionalism*, which Saad (2020) articulated as "the belief that you, as a person

holding white privilege, are exempt from the effects, benefits, and conditioning of white

supremacy and therefore that the work of antiracism does not apply to you" (p. 67).White

CP faculty have the privilege to silently witness, engage in or disengage from anti-racism

work with minimal repercussions compared to CP faculty of color. White faculty may

also willingly or unwillingly prioritize their own comfort and perspectives across

professional roles without racializing and culturally situating themselves.

Finally, white apathy and disengagement (Saad, 2020) also surfaced through

claiming sufficient historical progress in dismantling whiteness in academia (Grzanka et

al., 2019), devaluing the work and scientific contributions of colleagues of color, (Helms,

2017; Tochluk, 2010), appeals to empathy for white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018; Saad,

2020) encountered in facing one's own role in propagating whiteness, and blatant

disengagement. Participants of color shared instances of White CP faculty being absent or leaving conversations about oppression and marginalization, demonstrating a lack of accountability for enacting and propagating oppression within CP programs. Constantine and Sue (2007) articulated that White individuals in discussions of whiteness and racism have been found to exhibit resistance due to fear of appearing racist and confronting privilege, participation in racism, and accountability for changing the system. Lack of urgency to enact change and claims of historical progress preserve a positive self-image, act within white interests, and facilitate disengagement from emotionally and cognitively demanding personal work. Whiteness often manifests interpersonally as authority over knowledge, no need to listen to others, self-centeredness, and discounting people of color and their experiences (Kendall, 2006; Tochluk, 2010), which was evident in the narratives of the CP faculty of color.

Critical consciousness should be an eminent aspect of social justice training (Vera & Speight, 2003) and praxis, accompanied by a sense of moral accountability and obligation to work toward a more just world (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2009). Concerns arise when advanced career White CP faculty do not embody or exemplify commitment to personal development and accountability for interpersonal and systemic participation in enacting whiteness. Some faculty may be aware of systemic whiteness and racism and choose to act within their own interests. For example, White counseling master's students with some awareness of privilege expressed preference to continue benefitting from whiteness despite feelings of guilt and shame (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). Our empirical literature and professional standards are silent about the prevalence of, management

strategies for, and impact on the profession of White CP faculty who believe in and enact white supremacy.

Current standards of professionalism and civility (Grus et al., 2018), while well intentioned, can be used as tools that enable and center white comfort and white interests. There is a need for standards that do not vilify but enforce accountability in co-centering the training needs and interests of both White counseling psychologists and counseling psychologists of color. While current standards assert values, they fail to ascribe white accountability to uphold and operationalize those in training and practice (Goodman, 2011). Thus, a need remains for concerted training and profession-wide effort to address deep-seated issues of cultural and systemic whiteness in training programs, the profession, and society.

CP faculty describe whiteness as an insidiously normative system that informed socialization to and internalization of white values inherent in society and even in academic and professional spheres. Developing a critical understanding of whiteness and its associated processes is a personal and professional imperative for counseling psychologists, so that we may advance our practice in a manner consistent with our values. Examining personal understanding and experiences of CP faculty teaching multicultural courses with a critical race, standpoint, and intersectional theory framework helps evaluate ongoing challenges and develop steps that would enable advancing our multicultural training and practice.

Positional Practice of Psychology: Expanding Multicultural Competence

The current study contributes to the literature by providing a snapshot of well documented barriers, experienced by CP faculty teaching MC, that are inherent in chronic

cultural and systemic white homogeneity within the field of psychology (e.g., Sue et al., 1982, Sue & Sue, 2008). The field of CP continues to struggle with critically examining and making whiteness visible and with implementing changes in practice and training, despite existing theories, frameworks, and practices (Helms, 2017). By exploring how the understanding and experiences of whiteness informed MC definition and practice in CP faculty deemed multiculturally competent by their students, the study summarizes strategies and practices that can provide direction for transformation toward enacting social justice values in psychology practice.

The current study emphasizes the need to expand the current definition, application, and operationalization of MC from awareness, knowledge, and skills (Sue et al., 1982; 1992) with focus on race and culture across foci of competence (Sue, 2001) to a positional practice of psychology informed by critical understanding of whiteness. Areas of needed expansion are consistent with extant literature calling for MC definition and training to include (a) a critical understanding of psychologists' personal relation to whiteness and intersecting dominant powers (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Grzanka et al., 2019; Helms, 1990; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), and (b) positional professional reflexivity that extends to personal life (Fine, 2006; Helms, 1990, 2017; Sue, 2017) and leads to an understanding of how whiteness informs the discipline and limits CP faculty practice (Smith, 1991). The next section will elaborate on areas of expansion articulated by CP faculty participating in the study; see Table 4.1 for a summary.

Table 4.1: Positional Practice versus Operationalization of Cultural Competence

Positional Practice of Psychology	Whiteness & Cultural Competence
Foundational a foundational skill for ethical and affirming practice of psychology that uphold values of human rights, anti-racism, social justice, and equity	**Specialty & Expertise** a field of focus that is based on interests and at times identity
Positional grounded in subjective experience and values and systemic reflexivity about relationship to whiteness and interlocking dominant power systems	**Neutral** mainstream white values that are normative in the guise of neutrality and objectivity
Humility & Embracing Ambiguity lifelong learning, embracing ambiguity and flexibility, disposition of humility, openness and curiosity, sharing power and access	**Competence and Universal Dispositions** rigid dispositions aligned with white values and status quo, achieved intellectual mastery and skill upon completion of studies
Connection & Empathy connecting with own racial identity and humanity and empathizing with realities and experiences of others	**Disconnection** unexamined racial and cultural identity and assumption of universal norms that contribute to affective and cognitive gap
Advocacy & Value-Directed Action enactment of values through action and advocacy for systemic change	**Academic and Intellectual Study** value proclamation and study of impact of whiteness

Understanding Whiteness is Foundational to Psychology Practice

Positionality—the consideration of personal and systemic relation to whiteness—emerged as a foundational component of psychology practice rather than as an area of specialty or expertise for counseling psychologists. Multicultural competence emerged as a foundational skill for therapy across racial lines (Sue et al., 1982). However, ecological consideration and psychologists' positionality to power should be a foundational skill for all forms of psychology practice (APA, 2017), even when White psychologists work with White clients (Grzanka et al., 2019). Multicultural training needs to racialize both White psychologists and clients, and therapy can be instrumental in educating White clients about their participation in white supremacy (Granzka et al., 2019).

The *APA Multicultural Guidelines* updated in 2017 assert the need to adopt "an ecological approach to context, identity and intersectionality" (p. 7) and understanding of one's relation to power and power dynamics as a foundational skill across all forms of psychology practice—training, education, clinical practice, research, and consultation (APA, 2017). However, the guidelines do not name whiteness as a central source of power dynamics in the U.S. and fail to provide a framework that explicates interlocking power systems of oppression and marginalization. This has implications for the field and profession of psychology.

The manner in which white culture and white supremacy have historically shaped all facets of life and the profession (Sue & Sue, 2008) remains unaddressed in training and the field. White psychologists use the power inherent in whiteness to create, control, and shape scientific standards and narratives that affirm white superiority, thus justifying and propagating white supremacy (Guthrie, 2004). Settles and colleagues (2021) highlight that the epistemic exclusion CP faculty of color and women experience in predominantly white higher education leads to feelings of scholarly devaluation, and impacts sense of belongingness, retention, and career advancement. These trends persist in the current professional and academic community, as CP faculty of color and women report feeling invisible (Constantine et al., 2008) and their scholarship and work being discredited, dismissed, or devalued by White colleagues, students, administrators, and publishers (Buchanan & Kraft, 2020; Helms, 2017; Sue et al., 2011; Settles et al., 2021; Turner et al., 2008; Zambrana et al., 2017). There is need for a closer examination of how journal editors' and scholars' biases inform the policies and procedures by which worth is

ascribed to the work and scholarship of psychologists of color (Buchanan & Kraft, 2020; Guthrie, 2004; Settles et al., 2021).

In addition to a critical analysis of whiteness in psychology, associated policies and procedures must be dismantled (Williams & Williams-Morries, 2000), and more inclusive and expansive practices need to be instituted. Study participants helped elucidate that as long as enacting white culture and systems of oppression are incentivized and provide upward mobility for those who are ignorant, silent, and complicit, little can be expected to change (Pyke, 2010). Thus, CP faculty in the study suggest that critical understanding of whiteness—as power and culture (Frankenberg, 1993)—is necessary for MC.

A shift to a personal, group-level, and systems-level understanding of whiteness (Dyer, 2012; Lopez, 2003) within a historical framework (Brown, 2003; deKoven, 2011; DiAngelo, 2012; Tochluk, 2010) is needed to identify patterns and processes that propagate whiteness. Participants shared that while they could sense that interpersonal and systemic racism are wrong, at times they did not have the historical knowledge and background to help them examine the interpersonal and systemic aspects of whiteness, as well as interlocking dominant powers. Israel (2010) emphasized the need for multicultural training to integrate the dynamic interaction of privilege, power, and oppression by examining intersectionality of identities and socialization.

Personal and Professional Positionality

Positionality emerged as a fundamental component of cultural practice of psychology. Neutrality implies the possibility of existing beyond values, structures, and systems and not being influenced or impacted by these. Whiteness disguised as neutral,

valueless, and mainstream culture preserves and propagates whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993; Tochluk, 2010; Wildman & Davis, 2012). In defining MC, two assumptions emerged in how positionality is important in cultural practice of psychology.

One, whiteness informs the fabric of the profession (Sue & Sue, 2008). As detailed above, the definition and operationalization of MC, standards of professionalism, policies and procedures, scientific standards, and role definitions reflect whiteness. Positional practice of psychology among participants entailed critically examining how the field of psychology has historically been informed by cultural whiteness, and how professional roles enact and propagate whiteness. Many academic and non-academic scholars (e.g., DiAngelo, 2018; Saad, 2020; Tochluk, 2010) emphasize the need for individuals to engage in ongoing critical reflection about dispositions and behaviors that propagate and maintain whiteness across personal, professional, institutional, and social realms. While much of graduate training can be regarded as an intellectual exercise, multicultural training requires going beyond to personal identity-related work and change (Helms, 1990; Reynolds, 2011; Sammons & Speight, 2008). Moreover, I would argue that psychology training and practice require going a step further, to critical integration of personal and professional identity in practice. For socially just and culturally affirming psychology practice, positional awareness is as foundational as basic counseling skills to health service psychologists or statistics to researchers.

CP faculty demonstrated varying levels of awareness about how whiteness informs the discipline and their different professional roles. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color recognized need for growth in critical consciousness about whiteness (Freire, 1970) and racial identity development (Helms, 1990), as everyone is socialized to

whiteness. CP faculty noted growing in critical awareness about themselves as racial-cultural beings and about the profession by exploring their subjective experiences, listening to others' feedback and experiences, and examining areas of value incongruence (Bishop, 2002). For example, participants characterized current models of mentorship and supervision as rigid in limiting CP faculty to socialize trainees of color to white professional standards and to support trainees of color in navigating white academic spaces. Coming to understand the individualistic and cultural values that informed standards of mentoring, CP faculty sought to redefine mentorship to include friendship, sharing community, self-disclosure, and support (Leitner et al., 2018), as well as advocacy to change and expand current standards.

Two, MC is currently reduced to being seen as a specialty and as relevant and necessary only when working with racial and cultural others (Holcomb-McCoy & Myers, 1999; Pieterse et al., 2009; Rogers et al., 1998), rather than as foundational to all forms of psychology practice. The reduced operationalization of MC implies that values are important to articulate and examine only when studying or working with non-dominant racial identities and cultures. This assumption leaves conventional and normative whiteness in all facets of work unexamined and invisible.

All participants expressed commitment to grow and to use their power for social justice change, and willingness to expand their roles as mentors, teachers, researchers, leaders, and advocates to be more inclusive and affirming. This shift in approach carries emotional and psychological burden, threat to livelihood, and career risk for faculty of color (Ahluwalia et al., 2019; hooks, 2010; Carter, 2007; Young, 1990) and fear of social sanctions and white resistance (deTurk, 2011; Goodman, 2011; Smith et al., 2019) for

217

White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. White CP faculty normalized challenging feelings and articulated some dispositions and behaviors that were counterproductive in working towards anti-racism. White CP faculty have the privilege of silently witnessing differential treatment and impact of program culture and policies on faculty and trainees of color, and evading personal accountability. Stalling progress, silence, self centering, apathy, and defensiveness are strategies to evade responsibility (DiAngelo, 2018; Saad, 2020) that assure continuous enjoyment of professional advantages. A couple of CP faculty noted waiting until after they achieved tenure or other professional advancements to speak up about discrimination and racism. Doing so further compounds power in programs and the profession. White psychologists see themselves reflected in the field, feel affirmed and valued. White comfort and centering in professional spaces is used to reinforce a sense of intellectual superiority and entitlement to comfort and access.

CP faculty, especially White faculty regardless of training and career stage, must be responsible and accountable (Goodman, 2011) for addressing cultural and systemic whiteness in training and practice. Articulating cultural values within CP practice allows expansion of professional standards, training, and practice to be anti-racist and affirming. White CP faculty and trainees must build "stamina" (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 66) and "capacity" (Tochluk, 2010, p. 225) to sit with challenging feelings. Tochluk (2010) notes that White people need to create a "strong, healthy, and permeable sense of self" (p. 226) in order to manage the urge to avoid or shy away from difficult conversation while remaining open to learn about oneself and witness the reality of others.

Humility & Embracing Ambiguity

Another aspect of positional practice of psychology articulated by participants was the manner in which psychology is enacted from a cultural personal and professional lens. CP faculty noted the importance of adopting a stance of multicultural orientation that attends to the "ways of being" (Hook et al., 2017, p. 9; Owen et al., 2011) of cultural humility, normalizing lifelong learning, limitations inherent in positionality, and need for therapist self-reflexivity (Mosher et al., 2017; Tervalon, & Murray-García, 1998) and racial identity development (Helms, 1990). An orientation of humility can facilitate tolerance of distress and ambiguity when counseling psychologists do not feel looming pressure to uphold the guise of competence by making no mistakes. Unbeholden to white expectations of perfectionism and intellectual mastery, mistakes and growth edges do not need to call into question personal worth and skills (Okun, 2001). Counseling psychologists thus may be more ready to hold the ambiguity and anxiety that can emerge from identity differences. In therapy, this may mean approaching clients with openness and curiosity about cultural experiences (Hook et al., 2013; Ponterotto et al., 2006).

Cultural humility was developed within the framework of therapeutic process and alliance (see Hook et al., 2013; Mosher et al., 2017; Tervalon, & Murray-García, 1998). The current study extends the practice of cultural humility beyond therapy to an orientation in teaching, research, service, leadership, and advocacy. For example, CP faculty described tangible ways in which they recognized limitations inherent in their positionality, expressed curiosity about others' experiences, used tools at their disposal for self-education, and shared power and space with trainees, colleagues, and research participants while remaining vulnerable and honoring others' experiences and agency.

219

Connection & Empathy

Fostering empathy and connection emerged as an important facet of positional practice and a result of growing in critical awareness of whiteness and countering interpersonal impact of whiteness. Participants highlighted the personal affective and relational cost of whiteness (Ponterotto et al., 2010; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) that negatively impact White CP faculty's personal and professional practice. White clinician self-awareness as a racial and cultural being can facilitate empathy and connection with clients (Burkard et al., 1999; Sue et al., 1992; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). An orientation of humility can also improve connection with clients' daily experiences and complements knowledge about the sociopolitical reality of clients from diverse racial background (Tochluk, 2010). Furthermore, higher racial identity and awareness can facilitate understanding of privilege, its impact on racially minoritized people, and commitment to engage in advocacy and intersectional self-reflexivity (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001).

For White psychologists and trainees, disconnection from the daily realities of people of color and socialization to inferiority can lead to lack of empathy and relation with people of color (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). For CP faculty of color, distancing from whiteness and White people can be a manner of self-protection from the many dangers and threats detailed above. CP faculty of color are better able to empathize and connect with clients who hold marginalized identities as they are able to relate through own experiences (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). However, participants of color noted that working to develop historical and systemic awareness can facilitate understanding of white socialization and resistance, which in turn can help empathize with White trainees, colleagues, and clients. CP faculty of color did not excuse racism; empathy and

understanding does not imply acceptance. As a tool of whiteness, the cognitive, affective, and relational gap (Ponterotto et al., 2010) that comes with internalized whiteness preserves and propagates the system of whiteness.

As reflected above, the reason and purpose for distancing are starkly different among White CP faculty and CP faculty of color. For CP faculty of color, distancing and disengagement are attempts to preserve and protect oneself (Carter, 2007; Cross et al., 2017) when faced with the aggressor, while for White CP faculty, disconnection is harmful and works to preserve the privilege of holding onto power to be violent, harm others, and define professional and personal reality.

CP faculty articulated several strategies for "building bridges" and connection across differences and commonalities. Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color shared the following strategies: learning history and attaining cultural knowledge across disciplines (Guthrie, 2004; Tochluk, 2010); listening to narratives of those marginalized; self-educating through literature, film, social media, and art produced by people with marginalized identities; and adopting theoretical frameworks that facilitated continuous reflexivity about racial identity and a critical lens from which to examine their relation to whiteness and interlocking powers (Grzanka et al., 2019; Helms, 2017; Tate, 1996). CP faculty also noted relating to White trainees and trainees with privileged identities through their own experience of white racial identity development or their own process of coming to terms with privileges inherent in dominant identities (e.g., man, affluent, Christian, etc.). Lastly, CP faculty noted empathizing with adverse experiences of people of color and of other diverse identities through own experiences of marginalization, whether these were shared identities or different. In a qualitative study, Croteau and

colleagues (2002) investigated perceptions of how privileged and oppressed identities affect each other and the utility of multiple intersecting identities among higher education professionals (N=18) familiar with diversity-related issues. The sample consisted of fifteen White individuals and five people of color (N=15 females, N=3 males; N=12 heterosexual, N=2 gay, N=2 bisexual; Croteau et al., 2002). The authors' findings were similar to CP faculty in that participants' experiences of oppressions enabled them to engage other minorities, even when different from themselves, with empathy and trust.

Personal experiences of oppression can foster empathy towards differently marginalized clients and colleagues (Croteau et al., 2002). Self-disclosure about own experiences of racial identity development and experiences can be helpful tools in multicultural training (Sue et al, 2011). In summary, didactic approaches should include self-examination of intersecting identities of marginalization and privileges (Case, 2016), which can reduce resistance in trainees with dominant group memberships and help extend empathy towards groups that experience oppression.

Advocacy & Value Directed Action

The final area of extension of MC is engaging in value-directed action and advocacy for social justice (Vera & Speight, 2003) within and outside the field of CP (Sue, 2001). Advocacy is in addition to continuous work to grow in critical consciousness of personal relation to whiteness and power among both White and CP faculty of color (Carter, 2003; Friere, 1970), developing a healthy racial identity (Helms, 1990), intersectional positionality (Case, 2016), and awareness of the overt and covert ways whiteness informs and limits current multicultural practice of psychology (Guthrie,

2004). CP faculty emphasized the importance of concurrently working toward personal growth and anti-racism within psychology discipline and practice.

The *APA Multicultural Guidelines* define what constitutes psychology practice as based on APA-published practice guidelines (APA, 2017). The current study expands CP practice to service and advocacy as not only skills, but professional roles CP faculty embody as positional psychologists. Counseling psychologists extend their roles to advocate and seek social change when necessary (Packard, 2009; Vasquez, 2012). The core counseling values (e.g., prevention, social justice, and advocacy) require practitioners to engage in macro-level intervention (Goodman et al., 2004; Prilleltensky, 1997; Sue & Sue, 2008; Vera & Speight, 2003;). Participants, especially CP faculty of color, described serving in leadership roles in diversity efforts that often do not count toward promotion or evaluation but are essential in working toward social justice in professional regulations or research (e.g., state psychology boards, institutional review board). Advocacy and service to the profession and community are essential roles in APA's Strategic Plan (APA, 2019) of advocating for psychology and "utilize[ing] psychology to make a positive impact on critical societal issues" (p. 8) through informing policy, advancing human rights, championing diversity and inclusion, benefitting the public, and preparing the discipline for the future by "[attracting], diversify[ing], develop[ing], and support[ing] the next generation of psychology professionals" (p. 9).

We would benefit from acknowledging and appreciating the labor CP faculty of color perform in advancing our profession by expanding scholarship and practice. CP faculty of color disproportionately choose to take up the task of enacting institutional diversification agendas, transforming white cultural program procedures and policies, and

bearing the threat and burden of supporting colleagues and trainees of color in predominantly white adverse professional climates, despite often being abandoned in this task by White colleagues and institutions (Lerma et al., 2020; Sue et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008). CP faculty also recognized that their presence and service can disrupt white spaces and create pathways into the profession for trainees of color. Recognizing service to the program or professional community as a form of psychology practice would allow for labor toward social justice to gain more visibility, and systemic issues would be more discussed as well. As participants have noted, counseling psychologists can engage in efforts to shape policy (Hancock, 2009; Shields, 2008) and educational and disciplinary systems and standards (Collins, 2013). Some applications of CP core values in practice are consciousness raising, sharing power with clients, and teaching skills to impact social change (Goodman et al., 2004).

Counseling psychologists should share knowledge gained through research with those whose lives are affected, as the general public can be liberated through the truths learned in research (Collins, 2013). CP faculty, especially participants of color, emphasized that their commitment to service to the profession and community is undervalued. For example, a participant of color noted service became grounds for criticism. Another CP faculty of color rejected the title of researcher as she did not identify with the traditional use of science as accessible only to the professional community but used research to work with and benefit the community. A third participant of color labeled her role of sharing psychological science as "translator/liaison of public science." The value incongruence CP faculty of color in the study experienced around the roles of researcher and scholar should push us as a profession to re-evaluate the power

224

enacted in producing science and the purpose of science. The existing but undervalued roles CP faculty have, and the example CP faculty of color demonstrate in "giving away" and "translating our science" (APA Strategic Plan, 2019) to empower and benefit the public, should be celebrated and valued.

Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color in the current study noted making a conscious effort to engage in continuous growth. Although benefitting from white supremacy is inherent to being White in the U.S. (Malott et al., 2015; Tochluk, 2012), it is possible to develop and maintain an anti-racist white identity. A phenomenological qualitative study explored the attributes of ten White individuals in the Autonomy stage of white racial identity (Malott et al., 2015). Participants demonstrated an understanding that whiteness is oppressive and ongoing effort to reconstruct and maintain a nonracist white identity (Malott et al., 2015). Malott and colleagues (2015) also found that anti-racism commitment was necessary for positive self-esteem. White CP faculty and trainees personally and professionally benefit from engaging in anti-racist work and identity development.

White CP faculty expressed commitment to being allies. The literature notes the need for White CP faculty to be allies (e.g., Bishop, 2002; Spanierman & Smith, 2017), emphasizing engaging in action and joining efforts with colleagues of color while also engaging in white racial identity development. However, the current study emphasizes the need to go beyond white allyship, to White CP faculty taking responsibility for benefiting from the current status quo and adverse climate and holding themselves accountable to work collaboratively with colleagues of color toward change (Goodman, 2011). Several White CP faculty reported taking accountability to proactively work

toward dismantling whiteness in collaboration with colleagues and trainees of color. This change requires a shift from the current white culture-as-universal status quo of competence, expertise, intellectual mastery, and perfectionism (Okun, 2001) to cultural humility, vulnerability of making mistakes or being wrong, and embracing ambiguity that comes with lifelong learning (Hook et al., 2017; Mosher et al., 2017; Tervalon, & Murray-García, 1998) in all forms of psychology practice.

Systemic and Personal Reflexivity of Whiteness: Dispositions and Behaviors

The current study emphasizes the need to expand our current operationalization of MC from an unexamined white cultural framework to a critical examination of position and relation to whiteness on a systemic, interpersonal, and intra-personal level for all counseling psychologists. There is a concern that surfaces with emphasizing that everyone needs to unearth internalized racism. This assertion could be weaponized by White people who may find it easier to focus on racialized others to yet again deflect from White people's responsibility for white supremacy and continue to place the burden of fixing whiteness on people of color (Pyke, 2010). Ignoring the nuanced and covert strategies by which everyone can propagate and enact whiteness can be harmful too. Pyke (2010) states that "to forge effective methods of resistance, it is necessary to understand how oppression is internalized and reproduced" (p. 553). The process of positioning self and others to power requires conscious behavioral, cognitive, and affective effort regardless of racial identity (Freire, 1970; Helms, 1990). In addition to expanding and operationalizing MC, participants articulated strategies, behaviors, and dispositions that facilitated systemic and personal reflexivity about whiteness. These strategies are detailed in the following sections.

226

Addressing Whiteness: Breaking Silence, Using Theory, Embracing Subjectivity

Strategies that helped foster a personal and systemic awareness of whiteness were breaking socialized silence by naming whiteness, adopting theoretical frameworks that make whiteness visible, and embracing subjectivity.

Naming the problem is the first step toward change (Rothenberg, 2012). Language and frameworks that make whiteness visible were noted to foster critical understanding of whiteness and white cultural values, and empowered CP faculty to engage in value-directed action. Language is a powerful tool that can help break the silence that propagates the status quo, by providing a means to communicate about, examine meanings attached to, and make whiteness visible (Wildman & Davis, 2012). Participants characterized as transformative and empowering current terminology (e.g,. race, racism, white privilege, structural racism) and a larger framework from which to examine whiteness as ideology and system of power. Multicultural training aims to enhance MC; however, it fails to facilitate a systemic understanding of whiteness as power as it is limited to stereotypical knowledge of non-White racial groups (Atkins et al., 2017; Sue, 2001) or focuses on the examination of white privilege on an individual, micro level (Pieterse et al., 2009).

Both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color articulated the need to examine socialization to whiteness and internalized white values, as racial identity development models indicate that everyone can enact and propagate whiteness (Cross, 1991; Ferdman & Gallego, 2001; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981). Multicultural courses neglect the needs and growth of trainees of color while benefitting from their presence, service, scholarship, and financial investment in psychology graduate education. The neglect and disregard of

227

the racial identity development of students and faculty of color can be attributed to the white academic climate. There is a paucity in CP literature about not only the prevalence of white values and standards, but also how to facilitate the growth and wellness of Black and other people of color (Mosley et al., 2021).

White cultural values in academia and science work to marginalize people of color, and this is a systems-wide issue across disciplines (Settles et al., 2021). Scholars of color and women are experiencing an adverse climate where their scientific contributions are devalued and published less frequently, and their innovative methodologies considered unscientific (Buchanan & Kraft, 2020; Settles et al., 2021). Pyke (2010) criticized the dominant narrative in sociology where internalized racism—which she noted as a subtle mechanism of whiteness—is often met with silence and handled as taboo. The author emphasized the need to shift from a focus only on resistance by people of color to addressing whiteness as cultural and systemic, as the "reasons for the taboo, such as a theoretical fixation on resistance, a penchant for racial essentialism, and the limitations of an identity politics" (p.551).

Systemic theoretical frameworks recognize racism as a persistent, dynamic, and insidious social justice issue that can be observed on individual, familiar, institutional, and sociocultural levels (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Neville et al., 2012). Adopting decolonizing, critical race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1996), feminist (Haraway, 1988; Smith, 1997), and intersectional (Collins, 2000; Collins & Bilge, 2016) frameworks and Black and liberation psychology (Gillborn, 2015; Hargons et al., 2017) can help make visible whiteness and white supremacy as the societal and professional context in which MC became necessary. Theoretical frameworks can provide actionable

pathways toward a more inclusive, anti-racist, and socially just professional direction to

address the plight of white silence and complacence with oppression and anti-Blackness.

The ignorance and disregard of scholarship of Black and other scholars of color is a

profession-wide challenge, acknowledged by participants, which Helms (2017) described

as a form of white resistance to devalue contributions of scholars of color who provide

theoretical frameworks that help examine whiteness and white supremacy.

There is a profession-wide hesitance to name and examine whiteness and white

supremacy and other dominant powers. The APA Code of Ethics (APA, 2017) calls for

upholding principles of beneficence and justice, and the APA Multicultural Guidelines

(APA, 2017) call for an ecological, contextual, and intersectional framework in all forms

of psychology practice. Both documents neglect to name and make visible the reality of

cultural, political, and systemic whiteness (Frankenberg, 1993), under which these

became necessary guidelines or ethical principles. For example, the latest version of the

APA Multicultural Guidelines notes that psychologists working with diverse clients

should be aware that "psychologist's language may reflect a professional culture" and

"language's intrinsic connection to culture" (APA, 2017, p. 35 citing Chiu & Chen, 2004)

and encourage psychologist to match clients and code switch. However, the guidelines

fail to name the white cultural and linguistic norms that inform psychology's professional

culture. There is recognition of the "misfit" between clients, students, and other parties

involved in psychology practice, however, no reflection about the current whiteness-

steeped professional culture as reflected in language or even the manner in which we

speak about whiteness. Visibility and awareness of whiteness can catalyze healthy and

anti-racist white identity development (DiAngelo, 2012). Thus, Pyke (2010) calls for all

to "violate the taboo" despite the backlash and consequences of "willfully ignorant others" (p.552) as one way to enact systemic and profession-wide change.

Standpoint theory and intersectionality provide a framework for power conscious research (Haraway, 1988) and social justice praxis (Collins, 2015) in CP. This framework aligns with and enables application of core CP values of altruism, positive relationships, scientist-practitioner identity, prevention, holistic strengths-based approach, diversity, social justice/advocacy, and multidisciplinary collaboration (Packard, 2009). Counseling psychologists embody the scientist-practitioner identity by espousing professional values in research and engaging in culturally sensitive and evidence-based practice (APA Task Force, 2006).

Another shift in orientation that helped fostered critical thinking and awareness of positionality was embracing subjective personal experiences and others' experiences to gain a critical understanding of relations to whiteness (Friere, 1970). Ana noted that "we are all political," and socially and culturally located counseling psychologists cannot be "amputate[ed] from social relations, history, and context" (Fine, 2006); indeed, they enact values in all they do and across all personal and professional roles. Participants refuted whiteness disguised as scientific standards of neutrality and objectivity, as psychologists and the knowledge they produce are both socially informed and situated (Bowell, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2002). CP faculty in the study embraced "conscious subjectivity" (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1995) by employing strategies of (a) slowing down to engage in reflexivity whenever challenging feelings arose, (b) consulting with colleagues (APA, 2017; Arredondo et al., 2004; Fouda et al., 2009), (c) being receptive and growing through feedback, and (d) joining and fostering communities of growth and

accountability (Tochluk, 2010) that facilitated racial identity growth and awareness of interpersonal and systemic whiteness.

Self-care as Integral to Positional Practice

Self-care in the form of taking breaks, pacing self, and being compassionate with self and others emerged as integral to developing and engaging in lifelong learning.

CP faculty deemed multiculturally competent articulated the importance of self-care as an integral component of engaging in lifelong learning and continuously complicating personal and professional positionality. Fouda and colleagues (2009) articulated self-care as a component of reflective practice and defined it as "attention to personal health and well-being to assure effective professional functioning" (p. S11). Self-care was noted to help sustain and build stamina in maintaining lifelong work. Previous literature on MC highlights the need to develop communities of growth and accountability (Tochluk, 2010) for sustainable and continuous self-reflexivity. Self-care emerges in training and practice literature as a necessity to maintain wellness and ethical care among practicing professionals (APA, 2017) and as a part of professional competence (Fouda et al., 2009). However, self-care is a neglected facet of skills development in the psychology training curriculum (Barnett & Cooper, 2019) that can be stigmatized and frowned upon in a program culture that deems work-life balance as a lack of trainee investment (Pappas, 2020) despite being an emphasized facet of competence that is also an ethical mandate for psychologists.

Self-care strategies noted by both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color included taking a break, pacing self, and being compassionate with self and others. Recognizing that racial cultural identity development, self-awareness and positionality

require lifelong work, counseling psychologist must maintain their wellness along the

way. CP faculty participants noted a sense of urgency (Okun, 2001) and feelings of guilt

or regret when direct action toward challenging whiteness was not taken or when one

failed to challenge or fight back. Taking a break and pacing oneself do not mean that the

work to dismantle whiteness and anti-Blackness cease; they can be considered part of the

strategy to resist whiteness by remaining healthy and well, so that the work may continue.

Self-care strategies were used with different purpose among White and CP faculty

of color. White CP faculty used self-care strategies to build stamina to tolerate distress

associated with challenging feelings of racial identity growth (Helms, 1990; DiAngelo,

2018), heal from the harm of internalizing whiteness, and remain engaged in long-term

anti-racism work with accountability. Building stamina as White individuals and learning

from more experienced White people how to cope and heal are imperative. CP faculty of

color noted the need for self-care to heal from racial trauma and fatigue (Carter, 2003;

Mosley et al., 2021), as well as resistance and coping strategies (Salazar, 2009) given the

chronic harm exposure and subjection to whiteness can results in.

Resistance Strategies

CP faculty of color articulated resistance strategies that helped them cope in white

academic climates by (a) giving White people ownership of the system and impact of

whiteness and white supremacy, (b) being conscious and strategic in how and when to

invest energy in challenging whiteness, (c) remaining vigilant, and (d) seeking out

affirming spaces in communities of color for community, support, and validation

(Shorter-Gooden, 2004). Participants noted remaining vigilant as a measure to reduce

acute stress. Buffering threat can be helpful in posing CP faculty of color in a proactive

and self-protective stance, where micro to macro forms of racism are expected and managed through various resistance and self-care strategies (Cross et al., 2017). CP faculty of color also shared seeking out places where they could be in community and free to be their whole cultural selves. In predominantly white space, participants of color engaged in code-switching as a strategic and willful endeavor that included mastering dominant cultural social convention to gain and maintain access to education and other basic needs (Cross et al., 2017; Oyserman & Destin, 2010).

CP faculty of color used resistance strategies to bestow ownership of cultural and systemic whiteness on White people. CP faculty noted this being freeing from having to carry both the impact and responsibility of fixing whiteness, without the power and collaboration of White colleagues to do so. In a literature review of how African American woman cope with racism, Brondolo and colleagues (2009) noted that anger suppression was detrimental to the physical health of African American women. Direct engagement to alter the root of the stress-causing problem (Clark et al., 1999) has been found to be associated with lower perceived stress due to microaggressions (Torres et al., 2010) and perceived discrimination (Cokley et al., 2017) among African American women and college students. The epistemic privilege CP faculty of color have does not mandate responsibility to educate and change systems of whiteness that are harmful. However, a balance of self-care, action toward changing systems, and resistance strategies have been beneficial to study participants.

Along with recognizing whiteness as a white problem, CP faculty of color noted that due to socialization, participation within a white system is unavoidable and requires joint efforts across socially created racial divides to change. However, when

233

collaboration and mutual investment is lacking, CP faculty of color remind themselves to remain vigilant and allow themselves to not invest their energies in teaching and awareness raising when there is a low potential for impact, when feeling depleted and tired, or when the personal expense of intervening outweighs the return. Choosing to preserve well-being and using one's energy intentionally in challenging whiteness required attunement to self.

CP faculty of color noted that seeking affirming spaces and communities of support also helped facilitate a sense of safety and wellness, which White people enjoyed as a given in their daily lives. Shorter-Gooden (2004) conducted a qualitative study with a sample of 196 African American women and identified "resistance strategies" (p. 406) that help manage the stress of perceived racism and sexism. Coping strategies noted were consistent with strategies shared by participants in this study. Shorter-Gooden (2004) found that African American women coped by resting on faith, standing, and leaning on shoulders of others, valuing oneself, relying on social support, role flexing, avoiding, and fighting back. Furthermore, Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2014) in a meta-analytic study found that feeling of belongingness and community within racial and ethnic group are important as they are associated with positive self-esteem and well-being. Strategies that helped CP faculty grow in critical consciousness can be beneficial in articulating practices in multicultural training and professional practice that can facilitate lifelong engagement and growth.

Implications of Findings for Counseling Psychology

The following section details implications of findings for CP as a field, training and education, research, and practice. Critical examination of whiteness as it informs

personal, cultural, systemic racism (Frankenberg, 1993) in the discipline of CP yielded a need for expansion of the current conceptualization and framework to operationalize multicultural practice.

Implications for the Profession

- Require continuing education in liberatory and critical frameworks that would equip psychologists to examine whiteness and intersecting dominant powers in all facets of their work.

- Institute legislature that requires continuing education in multicultural and diversity-related topics for maintaining licensure.

- Develop mandatory training curricula for current psychologists who graduated from training programs that had no or minimal multicultural training. All psychologists should have the training to provide positional and culturally responsive care, research, and training.

- Engage in association-level critical examination and address whiteness and the white cultural underpinnings of the profession of psychology, scientific methods, and practice. Guthrie (2004) noted the undervaluing and exemption of scholars of color from contributing knowledge is a critical issue that perpetuates whiteness in science.

- Promote public awareness of the culturally positioned nature of all science, research, and knowledge, whether it was produced via quantitative or qualitative research methods.

- Use psychological science to address social and racial justice issues, inform policy, protect human right, increase access to mental health care, and promote public health.

Advocate for social and systemic change that is grounded in justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion.

- Allot funds and advocate for the expansion of research and training grants that support diversifying the psychology workforce and expanding psychological science to co-center marginalized folx along White people.

- Develop fair standards and procedures that, in the spirit of lifelong learning and ethical standards of beneficence and justice, help address racism, microaggressions, and behaviors grounded in white supremacy in all forms of psychology practice.

- Expand competency-based language to include that psychologists must demonstrate awareness of their relation to whiteness and interlocking systems of domination, and ethically exercise their positionality as a racial and cultural being across professional roles to help further professional reflexivity.

- Redefine minimal cultural competency as positional awareness of relation to whiteness and socially conscious cultural psychology practice. Delineate minimal indicators of awareness, knowledge, and skill in relation to whiteness that can be gained through training. Participants in the study are prominent multicultural scholars. Most CP faculty shared that they developed a critical systemic understanding of whiteness and grew in self-awareness of how they enact whiteness across their personal and professional roles post-graduation.

- Challenge profession-wide assumptions of multicultural knowledge and expertise as inherent to individuals with non-White racial identity and collaboratively shoulder the burden and responsibility to address whiteness professionally, institutionally, and personally.

Implications for Institutions of Higher Education

- Institutions should actively work to dismantle whiteness on an institutional policy and procedural level. Progress toward dismantling institutionalized whiteness should be evaluated on an ongoing basis. Strategies for addressing personal and institutional resistance (some of which are described in disposition and behaviors) should be articulated.

- Institutions of higher education should invest financially in diversity and social justice efforts that are recommended by diversity committees. Institutions of higher education must move beyond diversity committees and diversity quotas to financial investment and changes in policies and procedures (Ahmed, 2012; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

- Recognizing the burden and threat CP faculty of color experience, White administrators and faculty should own responsibility for climate and work collaboratively to enact changes. Universities must be accountable for perpetuating an adverse institutional climate and take responsibility by working collaboratively with the university community, both White and community members of color, to enact changes. This may include mandatory curricular requirements for all, especially White university members (e.g., faculty, administrators, staff, students), that help them articulate their role and responsibility in propagating and dismantling white supremacy on campus and in their academic endeavors.

- To prevent the professional and personal exploitation of university members of color, institutions of higher education should work to create affirming and inclusive institutional climates before recruiting trainees and faculty of color. This may include

and is not limited to allocating appropriate funds to make structural and policy

changes needed to foster an inclusive and affirming climate before engaging in efforts

to diversify faculty and students at predominantly white institutions.

- Expand faculty duties and responsibilities to include an expectation of service and

  work toward racial and social justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion. When this work

  is expected from all faculty it can serve as accountability and a call to action for

  White faculty, as well as an incentive. Expanding faculty responsibilities recognizes

  and appropriately rewards the contributions of faculty of color. For example,

  institutions of higher education should alter faculty teaching evaluation criteria

  (Richards, 2009) and hiring, tenure, and promotion policies (Guzman et al., 2010;

  Turner et al., 2020) that do not recognize the additional roles and responsibilities

  faculty of color engage in (e.g. advocacy, service to community and the profession,

  diversity and inclusion committees and initiatives, mentorship load; Ahluwalia et al.,

  2019; Constantine et al., 2008; Goerisch, 2019; Guzman et al., 2010; Zambrana et al.,

  2017).

Implications for Psychology Training

- Psychology and multicultural training should address the normative aspect of

  whiteness that grants it ubiquity and keeps whiteness invisible, unexamined, and out

  of awareness of White people (Dyer, 2012). Anti-racism or courses on whiteness can

  raise awareness and educate trainees about whiteness. Several scholars recommend an

  anti-racism course (e.g., Pieterse, 2009; Utsey et al., 2005) and have developed

  materials that are readily available and detailed, such as pedagogical strategies,

  syllabi, didactic materials, experiential activities, and assessment.

238

- Anti-racist education should name and challenge whiteness and racism in all its forms. Moving beyond an intellectual exercise to a personal and systemic contextualization can support trainees' personal and professional growth. Participants echoed the criticism reflected in the literature that MC training theorizes and critiques without acknowledging or attempting to change the status quo (DiAngelo & Flynn, 2010).

- Psychology and multicultural training curriculum should include multidisciplinary scholarly and non-scholarly knowledge about whiteness and systems to aid trainees' development of positionality within systems. For examples, curriculum may include the history of race in the U.S., and the structural and legal movements that have granted White people advantages (Brown, 2003; deKoven, 2011; DiAngelo, 2012; Tochluk, 2010). Beyond the academic and scientific literature, trainees should be socialized to appreciate non-scholarly forms of sharing knowledge. For example, curriculum could include movies, novels, social media movements, art, etc. that reflect the daily experiences of diverse individuals and communities of color.

- Psychology and multicultural training curriculum should include self-care strategies required to sustain lifelong learning and associated dispositions and behaviors. Faculty and administrators should lead by example and encourage self-care.

- Psychology training should provide spaces for ongoing open dialogue about the process of developing a healthy racial identity for all trainees. Doing so normalizes the need for continuous self-examination and provides opportunities for further growth and support during multicultural training.

- Psychology training should decenter White student needs, and instead co-center diverse needs to provide an environment that fosters growth and development not only in trainees from dominant groups but in trainees of color and of other marginalized identities (Quintana et al., 2012).

- Training curricula and models for co-centering diverse trainee needs in psychology training require further study. Participants noted current multicultural courses being ineffective as they either consciously or unconsciously cater to the needs of White trainees, who tend to be at a lower developmental level compared to their peers of color. Carter (2003) proposed a cultural-racial laboratory that attends to the development of racial and cultural self-awareness of all trainees. However, such models are sparse. Some participants noted separating White trainees and trainees of color for some discussions in courses to provide safe spaces for processing. Training strategies and curriculum that go beyond basic knowledge to development of positionality are required.

- Psychology and multicultural training should include critical frameworks that foster a systemic and personal understanding of whiteness and interlocking hierarchical identity-based power systems. Theories and frameworks that facilitate a critical analysis (Freire, 1970) of whiteness and interlocking power systems include Black and liberation psychology (Hargons et al., 2017; Watts, 2004), racial identity development (Helms, 2017), critical race, standpoint, and intersectional frameworks that foster development of critical consciousness. Liberatory pedagogy consists of fostering critical thinking skills that facilitate individual and collective standpoint development (Case, 2016; Collins & Bilge, 2016).

- Given that personal and professional growth are required for ethical practice of psychology, personal change involving cognitive and affective work should be expected in multicultural classes and psychology training (Reynolds, 2011; Sammons & Speight, 2008). The nature, extent, and reinforcement of the personal growth during graduate training may warrant further study.

- Educational spaces foster self-examination and reflection about privileges (Case, 2016) and development of standpoints are expansive and call for social justice (Collins, 2003). Didactic approaches should include self-examination of intersecting identities and privileges (Case, 2016), which can reduce resistance in trainees with dominant group memberships and help extend empathy toward oppressed groups. Awareness of systemic powers of oppression and training in social justice skills can instill a sense of accountability and ethics of care toward self and others.

- Expand current rigid whiteness-informed operationalizations of mentorship to support the professional development of diverse mentors and mentees. For example, participants noted the importance of creating community, engaging in self-care activities with trainees, and providing emotional support.

- Advocacy, leadership, and service to community, program, and the profession should be required components of graduate training and aspects of practice that faculty model themselves. Participants emphasized the importance of social justice value-directed action. Thus, advocacy and leadership should be part of the curriculum and professional role socialization. Programs should allot resources to support students engaging in advocacy and leadership.

Implications for Research

- Dismantle the profession-wide hierarchy of scientific research methodologies that consider objectivity and quantitative methods to be superior to subjectivity, contextualization, and qualitative methods. Instead, recognize all psychologists as cultural and racial beings who produce socially located knowledge.

- Shed whiteness-informed expectations of the scientific standard of objectivity in favor of cultural appreciation of both similarities and differences, and appreciation for the lived experiences of both diverse researchers and participants. Expand research methodologies and disciplinary norms of what is "valuable" and "scientific" to be inclusive of voices and scholars from marginalized backgrounds (Buchanan & Kraft, 2020; Settles et al., 2021).

- Adopt theoretical frameworks, methods, and procedures that respect participant agency (Smith et al., 2010), positively regard diversity of identities and experiences, and celebrate cultural heterogeneity.

- Consider power inherent in role and identities as scholars, researchers, and translators of knowledge. As researchers and scientific knowledge are culturally situated, scholars should carefully consider the impact and use of research as a powerful tool to either harm or benefit society (Bowell, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2002; Fine, 2006).

- Further research is needed about training strategies that help facilitate cultural humility and racial and intersecting identity development during graduate training.

- Participants noted intentionality in using research as a tool to create visibility of marginalized narratives, deconstruct whiteness, and enact change.

- Researchers may want to build and expand methodologies that allow community voice and participation throughout the research process (e.g., participatory action research, Smith et al., 2010). In attempting to decolonize the process of research and hierarchical nuances of researcher versus participants, Kate was cognizant of how her affluence may come across through clothes and how she interacts with students and teachers in schools where she conducts research.

Implications for Clinical Practice

- Counseling psychologists should actively seek to understand how the whiteness-informed social and political contexts and intersecting hierarchical systems influence client identities and experiences and contribute to presenting challenges. There is a field-wide recognition in CP that the environment influences and impacts individual development and well-being (Lichtenberg, 1999). In accordance with this assertion, feminist intersectional movements in CP highlight the importance of considering how the historical, social, and environmental forces of ruling relations shape the lives and negatively impact the mental health of marginalized groups (Collins, 2000; Goodman et al., 2004; Smith, 1987; Sue & Sue, 2008). Grounding therapeutic work in clients' environmental context allows more accurate conceptualization of client challenges (APA Task Force, 2006).

- Counseling psychologists should adopt an orientation of cultural humility (Hook et al., 2017; Mosher et al., 2017; Tervalon, & Murray-García, 1998) in clinical practice, with awareness of how their own power and privilege inherent in dominant identities may manifest with clients, as well as how personal and contextual circumstances may impact and inform clients' concerns.

- Counseling psychologists should extend their roles and responsibilities as clinicians to include advocacy for change and justice, when appropriate.

- Counseling psychologists should engage in lifelong learning and personal growth in positional practice beyond graduate school. This may require financial investment in diversity training, workshops, and engagement in communities of growth with other psychologists and scholars. Communities of growth and accountability may be a low-cost and highly beneficial endeavor that supports personal reflection and development and exchange of knowledge and expertise among community members.

- Counseling psychologists should strive to connect with and explore clients' experiences, contexts, and positions to whiteness and dominant powers, whether clients do or do not share identities with therapist.

- Counseling psychologists should address issues of power and race with White clients as well as with clients of color, as whiteness carries cost and has mental health implications for both (Grzanka et al., 2019).

Limitations

Including both White CP faculty and CP faculty of color, whose experiences of whiteness are predictably different, in the study of how understanding of whiteness informs the meaning of MC and practice of psychology may be a limitation. Much of the contributions regarding how whiteness is embedded in the field of psychology and how it informs dispositions and behaviors of White colleagues came from CP faculty of color. While White CP faculty and CP faculty of color had different relations to whiteness, developing a coherent narrative and structural description of whiteness in academia, interpersonally, and intra-personally proved to be quite the task. The critical race and

feminist framework aided in gaining a better systemic understanding of the challenges in multicultural training and practice.

The study combines both White and participant of color experiences to describe in depth how understanding of whiteness informs practice and definition of MC. This can be a limitation as well as a strength, as faculty's experiences have been considerably divergent. Thus, in presenting a unified picture of MC definition and application, I may not be attributing appropriate credit to the overwhelming contributions of CP faculty of color.

Given the sample size of 12 CP faculty, findings do not represent an exhaustive picture of the extent and depth of the barriers and challenges that cultural and systemic whiteness pose across doctoral CP training programs. The participants are leading scholars and CP faculty deemed multiculturally competent by their trainees. The current sample does not represent all CP faculty who teach multicultural courses; it is but a snapshot of the experiences and meanings of the participants and those of the PI, coding team, and dissertation committee. Further, the study summarizes strategies for personal growth and for resistance and action to dismantle whiteness that are likely not exhaustive and may be context-specific. Thus, study findings may not be uncritically applied across contexts. It is recommended that consumers investigate the dynamic interaction of their personal, professional, organizational, and sociocultural positionality to whiteness and interacting systems of power in contextualizing study findings. Furthermore, connecting the study findings to the current literature may help readers evaluate applicability or contextual generalizability of findings.

The PI is White-passing and benefits from white privilege, along with privilege from other dominant identities. Thus, the coding and analysis of results are not free of the PI's position to whiteness and experiences of whiteness. Bracketing, memoing, and engaging in ongoing self-refection (Moustakas,1994) as well as having a diverse coding team and dissertation committee (Merriam, 2009) have been utilized to enhance self-reflexivity and continuously be aware of personal subjectivities inherent in position to whiteness. The identities and positional awareness of the coding team and dissertation committee directly informed the results of the dissertation study.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to inspire change and action toward advancing and expanding CP graduate training programs' conceptualization and implementation of MC training by reframing personal and professional practice as political (Delgado & Stefancic, 2002; Fine, 2006; Smith, 1990; Young, 1990). The study describes how the positional understanding of whiteness among faculty in CP doctoral programs translates into definition and practice of MC. Ways in which whiteness informs academia, the discipline and profession, and program processes and procedures are reviewed. Thus the study makes visible the adverse white academic climate, academic socialization to whiteness, and White CP faculty dispositions and behaviors as well as the burden and threat, devaluation, and disproportionate distribution of diversity work that CP faculty of color experience. Awareness of behaviors and dispositions that propagate whiteness can facilitate change toward alignment with CP values of social justice, diversity, inclusion, and equity (Vera & Speight, 2003) across all forms of psychology practice (APA, 2017).

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Tell me a little bit about yourself. (Inquire about demographics race, gender, class, sexual identity and religion (upbringing (where was it?), how long, identity, function within counseling psychology doctoral program.) Any other identities that are important to you?
    What do you see as your primary professional identity, responsibility? Roles?

How do you define multicultural competence?
    What does that mean to you?
    Do you have an example? What identities were present in that moment? What were some of the thoughts about the identity/ies? How about feelings?
    Is it any different for you now…?

How do you understand whiteness? How do you experience whiteness?
    What is the experience like?
    Do you have an example? Can you describe that experience, what you thought, how you felt?
    Is it any different for you now…?

When do you tend to be more aware of whiteness?
    Can you give me an example?
    Can you describe that experience, what you thought, how you felt? Which of your identities were prominent?
    What is that experience like? What does it feel like now?

How does whiteness come up in your practice as a psychologist and other professional roles?
    When does it tend to come up?
    Are there times you are not aware of whiteness? How do you make sense of that?

How does whiteness come up outside of your professional roles?
    When does it tend to come up?
    Are there times you are not aware of whiteness? How do you make sense of that?

How has your practice of psychology evolved with respect to your understanding of whiteness?
    Tell me about it… Elaborate. What helped you?
    What was a turning point that led to practicing, doing that?

How does your understanding of whiteness fit with your definition of multicultural competence?
    Tell me a little bit more… Do you have an example?

Is there anything that I did not ask that you think it would be good to know? What was this experience like?

What was this experience like, these identities, our identities, talking about race… what is coming up for you as you reflect on this process?

Thank participant for their time and conclude interview.

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Zinn, H. (1990). *A people's history of the United States*. Harper & Row.

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Ed.S., Specialist in Education   2014–2016
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M.Ed., Mental Health Counseling   2010–2013
Teachers College—Columbia University

M.A., Psychological Counseling   2010–2013
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B.A., Forensic Psychology   2005–2009
John Jay College of Criminal Justice

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Pre-Doctoral Psychology Intern   Aug. 2019–Aug. 2020
Duke University Counseling Center, Duke University—Durham, NC

On-Call Counselor   Aug. 2018–May 2019
University of Kentucky Counseling Center & Office of Residence Life—Lexington, KY

Advanced Practicum Counselor   Aug. 2017–Jul. 2018
Eastern State Hospital— Lexington, KY

Resolve Trauma Treatment Practicum Counselor   Sep. 2016–May 2017
Federal Medical Center—Lexington, KY

Assessment Psychology Practicum Counselor   Aug. 2016–May 2017
Beaumont Behavioral Health—Lexington, KY

Supervisor of Counseling Practicum Students   Jan. 2016–May 2016
University of Kentucky Counseling Psychology Program—Lexington, KY

Psychology Practicum Counselor   Aug. 2015–May 2016
Counseling Center, University of Kentucky—Lexington, KY

Group Therapy Process Observer and Leader   Aug. 2014–Aug. 2015
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Counseling Psychology Practicum Counselor   Jan. 2012–May 2012
Center for Educational and Psychological Services, Columbia University—New York, NY

Counseling Psychology Trainee Intern   Aug. 2011–May 2012
Harlem Educational Activities Fund—New York, NY

PROFESSIONAL AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

RISE Research Laboratory Jan. 2016–Aug. 2019
College of Education, University of Kentucky—Lexington, KY

Assessment and Accreditation Graduate Assistant May 2017–Aug. 2019
Assessment and Accreditation Office, Gatton College of Business and Economics—Lexington, KY

Co-Researcher for Dissertation Study Aug. 2016–Dec. 2017
College of Education, University of Kentucky—Lexington, KY

Academic Support Services for Mathematics and Jun. 2009–Aug. 2014
Science Program Co-Assessor
John Jay College of Criminal Justice—New York, NY

Community Advocacy, Social Justice and Jan. 2012–May 2013
Psychology Research Team
Teachers College, Columbia University—New York, NY

HONORS, AWARDS, GRANTS, & SCHOLARSHIPS

Center for Graduate and Professional Diversity Fierce Awards—Fearless	2018
Lyman T. Johnson Fellowship—University of Kentucky	2014–2017
Inclusive Excellence Student Program Award—Grant ($5000)	2017
ACT APAGS Excellence in State Leadership Award for Diversity and Outreach	
	2016
APA Division 45 Research Conference Student Scholarship ($150)	2016
The Graduate School Student Travel Award- University of Kentucky ($1800)	2016, 2017, 2018
ACT APAGS Excellence in Campus Leadership (ECL)	2015
MeaningfulWorld Ambassador of Global Humanitarian Services	2013
Dean's List Recipient - John Jay College of Criminal Justice	2005–2009