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A Grounded Theory of White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Development

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of
Montclair State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

RENEE M. SHAND-LUBBERS

Montclair State University

Montclair, NJ

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Amanda L. Baden

MONTCLAIR STATE UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

We hereby approve the Dissertation

A Grounded Theory of White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Development

of

Renee M. Shand-Lubbers

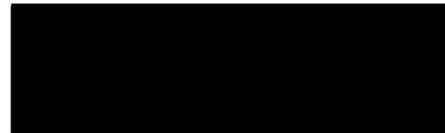
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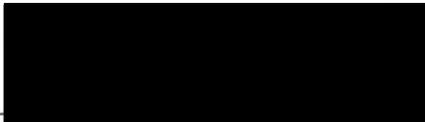
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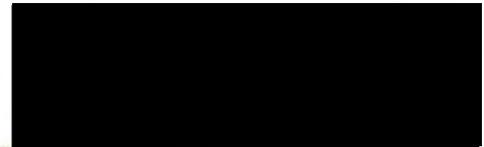


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AbstractA GROUNDED THEORY OF WHITE COUNSELORS' ANTIRACIST COUNSELING
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

by Renee M. Shand-Lubbers

Research related to the professional counselor's development of an antiracist counseling identity is scarce. The goal of this dissertation study was to explore White mental health counselors' unique personal and professional experiences that facilitate the development of an antiracist counseling identity and the impact of an antiracist counseling identity on practice. Using Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Haskins & Singh, 2015) and multicultural and social justice theory (Ratts, 2011; Ratts et al. 2015; Sue & Sue, 1999), this constructivist grounded theory study sought to answer the following questions: (a) How do White counselors develop an antiracist counseling identity?, and (b) How does an antiracist counseling identity affect counseling practice? 12 White mental health counselors who self-identify as antiracist counselors and who demonstrate antiracism expertise and an ongoing commitment to antiracism work participated in this study. Data were collected via two semistructured interviews and analyzed using constructivist grounded theory procedures. Findings suggest that White mental health counselors' antiracist counseling identity development is a multifaceted lifelong developmental process that manifests as personal and professional antiracist actions including a proposed model of antiracist counseling practices. Implications for counseling theory and practice, counselor education and supervision, and future research have been provided.

Keywords: antiracism, antiracist, White racial identity, Whiteness, multicultural counseling, social justice advocacy, multicultural and social justice counseling competencies, professional identity development

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Contents

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	3
Antiracism.....	3
White Antiracism.....	3
Antiracism in Counseling.....	6
Statement of the Problem.....	8
Statement of Purpose.....	13
Research Questions.....	14
Overview of Research Design.....	14
Theoretical Framework.....	15
Critical Race Theory.....	15
Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Theory.....	16
Significance of the Study.....	17
Chapter Summary.....	19
Definition of Terms.....	19
Organization of Dissertation.....	20
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	22
Method.....	22
Search Strategy.....	22
Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion of an Empirical Study.....	24
Review of the Literature.....	24
Race and Racism.....	24
Racism as Ideological Constructs.....	27
Racism as a Mental Health Issue.....	31
Antiracism.....	42
Antiracism in Counseling and Related Literature.....	43
Factors Impacting Antiracist Development.....	53
Multicultural Counseling and Social Justice Competency.....	61
Professional Standards and Ethical Codes.....	62
Multicultural Counseling and Advocacy Competency Development.....	63
Strengths in Multicultural Counseling Training.....	64
Challenges in Multicultural Counseling Training.....	68
Counselor Professional Identity Development.....	71

Social Justice Identity Development.....	72
Theoretical Framework.....	75
Critical Race Theory	76
Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Theory	78
Conclusion	79
Chapter Summary	80
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY	81
Researcher Positionality.....	81
Research Design.....	86
Constructivist Grounded Theory.....	87
Participants.....	89
Participant Recruitment and Sampling Procedures.....	91
Data Collection	93
Procedures.....	93
Data Collection Tools	95
Data Analysis	96
Constant Comparative Method	96
Coding.....	97
Memo Writing.....	99
Trustworthiness.....	99
Self-Reflective Journal.....	100
Member Checks	100
Peer Debriefing.....	101
Ethical Considerations	102
Limitations	103
Chapter Summary	104
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS	105
Section One: A Developmental Model of a White Antiracist Counseling Identity.....	107
Section Two: Categories and Themes of the Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development.....	112
Recursive Nature of Model.....	113
Pre-contemplation	114
Significant Early Life Racial Experiences	115
Exposure	123
Eye-opening Moments.....	125

Guiding Relationships.....	138
Awareness	144
Re-educating Self on Race and Racism	146
Working through Challenging Emotions in Relationships	153
Critical Race-Consciousness.....	155
Identity Integration.....	162
Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)	164
Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity.....	167
Intentionality to Change.....	171
Manifestation: Antiracist Action.....	173
Taking Action	175
Inherent Challenges	206
Accountability.....	214
Maintenance	216
Lifelong Development	218
Antiracist Community of Support.....	230
Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Antiracism Work.....	233
Influences throughout Cycle of Development	235
Attitudes and Personal Characteristics.....	236
Motivation for Change.....	239
Chapter Summary	242
Summary of Findings.....	243
White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development: Application of Theory.....	246
Prochaska and DiClemente’s (1983) Stages of Change Model	246
White Antiracism Studies	249
Pre-contemplation Phase.....	250
Exposure	251
Awareness Phase.....	254
Identity Integration Phase	262
Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase	265
Maintenance Phase.....	271
Influences throughout Cycle of Development	274
Implications for the Counseling Profession.....	275
Implications for Counseling Theory	276

Implications for Counseling Practice.....	277
Importance of Broaching	278
Importance of Advocacy Interventions.....	279
Implications for Counselor Education and Supervision	280
Strengths and Limitations	287
Recommendations for Future Research	290
Chapter Summary	293
References.....	294
Appendix A.....	318
Appendix B.....	319
Appendix C	320
Appendix D.....	321
Appendix E	323
Appendix F.....	326
Appendix G.....	329
Appendix H.....	332
Appendix I	333
Appendix J	338
Appendix K.....	343

List of Tables

Table 1: Participants' Demographic Information	90
Table 2: Summary of Qualitative Data	106
Table 3: Pre-contemplation Phase Categories and Supporting Themes	115
Table 4: Exposure Categories and Supporting Themes	124
Table 5: Awareness Phase Categories and Supporting Themes	145
Table 6: Identity Integration Phase Categories and Supporting Themes.....	163
Table 7: Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase Categories and Supporting Themes.....	175
Table 8: Maintenance Phase Categories and Supporting Themes	217
Table 9: Influences throughout Cycle of Development Categories and Supporting Themes.....	235

List of Figures

Figure 1: Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development	110
Figure 2: Overview of Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development	112
Figure 3: Pre-contemplation Phase within Model	114
Figure 4: Exposure within Model	124
Figure 5: Awareness Phase within Model	145
Figure 6: Identity Integration Phase within Model	163
Figure 7: Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase within Model	174
Figure 8: Taking Action: Supporting Themes and Sub-themes.....	176
Figure 9: Maintenance Phase within Model	217
Figure 10: Influences throughout Cycle of Development within Model.....	235

A Grounded Theory of White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Development

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

But there is no neutrality in the racism struggle. The opposite of “racist” isn’t “not racist.” It is “antiracist.” What’s the difference? One endorses either the idea of a racial hierarchy as a racist, or racial equality as an antiracist. One either believes problems are rooted in groups of people, as a racist, or locates the roots of problems in power and policies, as an antiracist. One either allows racial inequities to persevere, as a racist, or confronts racial inequities, as an antiracist.

Ibram X. Kendi, 2019

Racism continues to be a pervasive and detrimental problem in the United States (U.S.). Recent events, including the COVID-19 pandemic’s disproportionate impact on Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) underscore the need to address racism as both a societal and public health issue (Liu & Modir, 2020). The catastrophic impact of hundreds of years of systemic racism in the U.S. has been well documented: genocide of Indigenous peoples, slavery, Jim Crow laws, internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, mass incarceration, police brutality, underresourced communities and schools, and health inequities further laid bare by COVID-19 (Alexander, 2020; Kendi, 2019; Tatum, 2003).

Racism is a complicated and dynamic system of oppression (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Tatum, 2003). In the U.S., racism takes the form of White supremacy, a powerful ideology that supports Whites as superior and Whiteness as the ideal or the standard for all others (DiAngelo, 2018). White supremacy is more than just an ideology as it reinforces a sociopolitical and economic system in which Whites have dominance in the form of greater access to power, privilege, and control over policies and practices that negatively impact other racial and ethnic

groups (DiAngelo, 2018; Tatum, 2003). Since the imperialist colonization of the Americas, White supremacist socialization, defined as the developmental processes through which individuals acquire and internalize values and beliefs that position White people as superior to those of other racial groups, has resulted in racist laws, policies, procedures, and beliefs that continue to permeate every aspect of U.S. society and cause harm to BIPOC (DiAngelo, 2018). Antiracist scholars have noted that racism operates at micro (e.g., individual) and macro (e.g., structural, institutional, societal) levels and varies by context (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Tatum, 2003). Current formations may be more covert and subtle as the nature of racist laws, policies, procedures, and beliefs have changed over time (Sue et al., 2009). Racism manifests in “old fashioned” forms (Sue et al., 2009, p. 272) including public demonstrations of hatred (e.g., racial slurs) and overtly racist Jim Crow laws from the late 19th and early 20th centuries to the more covert and modern forms of racism, such as the mass incarceration of BIPOC through mandatory minimum sentencing laws passed in 1986 as part of the so called “War on Drugs” (Alexander, 2020). These shifting forms of racism further embed it into society, making it less visible to individuals, especially to Whites who continue to benefit from it (DiAngelo, 2018). Therefore, intentional efforts by Whites are required to redress racism in U.S. society.

Antiracist scholars like Tatum (2003) and DiAngelo (2018) asserted that Whites have the primary role in dismantling the U.S. system of racial oppression as many Whites perpetuate White supremacist ideology and uphold racist policies, procedures, and practices. Eradicating racism requires the active and ongoing engagement of White antiracists who are committed to action (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Malott et al., 2015). Antiracism or the policy and practice of opposing racism (Kendi, 2019) is a personal and professional obligation. As such, White counselors who account for just over 60% of the mental health providers in the U.S. (USCB,

2017) have a pivotal role in redressing the complicated and multifaceted system of racial oppression. White counselors are charged to engage in culturally competent and socially just counseling practices and are uniquely positioned to address racism within the counseling relationship and to advocate for wider-scale systemic changes that dismantle the insidious U.S. system of racial oppression (Ratts et al., 2015). Thus, White antiracist counselors who are defined as White counselors committed to antiracism and to work actively to eradicate racism through antiracist beliefs, policies, procedures, and practices aimed at reducing racial inequity (Kendi, 2019; O'Brien, 2001) are called to act now (*ACA Anti-Racism Statement*, 2020).

Background

Antiracism

Antiracism as an ideal and aspirational commitment, model, and identity has been studied across mental health disciplines including counseling, counseling psychology, and social work (Croteau, 1999; Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1990, 1995; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Previous research has shown that all counselors have the potential to hold an antiracist identity through personal and professional efforts. However, I am particularly interested in White counselors who develop this identity as I recognize that many White counselors do not. When I refer to White antiracist counselors, I am referring to the interaction of Whiteness and White racial identity, antiracism, and counselor identity development.

White Antiracism

To better understand the developmental nature of an antiracist identity among Whites, White racial identity models, such as Helms's (1990, 1995) theory of White racial identity development present a developmental process through which Whites move from a lack of

awareness of racism towards increased racial consciousness, eventually committing to living as a nonracist White during the Autonomy status. Helms's (1990, 1995) model identified a White nonracist identity as the ideal developmental milestone; however, nonracism implies race neutrality or passivity as a fixed endpoint. Identity development is often less linear and more cyclical; therefore, some scholars prefer the term antiracism and focus on movement towards an antiracist identity as it conveys the ongoing and evolving developmental process of actively redressing systemic racism (Croteau, 1999; Kendi, 2019; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015). Croteau (1999) described the journey towards an antiracist identity as "the transition from the mere recognition of the injustice of racism to active personal involvement and identification with being antiracist" (p. 31). Additionally, Smith and Redington (2010) identified "turning points" or significant personal (e.g., connecting other experienced forms of oppression such as sexism to racism) and professional experiences (e.g., speakers, books, trainings) that helped shape Whites' antiracist identities (p. 545). Hence, an antiracist identity is one which develops over time and through various personal and professional experiences.

Antiracist scholars have identified key tenets of White antiracism (Croteau, 1999; Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1990, 1995; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). These key tenets are: values of justice and fairness and a moral obligation to act (Malott et al., 2019), participation in "the necessary struggle" (Croteau, 1999, p. 32) to develop an understanding of Whiteness (e.g., history of oppression, privilege) evidenced by higher statuses of White racial identity (e.g., Autonomy; Helms, 1990, 1995), meaning making of antiracist efforts and experiences (Smith & Redington, 2010), perseverance through obstacles (Smith & Redington, 2010), and action towards redressing systemic racism (Croteau, 1999; Malott et al., 2015). Feenstra (2017) and Croteau (1999) also discussed the impact of

intersectional identities on White antiracist identity development. Both authors argued that awareness of other social group memberships, particularly marginalized statuses (i.e., female, gay), prompted increased attention to aspects of power, privilege, and oppression that might otherwise have been invisible to them as Whites. Further, White antiracists recognize that antiracism is lifelong work that involves ongoing race-related struggles and personal challenges (Croteau, 1999; Feenstra, 2017; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010).

Linder (2015) identified guilt, shame, and fear of appearing racist as impediments to White antiracist development while awareness of Whiteness and using privilege for action were viewed as transformative factors. Other challenges in the development and maintenance of a White antiracist identity include difficulty aligning antiracist beliefs with lifestyle choices and same/cross-racial relationship difficulties (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019). Examples of the latter includes rejection by people of color who may mistrust Whites and conflict with Whites who uphold White supremacist beliefs such as racial color-blindness (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019). Given the abovesaid complexities, Linder (2015) argued that an antiracist identity must not only be developed but also maintained over time.

Previous antiracist scholarship has identified White antiracist identity development as an evolving, changing, and intentional process of becoming antiracist (Croteau, 1999; Helms, 1990, 1995; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Although these descriptions exist for White antiracist individuals, we do not yet know how White counselors develop antiracist identities and enact that within their counseling practice. The goal of this study was to focus on detailing that development.

Antiracism in Counseling

Antiracism aligns well with the core professional counseling values of empowerment, prevention, wellness, and the profession's commitment to multiculturalism and diversity. Professional codes of ethics and standards, including The Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs' (CACREP) 2016 *Standards* (2015) and the American Counseling Association (ACA; 2014) *ACA Code of Ethics* require counselors to develop multicultural competencies. Counselors have an ethical responsibility to develop multicultural counseling competency and to provide culturally competent services to clients from a variety of diverse backgrounds including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion (ACA, 2014; Section B.1.a). Professional standards, such as those based on the Multicultural Counseling Competencies (MCC; Sue et al., 1992) outlined a tripartite view of multicultural competency: (a) counselor self-awareness of one's values, beliefs, and biases; (b) knowledge of client worldview; and (c) skills and interventions that are culturally responsive. The adoption of the more recent Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC; Ratts et al., 2015) also required counselors to address issues related to power, privilege, and oppression in the counseling relationship. The authors of the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) document also mandated ongoing engagement in social justice advocacy on behalf of marginalized clients in order to address systemic issues (including racism) that impede client growth and the ability to achieve optimal health and well-being.

Leading experts in the counseling field have asserted that the counseling profession commit to training both culturally competent counselors and social justice advocates to address the needs of an increasingly diverse population in the U.S. (Arredondo & Toporek, 2004; Ratts, 2011, 2017; Ratts et al., 2010). Over the last three decades, multicultural and social justice

scholars have identified a need for more specialized race-based counseling competencies to directly address racism and its adverse effects on clients of color (Carter, 2017; Helms, 1995; Malott et al., 2015; Sue, 2004). Most notably, the authors of the MCC (Sue et al., 1992) stated that culturally skilled counselors: (a) understand how oppression, racism, and discrimination impact them and their counseling work; (b) acknowledge their own racist attitudes, beliefs, and feelings including stereotypes towards other ethnic minority groups; (c) actively seek a nonracist identity; (d) possess knowledge of sociopolitical issues, including poverty and racism, and the impact of such issues on the counseling process; and (e) work to eliminate biases, prejudices, and discriminatory practices (pp. 482-483). Further, Malott (2010) identified the need for essential racial competencies, specifically the importance of knowledge about the historical and current sociopolitical experiences of different racial groups and their impact on the counseling process. Other essential multicultural competencies based on race include: awareness of racial privileges and knowledge of personal and systemic racism (Ridley, 2005); cross-racial counseling skills (Sue et al., 2008); broaching topics related to race (Day-Vines et al., 2007; Day-Vines et al., 2018; Day-Vines et al., 2021); and knowledge of the impact of racial identity development status of counselors and clients (Helms, 1990, 1995).

Attention to multicultural and advocacy competency has had significant impacts on the counseling profession (Ratts et al., 2015). In particular, White counselors have benefitted from intentional multicultural training to support the aforementioned competencies (Rothman et al., 2012). Research on White counselors' competency development has shown a positive impact of culturally diverse personal and professional experiences (e.g., coursework, supervision, mentorship, client work) towards developing White racial identity, White racial consciousness, and antiracist attitudes (Atkins et al., 2017; Middleton et al., 2005; Middleton et al., 2011; Paone

et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012). Further, the counseling field's focus on professional identity development, specifically the social justice identity development of counselors, has shown an essential connection between salient personal and professional experiences (e.g., exposure to oppression, multicultural training) to professional identity development and advocacy work (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Cook et al., 2016; Dollarhide et al., 2016; Hoover & Morrow, 2016). The link between increased multicultural counseling and advocacy competency, professional identity development, specifically social justice identity development, and antiracism among counselors will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II.

Indeed, a hallmark of the counseling profession is an emphasis on professional identity combined with multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy, setting a precedent for antiracist-focused counseling and the development of an antiracist counseling identity. Professional counselors have an ethical, professional, and moral responsibility to address systemic racism both in the counseling relationship and within society at large. To best prepare White mental health counselors for their work with racially and ethnically diverse children, adolescents, and adults, White mental health counselors and counselors-in-training need race-based skills specifically designed to be responsive and effective in a multicultural and racist world. Therefore, research on the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors who demonstrate a commitment to redressing racism through racially competent practices and socially just policies becomes essential to promoting the ethical and professional mandates set forth by the counseling profession.

Statement of the Problem

Prominent counseling leaders have established the need to center multiculturalism and social justice within the counseling field and as a result, have called for additional competencies

and training standards for competent practices (Ratts et al., 2016). To that end, the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) mandated that counselors address systemic oppression, such as racism, through culturally competent counseling practices and advocacy efforts at the micro and macro levels. Despite these calls, some researchers have shown that counselors are not sufficiently prepared to address the unique needs of a growing racially and ethnically diverse population in the U.S. Findings from previous studies on mental health inequities (Buki & Selem, 2012), microaggressions in counseling (Constantine, 2007; Hook et al., 2016; Nadal et al., 2014; Owen et al., 2018; Sue et al., 2007), lower retention rates of African American clients (Fortuna et al., 2010), and poorer mental health outcomes among clients of color (Nadal et al., 2014; Sue et al., 1991) suggest that counselors, particularly White counselors who are not culturally competent, are at risk of providing inadequate services which are harmful to culturally diverse clients, especially those with multiple marginalized identities (Holley et al., 2016; Lewis et al., 2017).

Further, the mental health and systemic issues facing clients of color are numerous and well documented by previous research (Carter, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Malott & Schaeffle, 2015; Tatum, 2003). Racism causes physical, emotional, and economic harm to clients of color. Some, but not all, detriments include hypertension and cardiovascular changes (Brondolo et al., 2003), academic opportunity and outcome gaps (Holcomb-McCoy, 2007), trauma (Carter, 2007, 2017; Helms et al., 2010), psychological distress (Sue et al., 2008), and increased mental health symptomology (Nadal et al., 2014). The cumulative effects of ongoing experiences with racism result in what leading Black scholars have referred to as racial trauma or racial battle fatigue. This term is described as “a response to the distressing mental/emotional conditions that result from facing racism daily” (Smith, 2004, p. 180). For example, Lewis et al. (2017) found gendered racial microaggressions significantly predicted mental and physical

health outcomes among Black female participants. Similarly, Carr et al. (2014) found an association between depression levels and multiple experiences of oppression among African American women. BIPOC are exposed to racial microaggressions throughout their lifetime, and the effects of racial microaggressions are psychologically, emotionally, and physically harmful (Carter, 2007, 2017).

Within the counseling relationship, scholars have noted the significant negative impact of racial microaggressions in counseling (Constantine, 2007; Holley et al., 2016; Hook et al., 2016; Owen et al., 2011; Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2008), racial battle fatigue (Smith, 2008), and racial trauma (Carter, 2007, 2017). Nadal et al. (2014) found that higher frequencies of racial microaggressions were significantly correlated with mental health symptomology, including increased symptoms of depression, anxiety, and negative affect. Holley et al. (2016) noted that people of color diagnosed with mental illness experienced significant microaggressions and microinvalidations in counseling treatment such as being ignored, not viewed as complex individuals, condescension, violations of privacy rights, and presumed lack of intelligence. Racism, including unaddressed racial microaggressions, within the mental health counseling relationship results in mental health inequities as evidenced by lower retention rates (Fortuna et al., 2010) and poorer mental health outcomes (Nadal et al., 2014; Sue et al., 1991).

Past research has established the detrimental impact of racism for BIPOC clients. White mental health counselors have an ethical and professional obligation to redress racism within the counseling relationship and beyond. However, previous multicultural counseling competency research has found that White counselors are uniquely challenged in meeting the needs of racially and ethnically diverse clients (Paone et al., 2015). Ridley (2005) found that White counselors may consciously and unconsciously enact racism within the counseling relationship.

For example, White counselors who uphold racially color-blind ideology (Tran & Paterson, 2015) invalidate the experiences of BIPOC clients in the U.S., including the effects of racism (Chang & Berk, 2009; Neville et al., 2006; Spanierman et al., 2008). Racial color-blindness among White counselors has been associated with lower multicultural counseling competency (Spanierman et al., 2008), reduced expression of empathy (Burkhard & Knox, 2004), and biased assessments of clients of color (Gushue, 2004). Knox et al. (2003) found that White therapists broached race-related issues with clients of color less frequently than their Black peers due to discomfort with racial issues and lack of readiness to broach. Such lack of attention to racial issues in counseling can be perceived as prejudicial and biased (Chang & Berk, 2009). Further evidence of the negative impact of bias included findings that clients of color reported less satisfaction and poorer therapeutic alliances with their White counselors when they perceived racial bias (e.g., racial microaggressions) in the counseling relationship (Owen et al., 2011). Similarly, Chang and Berk (2009) identified lower cultural competency ratings and increased dissatisfaction with treatment for White psychotherapists whose clients of color perceived racial bias and a lack of awareness of power and privilege. These studies demonstrate a need to better develop multicultural competency, advocacy, and antiracism among White counselors.

Challenges also persist in the training of White culturally competent counselors. Despite graduate level multicultural coursework, counselors and other mental health professionals are not consistently using knowledge gained from training in practice (Hansen et al., 2006; Priester et al., 2008; Sehgal et al., 2011). According to Ratts (2017), the MSJCC has a “theory-to-practice gap” (p. 89) which might account for some of the difficulties that White counselors face when translating multicultural counseling knowledge into demonstrated use of race-based skills. Several possible explanations may account for this gap. The first is the recentness of the MSJCC

which have yet to be fully validated by empirical studies (Ratts, 2017). A second factor is the challenge in addressing misconceptions about multiculturalism and social justice advocacy as a “politically correct fad” (Zalaquett et al., 2008, p. 323). Another explanation for this noted gap is the potential lack of buy-in by some counselors and counselors-in-training due to resistance to acknowledging privilege/bias (Collins et al., 2015). The fourth is the nature of multicultural counseling competency and social justice advocacy as a lifelong developmental process that involves sustained effort and deep personal transformation (e.g., shift in worldview) that may be difficult for some counselors (Hook et al., 2013; Ibrahim, 1991). For White counselors, this developmental process may be particularly challenging as race-based training may elicit powerful emotional responses, including racial fragility (DiAngelo, 2018; Paone et al., 2015; Reynolds, 2011). Further, the counseling profession has largely relied on one multicultural course to provide this training which may not be enough for White counselors to interact with race-based educational experiences (Malott, 2010).

Despite the MSJCC implementation challenges, counselors are mandated to do what is best for all clients, especially those who identify as part of marginalized communities (ACA, 2014). According to the most recent U.S. Census Bureau (USCB, 2018) data, the U.S. demographics are rapidly changing. In 2000, non-Hispanic Whites constituted almost 70% of the total U.S. population. In 2016, the non-Hispanic White population accounted for just over 60% of the total U.S. population. By the year 2060, BIPOC people will constitute over half (55.7%) of the U.S. population. While the U.S. is experiencing a shift towards a more racially and ethnically diversified population, the U.S. counseling profession continues to be a racially and ethnically homogenous workforce with White counselors accounting for just over 60% of the mental health service providers (USCB, 2107). As the number of racially and ethnically diverse clients in the

U.S. continues to grow, it is necessary for all White counselors to be prepared as culturally competent counselors and social justice advocates to address the unique mental health issues of BIPOC clients and redress systemic racism that affects BIPOC clients.

Previous research on White counselors' identity and competency development suggests that while White counselor training has improved in the last few decades, gaps remain in White counselors' development. Promoting antiracism as a counseling identity offers numerous pathways for increased multicultural competency and for redressing racism within the counseling relationship and beyond. A better understanding of how and why some White counselors develop antiracism as a salient aspect of professional identity is needed. Despite the overwhelming evidence of the harmful effects of racism on clients of color and Whites, there is still little research on antiracism in the counseling field. Antiracist counselors can address these longstanding systemic issues of racial oppression; therefore, there is a need to better understand why some White counselors develop an antiracist counseling identity and others do not. A thorough investigation of the experiences of White antiracist counselors with clinical mental health experience will add valuable information to the developmental understandings of antiracism with significant implications for clinical practice, counselor education, and training.

Statement of Purpose

Given the counseling profession's commitment to multicultural competency, social justice advocacy, and professional identity development, it is surprising that to date, there exist no studies on the development of an antiracist counseling identity. For this study, an antiracist counseling identity is defined as a professional counselor who is committed to antiracism and who actively works to eradicate racism including racist beliefs, policies, and practices/procedures (Kendi, 2019; O'Brien, 2001). We do not yet know how and why counselors develop an

antiracist counseling identity. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors in order to understand the process of developing an antiracist counseling identity and how an antiracist counseling identity affects counseling practice. Specifically, this study seeks to fill the gap in the literature regarding a White antiracist counseling identity.

Research Questions

The two research questions that guided this study were:

1. How do White counselors develop an antiracist counseling identity?
2. How does an antiracist counseling identity affect counseling practice?

Overview of Research Design

To fully explore the developmental experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors, I designed a qualitative study using constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014), grounded in Critical Race Theory (CRT) and multicultural and social justice counseling theory. I used purposeful, criterion based, and theoretical sampling to recruit and interview 12 post-master's mental health counselors who met the following criteria: (a) possess a minimum of one year clinical practice; (b) self-identify as White; (c) self-identify as antiracist; and (d) demonstrate antiracism expertise and a commitment to antiracism as evidenced by antiracism counseling practice, professional development experiences, research, publication, presentations, leadership roles, and/or an antiracist professional reputation among academic and scholarly peers. I conducted two semistructured interviews with each participant and analyzed the data using constant comparative thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

Research based on White hegemonic standards has historically contributed to the subordination of marginalized communities, the silencing of ethnically and racially diverse voices, and the perpetuation of racism in the U.S. (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Research paradigms that challenge White dominant discourse attempt to dismantle White supremacist theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical models in academia (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Haskins & Singh, 2015). As such, this antiracism study was grounded in CRT (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Haskins & Singh, 2015).

Bell (1995, 2008) developed CRT to address racism within the U.S. legal system. Since then, CRT has been applied to studies in higher education as a race-based critique of current knowledge and practices (Taylor et al., 2009). Given the interdisciplinary nature of CRT, there are varying descriptions of its core tenets. This study applied the five tenets of CRT related to counselor education as outlined by Haskins and Singh (2015). These tenets include: (a) the permanence and intersectionality of race and racism; (b) the critique of liberalism, which includes challenges to color-blindness and meritocracy; (c) the importance of counterstorytelling which “aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 144); (d) interest convergence which posits that previous changes to discriminatory policies and procedures converged with White interests (e.g., image, dominant agenda); and (e) Whiteness as property or the social, educational, and economic value attributed to being White (Haskins & Singh, 2015). The five tenets of CRT informed all aspects of this study including the conceptualization of key constructs (e.g., antiracism), the main research questions, the use of interviews and counter-narratives, and the analysis of data to

critique dominant ideology such as liberalism and to challenge current multicultural competency pedagogical and training approaches.

Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Theory

Multicultural and social justice counseling theory (Arredondo et al., 1996; Pederson, 1991; Ratts, 2011; Sue & Sue, 1999) promotes knowledge and understanding of the diversity of experiences among clients and counselors who identify with a range of cultural and social identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, age, disability, religion, class, gender, sexual orientation). The theory has two main components: multiculturalism and social justice, which are both complementary and distinct. Multiculturalism (Pedersen, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1999) focuses on three developmental domains: cultural knowledge, self-awareness, and counseling skills and interventions for counseling culturally diverse/different clients. Social justice emphasizes active engagement and advocating for systemic or institutional change in response to marginalization and oppression (Ratts, 2011). Multicultural counseling and social justice theory (Arredondo et al., 1996; Ratts, 2011; Sue & Sue, 1999) emphasizes the importance of cross-cultural knowledge, awareness, and counseling skills; counselor self-awareness of attitudes, beliefs, worldview, biases, assumptions, and values; the validation of diverse experiences and voices; and the need to advocate for systemic change to address oppression and marginalization. Additionally, the theory as articulated in the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) calls attention to the ways in which counselor/client identities and power, privilege, and oppression intersect to impact the counseling relationship (Ratts et al., 2015). The aforementioned tenets of multicultural and social justice counseling theory undergird an antiracist counseling identity; therefore, multicultural and social justice counseling theory is another useful theoretical framework that guided the design of this study.

Significance of the Study

A review of the counseling and related literature highlights the importance of establishing multicultural and social justice competencies, methods to assess competency, factors that influence competency, and the education and training techniques to promote competency (Arredondo et al., 1996; Ratts et al., 2015; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue & Sue, 1999; Toporek et al., 2009). Significant research has been conducted on counselor professional identity development (Auxier et al., 2003; Brott & Myers, 1999; Dollarhide et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2006; Moss et al., 2014; Prosek & Hurt, 2014; Reisetter et al., 2004) and multicultural competency and social justice advocacy training, particularly for White counselors (Atkins et al., 2017; Middleton et al., 2005; Middleton et al., 2011; Paone et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012). More recently, some research has explored the social justice identity development of counselors (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Dollarhide et al., 2016; Hoover & Morrow, 2016; McMahan et al., 2010; Melchior, 2017); however, there is a dearth of literature on the developmental process of becoming an antiracist counselor. This study is a first step towards understanding the experiences of White antiracist counselors.

The study of a proposed antiracist counseling identity, applied commitment to antiracism, and the developmental process of becoming a White antiracist counselor offers new pathways towards multicultural competency, specifically race-based competency and social justice advocacy. A developmental perspective of counselors' antiracist counseling identity provides insight into how self-identified antiracist counselors make meaning of their identities as well as the critical incidents (both personal and professional), which foster an antiracist counseling identity. For example, previous researchers have articulated a need to better understand why some social justice-oriented counselors persist despite challenges while others quit (Dollarhide et

al., 2016). This study on an antiracist counseling identity can contribute meaningful insights towards the foundation of a developmental model of antiracist counseling identity, using the direct experiences of self-identified White antiracist counselors.

Mental health counselors are uniquely positioned to address racism as a mental health issue across a wide range of settings and with culturally diverse populations, making White mental health counselors an important population in which to study the development of an antiracist counseling identity. Further, White mental health counselors who self-identify as antiracist counselors and who have a demonstrated commitment to antiracism work can add unique insights into the existing literature and clarify the long-term developmental processes of becoming an antiracist counselor. The information gained from this study can be used to develop race-based competencies including: (a) how to respond to racism of White clients, (b) advocacy behaviors with clients of color who experience racism, and (c) ways to address racism in work settings including policies, procedures, and colleagues. Knowledge of White antiracist counseling identity development can inform race-based counseling practice (e.g., research, teaching, training), specifically related to the multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy training needs of emergent White counselors. Relevant themes in the experience of White antiracist counseling identity development can be used to inform counselor education program development including curriculum, andragogy, teaching strategies, mentorship experiences, and practicum/internship training and supervisory experiences, as well as post-graduate professional development opportunities and supervision to facilitate antiracist counseling practices and to promote antiracist counseling identity development.

The U.S. has entered an historic era of intense racial reckoning amidst a divisive sociopolitical climate and multiple pandemics (i.e., COVID-19, racism). The Black Lives Matter

movement, protests for racial justice and equity, and racial disparities linked to the COVID-19 pandemic lay bare the necessity for action. To that end, Arredondo et al. (2020) called for professional counselors to redress “the pandemic of White racism and White supremacy” through active antiracism efforts (p. 40). The counseling profession must respond to this call for action by revolutionizing counselor education and multicultural counseling training to include a focus on antiracism. This study on White antiracist counseling identity development is a timely and necessary step towards racial justice in the counseling profession.

Chapter Summary

Previous research has documented the harmful effects of racism. White mental health counselors who identify as antiracists have an essential role in redressing racism at both the individual and systemic levels and across settings including the counseling relationship, counselor education and training, and society at large. However, more research is needed to better understand an antiracist counseling identity. Given this need, this qualitative study sought to address the gap in the existing multicultural counseling competency and antiracism literature. This qualitative study, using constructivist grounded theory, aimed to identify and define the significant personal and professional experiences that lead to development of an antiracist counseling identity in White mental health counselors. The findings of this study may inform counselor education practices, including andragogical and training methods to promote multicultural competency and social justice advocacy development regarding antiracism efforts.

Definition of Terms

Antiracism: The policy and practice of opposing racism (Kendi, 2019).

Antiracist: A person who actively works to eradicate racism (O’Brien, 2001).

Antiracist counselor: A counselor who is committed to antiracism and who actively works to eradicate racism through antiracist beliefs, policies, procedures, and practices aimed at reducing racial inequity (Kendi, 2019; O'Brien, 2001).

Critical incident: A significant experience which promotes personal and/or professional growth (Serrat, 2010).

Mental Health Counselor: A counselor who specializes in clinical mental health counseling and who holds a terminal degree in counseling (e.g., master's degree in counseling) or counseling-related discipline and may also hold a doctoral degree in counseling or counselor education or a related discipline (e.g., doctoral degree in counseling psychology).

Racism: A system of advantage based on race that involves cultural messages, institutional policies and practices, and beliefs of individuals; a system of oppression based on exclusion and privilege that benefits the dominant racial group (Whites in the U.S.) through the exercise of power and privilege over other non-dominant racial groups (people of color in the U.S.; Tatum, 2003; Wellman, 1977).

Organization of Dissertation

In Chapter I, I introduced antiracism as a worthy construct to be studied within the counseling field, briefly discussed relevant prior research, and highlighted notable gaps in the existing literature. I presented an overview of the current qualitative study including my two guiding research questions and introduced CRT and multicultural and social justice counseling theory as the theoretical frameworks that informed this study. Finally, I argued the significance of this antiracism study.

In Chapter II, I provide a comprehensive review of the existing literature relevant to racism, antiracism, multicultural competency, social justice advocacy, professional identity

development, White counselor development, and multicultural counseling education and training. Additionally, I present a more detailed description of CRT and multicultural and social justice counseling theory and the utility of each theoretical framework for this study. In Chapter III, I detail the use of a constructivist grounded theory approach in this study. To that end, I discuss specific methods including participant criteria, recruitment methods, data collection, data analysis process, and trustworthiness. In Chapter IV, I present the findings of the study including salient categories and themes related to antiracism development and an overview of the theoretical model based on the summation of results related to my guiding research questions. Finally, in Chapter V, I discuss the significance of the findings and implications for the counseling profession: practice, education, training, supervision, and future research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous chapter, I introduced the construct of antiracism, noted the lack of literature related to antiracist identity development specific to White counselors, and argued the significance of research in this area. This chapter provides an extensive review and critique of the existing literature related to this study. First, I will focus on key content areas as they relate to White counselors' antiracist identity development: history of racism in the U.S., White antiracism development, antiracism in counseling, multicultural counseling and advocacy competencies, multicultural counseling training, White racial identity development, and counselor professional identity development. Next, I will discuss Critical Race Theory (CRT) and multicultural counseling theory (MCT) and related social justice theory, the theoretical frameworks of this study. Finally, I will provide a summative analysis of the literature review including key takeaways and a summary of the chapter.

Method

A comprehensive review of the literature was conducted using Montclair State University's Sprague Library's databases and various search strategies. Professional articles and empirical studies were reviewed and selected based on criterion for inclusion and exclusion.

Search Strategy

I devised and implemented an intentional search strategy to identify relevant literature. First, I conducted a comprehensive electronic search using several bibliographic databases including Academic Search Complete, ERIC, PsychInfo, and PsychArticles. Initially, an exploratory search using Academic Search Complete with "antiracism" as the search subject term resulted in 1,123 identified studies dated from 1986-2020. I then limited the search to journal articles from 1990 to 2020. To further narrow the results, basic search subject terms were

identified and used in combination such as “antiracism and counseling,” “White and antiracism,” “White and antiracist,” and “White and ally or allyship” as well as terms including “multicultural competency,” “social justice advocacy,” and “counselor professional development.” I used numerous combinations of search terms and various databases; however, I will highlight only a few. For example, using the database Academic Search Complete, the search subject terms “antiracism,” “White,” and “counseling” together yielded five results while “antiracism or antiracist,” “White,” and “counseling or therapy or psychotherapy or treatment” together yielded 23 results. Each of these 23 articles was reviewed for relevance to the proposed study, and six antiracism articles were included for review. Using the database PsychInfo, the search subject terms “antiracism or antiracist,” “White,” and “counseling or therapy or psychotherapy or treatment” together yielded 42 results. Out of 42 articles, 10 were selected for this literature review.

Additional search strategies yielded further results. First, references within identified theoretical articles and empirical studies were examined for more studies. If a referenced article contained information related to White counselors’ antiracism development, multicultural counseling competency, social justice advocacy development, or professional identity development and met selection criteria, then it was included. Additionally, several journals were individually searched including the *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, and *The Counseling Psychologist’s* 2017 volume 45 issue five’s focus on Whiteness and White allyship. Lastly, I hand-searched references from dissertations and professional books on racism, antiracism, allyship, Whiteness, White racial identity, multicultural counseling competency, and social

justice advocacy development within the related disciplines of counseling and counseling psychology.

Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion of an Empirical Study

All identified empirical studies were considered for the literature review. Studies were considered across disciplines in line with CRT's emphasis on interdisciplinarity (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Hence, selected studies are from the disciplines of counseling, psychology, education, and social work. I excluded studies from law and medicine. Each study was examined for year of publication, demographics, theoretical framework, methodology (e.g., quantitative or qualitative), and quality of results/conclusions drawn. Studies that lacked the aforementioned information were excluded from this review. Selected empirical studies met the following criteria for design: quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-methods studies and published in peer-reviewed journals.

Review of the Literature

Race and Racism

A review of antiracism scholarship must start with an understanding of race and racism in the U.S. Race is defined as a sociopolitical construction, understanding, and categorization of human differences (e.g., physical characteristics, behaviors) that was created to maintain power differentials in society (Kendi, 2019; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Tatum, 2003). Race was first recognized in the English language as a "folk idea" or term for sorting differences during the 16th and 17th centuries (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, p. 19). By the 18th century, race emerged as a new ideology and hierarchical structure in U.S. society that promoted notions of racial inferiority and dehumanization of people of color needed to justify the enslavement of Africans by White American colonizers (Kendi, 2019; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Kendi (2019) asserted that race is essentially an identity of power meant to “categorize and judge, elevate and downgrade, include and exclude” (p. 38). This power has been misused to subjugate people of color to maintain White dominance (Kendi, 2019; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Tatum, 2003). In the U.S., there are six racial categories recognized by the U.S. Census Bureau (2018) which are further defined by Kendi as the power identities of White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and two or More Races. Racial categorizations have changed over time but each has served to process perceived differences into monolithic categories.

Critical race theorists such as Bonilla-Silva (2018) also argued that race is a socially constructed category, a human fabrication that once created produces a “social reality” or real effect on “the actors racialized as ‘black’ or ‘white’” (pp. 8-9). However, this statement is not to imply that the construction of race results in racism. Author Ta-Nehisi Coates (2015) wrote, “But race is the child of racism, not the father.” To that point, Bonilla-Silva (2015) described racism as “the product of racial domination projects (e.g., colonialism, slavery, labor migration, etc.), and once this form of social organization emerged in human history, it became embedded in societies,” which “produced (and continues to produce) ‘races’ out of people who were not so before” (p. 1359). Ideas of racial inferiority resulted from the exploitation of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) for their resources, starting with the colonization of the Americas and the forced removal of Indigenous people from their lands and the transatlantic slave trade industry which resulted in the confinement and enslavement of Africans for hundreds of years (Kendi, 2016). Hence, racism birthed race and modern U.S. society.

Racism is a complex and insidious system of oppression related to race. David Wellman (1977), author of *Portraits of White Racism* defined racism as a system of advantage based on

race. Hence, racism is not merely a personal ideology. Racism is more than racial prejudices or pre-judgments about a person based on inaccurate or limited information about a person's racial group membership (DiAngelo, 2018). Instead, racism is a system inclusive of cultural messages, institutional policies and procedures, and individual beliefs and actions that result in the advantage of Whites (Tatum, 2003). Another way of thinking about racism is that it is "prejudice plus power" (Tatum, 2003, p. 7) which manifests in different ways, in varying contexts, and across several levels of society (e.g., macro, micro).

To better understand how antiracists redress racism, an exploration of the forms of racism is needed. Jones (1997) delineated three forms of racism: individual, institutional, and cultural. Individual racism is most closely associated with personal prejudice and occurs when Whites discriminate against a member of another racial group based on a belief that Whites are superior. Individual racism can be both overt and covert (Jones, 1997). Overt or blatant manifestations of individual racism which have also been called "old fashioned" racism are easily identifiable through demonstrative acts of hatred such as racial slurs (Sue et al., 2007, p. 272). Covert or subtle manifestations of individual racism (i.e., modern racism) can take the form of unintentional or intentional insults, snubs, or racial slights referred to as racial microaggressions by Sue et al. (2007). Another subtle expression of individual racism is aversive racism which is characterized by Whites whose public and private lives appear disconnected in that they publicly espouse egalitarian principles but privately feel discomfort and fear of people of color, particularly, Black individuals (Kovel, 1970; Utsey et al., 2008). Aversive racism results in limited positive interactions between Whites and people of color.

Institutional racism is enacted through the implementation of racist policies and procedures across social systems (Jones, 1997). Such enactments lead to widespread and

persistent racial inequities and disparities in healthcare, housing, education, and law. Institutional racism challenges the American meritocracy and core beliefs of justice and fairness (Tatum, 2003).

Cultural racism occurs through the exertion of power to elevate White cultural norms and practices as superior to other racial groups (Jones, 1997). Hence cultural racism involves both White ethnocentrism and the use of power to impose White culture onto other racial groups. Such imposition of power results in forced cultural assimilation through the abandonment of racial and ethnic minorities' cultural practices and absorption of White dominant cultural norms (Kendi, 2019). Kendi (2019) provided the denigration of Ebonics in U.S. society as an example of cultural racism. Kendi also illustrated antiracist practices, highlighting the cultural antiracist counteraction of the Oakland, California school board when they established Ebonics as a legitimate language, recognizing Black students who spoke Ebonics as bilingual. Within the counseling profession, cultural racism can be seen within foundational and traditional counseling theories and practices that are based on White norms, values, and beliefs (Katz, 1985).

Racism as Ideological Constructs

Central to a discussion of racism and antiracism is an exploration of the underlying ideologies that uphold racism. In this section of the literature review, I will provide a detailed description of White supremacy, conceptualizations of Whiteness, racial color-blindness, and White privilege.

White Supremacy. Racism as a system begins with ideology. In the U.S., racism is shaped by White supremacy, a powerful ideology that supports Whites as superior and Whiteness as the ideal, the norm, and the standard for all others (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2016; Tatum, 2003). White supremacy has created a culture in which notions of racial inferiority are

reinforced through socialization processes beginning at birth. These powerful cultural messages associate being White and all aspects of Whiteness with superiority. As such, people of color are viewed as inferior to Whites (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2016; Tatum, 2003). An essential mechanism of White supremacy is the *white racial frame*, a dominant White worldview that includes “a set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions, and reactions to language accents, as well as racialized inclinations to discriminate” (Feagin, 2013, p. 3). A White dominant worldview and supremacist ideology upholds racial structures at multiple levels: social, political, economic, and ideological (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). White supremacy creates and maintains a sociopolitical and economic system in which Whites have greater access to power, privilege, and control over policies and practices that serve to advantage Whites and disadvantage other racial and ethnic groups (DiAngelo, 2018; Tatum, 2003). According to DiAngelo (2018), attention to White supremacy illuminates the system and shifts “the locus of change onto White people, where it belongs” (p. 33). As such White antiracists, play a fundamental role in naming Whiteness and dismantling White supremacy.

Whiteness. Several obstacles to White antiracism efforts are the invisibility of Whiteness, White privilege, and racial color-blindness. Whiteness is not well understood as it has been described as “an identity that is neither problematized nor particularized within discourse on race because it assumes a status of normalcy” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 731). While the term “White” designates a racial category, Whiteness is a construct that has evolved from a type of racial identity to a form of culture representative of the complex set of processes that structurally position White people as superior. The complexity of Whiteness was described as “an amalgamation of qualities including the cultures, histories, experiences, discourses, and

privileges shared by Whites” (Marx, 2006, p. 6). Frankenberg (1993) conducted a qualitative study of White women’s racial awareness and found Whiteness to be an invisible norm for humanity. In a related qualitative study of White antiracists, Smith and Redington (2010) observed that conceptualizations of Whiteness typically focused on systemic elements and connoted a social location of power and privilege. Harris (1993) argued that Whiteness has become like a property protected by law. As such, Whiteness represents the social, economic, and educational benefits associated with being White (Harris, 1993). As stated in Chapter I, Whiteness is viewed as an integral aspect of White experience and identity and will be used in this study to better understand White antiracism development.

Racial Color-Blindness. Evidence of the normative nature of Whiteness is racial color-blindness. Racial color-blindness is an ideology or complex belief system suggesting that race should not and does not matter in U.S. society (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006). This ideology reflects an underlying assumption that the U.S. is an American meritocracy where “hard work is the sole determinant of success” (Tran & Paterson, 2015, p. 342). In essence, racial color-blindness is the denial and minimization of the impact of race and racism on people’s lives. Color-blindness implies that racism is a relic of the past—a skewed vantage point that further perpetuates racist beliefs, policies, practices, and procedures. Individuals who endorse racial color-blindness may use it either consciously or unconsciously to rationalize the status quo of racial inequities in the U.S. (Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006). Further, racially color-blind Whites employ strategies to explain away White privilege and their own racist attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Interchangeable use of “American” and “White” to describe U.S. cultural norms, practices, and beliefs is an example of a racially color-blind strategy meant to justify experiences of White privilege as normative and to avoid race-based

discussions (Tran & Paterson, 2015). Racially color-blind Whites claim to not see color and to treat all people the same, a worldview that limits Whites' awareness of their own racist thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors and maintains the structure of racism at the macro level (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

Previous research has shown that Whites are more likely to endorse color-blindness (Ryan et al., 2007). Further, support of racial color-blindness has been connected to ethnocentrism, meritocratic beliefs, decreased appreciation for multiculturalism, negative views of antiracist policies such as Affirmative Action, and lower levels of multicultural counseling competency (Neville et al., 2006; Ryan et al., 2007; Spanierman et al., 2008). Of particular importance to antiracism development is the work of Spanierman and colleagues (2008) who studied the psychosocial impacts of racism on White allied mental health trainees. In a series of quantitative studies, Spanierman et al. (2008) found that Whites who endorsed lower levels of color-blind attitudes experienced higher levels of White empathy and White guilt and lower levels of fear of people of color which in turn predicted higher levels of multicultural counseling awareness as evidenced by case conceptualization responses. Results suggest that rejection of racial color-blind ideology may be a potential developmental pathway towards antiracism development.

White Privilege. Whites who endorse racial color-blindness tend to deny the existence of White privilege (DiAngelo, 2018) and endorse meritocratic beliefs (Bonilla-Silva, 2018), while antiracist Whites are more likely to recognize privilege, acknowledge the injustice of White racial dominance, and reallocate unearned social capital towards social change (Malott et al., 2015; Smith & Redington, 2010). McIntosh (1992) described White privilege as “an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day...an invisible weightless

knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks” (pp. 1-2). McIntosh (1992) delineated 46 daily effects of White privilege or conditions and circumstances attached to her skin-color privilege rather than other social group memberships (e.g., gender, class). This list encompasses entitlements that all should enjoy as basic needs and rights. One such example is, “I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed” (McIntosh, 1992, p. 5). In other words, White privilege is an expansive set of unearned advantages granted to White people that helps them effectively negotiate individual relationships and interactions with all U.S. institutions, whether that be the housing market, k-12 schools, colleges and universities, law enforcement and the courts, healthcare or financial institutions, and employment scenarios. White privilege also affords White individuals power and dominance over other racial groups which is preserved over time and across generations. The end result is a pervasive hierarchical system that privileges Whites based on race and not merit and that is often difficult for Whites to recognize, acknowledge, and redress as it requires them to “give up the myth of meritocracy” (McIntosh, 1992, p. 9). Following the publication of McIntosh’s seminal work on White privilege, there was tremendous advancement in scholarship related to White privilege, Whiteness, White racial identity, allyship, and White antiracism.

Racism as a Mental Health Issue

Antiracist scholars described racism as a mental health issue and challenge for mental health professionals (Lee, 2020; Sue et al., 2007). The negative impact of White racism on BIPOC’s overall health is well documented within the counseling and related antiracism literature (Carter, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Malott & Schaeffle, 2015; Tatum, 2003). In contrast, less attention, especially from White scholars, has been given to how White

supremacy and racism negatively affect White people. Such scholarly omissions perpetuate a false and harmful narrative that Whites are not key stakeholders in fixing a broken system that harms all. Redressing racism is to the betterment of society as a whole; therefore, this section of the literature review will attempt to summarize key studies that document the substantial psychosocial costs and mental health impacts of racism for both BIPOC and White people.

Impact of Racism on Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. Racial oppression is a form of trauma that can “lacerate the spirit, scar the soul, and puncture the psyche (Hardy, 2013, p. 25). Hardy (2013) argued that racial trauma is a wound that is not often addressed. He wrote that this traumatic form of interpersonal and institutional violence manifests as: internalized devaluation, assaulted sense of self, and internalized voicelessness. Racial trauma has been further explored as a stress response that is not fully captured by existing trauma conceptualizations and diagnostic classifications like post-traumatic stress disorder (Carter, 2017). Traditional models of care and standard interventions do not adequately address the racial and cultural components of racial trauma. Increased knowledge and understanding of the impact of racism on BIPOC communities and individuals is essential to effective antiracist interventions.

Racial Microaggressions. Sue et al. (2007) described racial microaggressions as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities” that “communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color” (p. 271). There are three types of racial microaggressions: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations that may be communicated either intentionally or unintentionally (Sue et al., 2007). Microassaults are overt expressions meant to cause harm (Sue et al., 2007). They may manifest as either verbal or nonverbal attacks including racist jokes or racial epithets, such as referring to

someone of Asian descent as “Oriental.” Microinsults are rude or insensitive expressions meant to “demean a person’s racial heritage or identity” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274) such as telling a person of color that they are “very articulate.” Lastly, microinvalidations are characterized by the denial of a person’s racialized experiences (Sue et al., 2007) such as saying, “All lives matter.” Regardless of intentionality or type, racial microaggressions occur frequently, and the cumulative effects of them over time cause harm. These cumulative effects are well documented in minority stress-related studies (Meyer, 2010; Smedley et al., 1993). Research on minority stress, the experience of stress based on membership in a marginalized, stigmatized, and targeted racial or ethnic group in the U.S., has established the impact of minority status on mental health over time (Smedley et al., 1993). Further, minority stress theory has been applied to marginalized sexual minorities and states that people of color who also identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual experience more stress and psychological distress than their White counterparts (Meyer, 1995, 2003, 2010). Literature on minority stress substantiates the negative effects of marginalization and multiple forms of oppression. The next section of this literature review will highlight significant findings from minority stress-related studies.

Racial Trauma and Racial Battle Fatigue. Previous studies have documented the impact of racial microaggressions and the resultant emotional and psychological distress associated with these experiences for BIPOC (Smith, 2004, 2008; Sue et al., 2007). Racial battle fatigue is a type of racial trauma (Carter, 2007) that results from the cumulative effects of ongoing experiences with racism. Smith (2004) described racial battle fatigue as “a response to the distressing mental/emotional conditions that result from facing racism daily” (p. 180). Racial battle fatigue manifests within three stress responses: psychosocial, physiological, and behavioral that are activated as marginalized individuals cope with racism. Examples of symptoms are numerous,

and include: tension headaches and backaches, elevated heart rate, rapid breathing, stomach discomfort, fatigue, ulcers, loss of appetite, elevated blood pressure, persistent anxiety, disrupted sleep, conflict-laden dreams, intrusive thoughts/images, self-confidence decline, loss of concentration, difficulty in articulation, hypervigilance, frustration, denial, anger and anger suppression, resentment, and emotional and social withdrawal (Smith, 2004, 2008; Smith et al., 2007).

Smith (2004) documented the ongoing racism that Black faculty members endure and cope with on White campuses including students' disruptions, open hostility, dismissiveness, and oppositional silence as well as White university administrators' minimization of race-based stress. In a qualitative study of 36 Black male undergraduate students' experiences of racial battle fatigue, Smith et al. (2007) used focus groups to document the impact of multiple oppressions (i.e., being a Black male) within historically White academic, social, and public spaces on campus. Findings revealed experiences of microaggressions (e.g., racial profiling and police brutality, bullying, racial slurs) and subsequent responses including increased hypervigilance, psychological stress, anger, fear, anxiety, hopelessness, helplessness, and frustration. To navigate historically Whites spaces, Black males must remain "switched on" or hypervigilant to deal with daily microaggressions (Smith et al., 2007, p. 558). Smith and colleagues provided substantive evidence of racial microaggressions and subsequent negative and alarming experiences of racial battle fatigue.

Racism in Counseling. As previously noted, Sue and colleagues (2007) introduced a groundbreaking framework for understanding racialized oppression. To further examine the relationship between racial microaggressions and mental health, Nadal et al. (2014) conducted a quantitative analysis of survey data from a robust sample ($n = 506$) of racially and ethnically

diverse adults aged 18-66 years. The researchers found that participants who perceived and experienced higher frequencies of racial microaggressions were more likely to present with mental health symptoms such as depression, anxiety, and negative affect. However, due to small effect sizes, the authors cautioned that other variables may account for some of the relationship between mental health and microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2014). Notwithstanding limitations, the implications of this study are numerous. One of the unique challenges faced by White counselors working with underresourced and racially/ethnically minoritized communities is the ability to connect and minimize early withdrawal from treatment (Fortuna et al., 2010). Antiracist counselors play an important role in addressing clients' experiences of racism. Often times, clients of color need "a sanity check" (Sue et al., 2008, p. 332) to feel validated after a microaggressive experience. Antiracist counselors can validate the experiences of clients of color which may help counselors earn credibility and lead to more successful therapeutic outcomes and higher retention rates.

Malott and Schaeffle (2015) presented a conceptual model for addressing BIPOC clients' experiences of racism within the counseling setting. Malott and Schaeffle recommended that counselors utilize culturally responsive practices and specific skills like broaching to validate and elucidate experiences with racism. Additionally, the authors suggested counseling approaches that contextualize BIPOC clients' experiences and leverage clients' strengths and resources such as biopsychosocial, feminist, relational-cultural, and trauma-informed models. Given the conceptual nature of Malott and Schaeffle's anti-discriminatory model, additional research is needed to fully understand the impact of these proposed antiracist approaches.

To further assist counselors in meeting their race-based competency mandates, Sue et al. (2019) offered a way of intervening and disrupting microaggressions. Sue and colleagues

provided a strategic framework for BIPOC targets, antiracist counselors, White allies, and bystanders to address racial microaggressions and the newly introduced macroaggressions which operate at the institutional and systemic levels of society and affect whole groups of people (e.g., building of a border wall). The framework calls for microinterventions that can involve naming the microaggression and making it visible, disarming the microaggression, educating the perpetrator, and seeking support. Sue and colleagues offered a path for antiracist counselors towards action. Action is necessary as unchecked racism within the counseling relationship and beyond produces mental health disparities as evidenced by lower retention rates for African American clients (Fortuna et al., 2010) and poorer mental health outcomes among clients of color (Nadal et al., 2014; Sue et al., 1991).

Scholars have further documented the enactment of racism within the counseling relationship (Carr et al., 2014; Holley et al., 2016; Lewis et al., 2017; Nadal et al., 2014). Fortuna et al. (2010) explored the retention rates of racially and ethnically marginalized clients who sought treatment for depression. The authors analyzed survey data from the Collaborative Psychiatric Epidemiology Surveys which consisted of a large racially and ethnically diverse sample ($n = 564$). Results indicated that African American clients were significantly less likely to attend at least four sessions or remain in treatment for a 12-month period despite over 70% of African Americans sampled being able to access care (Fortuna et al., 2010). These findings suggest that access to care is not the issue but rather quality of care.

Other researchers have explored these quality-of-care issues. Knox et al. (2003) conducted interviews with 12 licensed psychologists (5 African American, 7 European American) and found that only African American therapists reported regularly broaching race-related issues with clients. White therapists were less likely to address race unless their clients

initiated these discussions due to White therapists' own discomfort and lack of readiness to broach (Knox et al., 2003). In a related qualitative study using 16 cross-racial dyads with White, European American therapists and racially/ethnically diverse clients, Chang and Berk (2009) explored the necessary conditions for satisfactory cross-racial therapy. Results indicated that White therapists' lack of attention to racial issues was perceived as prejudicial and biased (Chang & Berk, 2009). Six out of eight unsatisfied clients identified instances during which White therapists exhibited a lack of awareness of the impact of power and privilege in clients' lives, negatively impacting overall client satisfaction (Chang & Berk, 2009). Further, Chang and Berk found that White therapists who minimized racial experiences were perceived as less culturally competent. These studies provide evidence in support of race-based competency and antiracism training.

Intersectionality and Multiple Oppressions. The following studies explored the impact of racial oppression and intersectionality on the health and well-being of BIPOC, a group that is often positioned at the intersection of multiple systems of oppression and who may possess multiple marginalized statuses (e.g., gay, Black) according to the ADDRESSING model (Hays, 2016). Lewis et al. (2017) examined gendered racism and health outcomes among Black women using intersectionality and Black feminist theory, both of which focus on power, privilege, and oppression. Online surveys and multiple measures of physical and mental health were given to a large sample ($n = 231$) of Black, multiracial, and biracial women aged 18-78 years old. Inclusion of women across the lifespan is a significant strength of this study as the intersection of race and age is not as well explored in the literature. One limitation of the design was the use of purposive sampling through university listservs and Facebook which overrepresented professionals and those from middle-class backgrounds (62% held a graduate/professional degree; 60% middle-

class) limiting within group differences and generalizability (Lewis et al., 2017). Still, the researchers found gendered racial microaggressions significantly predicted mental and physical health outcomes that were mediated by use of positive coping strategies that included having a well-developed gendered racial identity.

Similarly, Carr et al. (2014) found an association between depression levels and multiple oppressions among African American women using a quantitative design. Although sampling procedures were difficult to evaluate given the brief description, the sample ($n = 144$) came from a university-affiliated hospital located in the southeast region of the U.S. with 76% of participants identifying as heterosexual, a limit to the generalizability of findings (Carr et al., 2014). A strength of the study is the inclusion of African American women across the lifespan (aged 18-72 years-old). Another notable strength is the study's grounding in objectification theory, biopsychosocial model of racism, and intersectional theory which was evident in the use of multiple measures; participants completed surveys measuring sexual objectification, racist events, gendered racism, coping with oppressive experiences, and depressive symptoms (Carr et al., 2014). Results indicated that coping with oppression by internalization may be a causal factor of depression symptoms which has significant implications for clinical practice (Carr et al., 2014).

Holley et al. (2016) investigated discrimination in mental health treatment using a small sample of 13 people diagnosed with mental illness who also identified as a person of color and/or lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) and seven additional people who identified as a family member of someone diagnosed with mental illness. Using face-to-face and telephone interviews, Holley and colleagues examined the effects of discrimination related to mental health conditions, racial identity, and sexual orientation with attention to intersectionality. Common

themes included being ignored, not viewed as complex individuals, condescension, violation of privacy rights, and presumed lack of intelligence (Holley et al., 2016). For example, one participant described a common microinvalidation of not being viewed as a complex individual but rather reduced to a diagnosis: “I am bipolar” (Holley et al., 2016, p. 315). The findings regarding double stigmas and quality of mental health treatment have significant multicultural competency implications for counselor education and training. However, the small sample size, lack of transgender participants, and the convenience sample from one southwestern U.S. state limited the generalizability of the findings and the conclusions drawn.

In summary, these studies support the need for better understanding of intersectionality, oppression, health, and well-being. A recent imperative to decolonize the counseling profession supports the need for counselors to apply the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC; Ratts et al., 2015) and integrate culture-specific frameworks. Decolonization emphasizes the importance in considering the White normative nature of traditional counseling paradigms that lack intentional exploration of cultural influences (Singh et al., 2020). Singh and colleagues (2020) recommended the use of intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) in addition to traditional counseling models. Intersectionality provides an “equity framework” that infuses multicultural awareness, knowledge, skills, and action towards a fuller appreciation of the impact of clients’ lived experiences and interactions of power and hierarchy within social systems, a necessary action within decolonized counseling practices (Singh et al., 2020, p. 266). Hence, antiracist counselors must use an intersectional lens when working with BIPOC clients as an interactional effect of multiple marginalized identities on wellness has been well documented (Carr et al., 2014; Holley et al., 2016; Lewis et al., 2017). Counselors should understand the saliency of identities for clients and recognize how each

identity impacts clients' experiences. For example, a BIPOC client with depression may also have strong intersectional identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, disability status) which will impact health and wellness. The impact of multiple oppressions on the experiences of racially diverse clients must be part of the counselor's understanding for a strong client-counselor relationship and for effective treatment planning.

Impact of Racism on Whites. White racism's effect on White people's adjustment, identity, and mental health has received less attention in the literature, particularly by White scholars, which is perhaps another example of the invisibility of Whiteness and impact of White dominance on intellectual discourse. Nonetheless, an antiracism study requires an understanding of the impact of racism on Whites. Black feminist antiracist scholars, including Ijeoma Oluo, called for this examination, "White people: I don't want you to understand me better; I want you to understand yourselves...Your survival has never depended on your knowledge of White culture. In fact, it's required your ignorance" (2017). Thus, a comprehensive review of the literature must include an analysis of how racism shapes White people's lives as redressing racism requires White antiracists to know where and how to start.

White Fragility. In 2018, Robin DiAngelo entered into public discourse with the publication of *White Fragility: Why It's so Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*. DiAngelo's (2018) work provided a scholarly yet provocative analysis of White culture, White dominance, and the myriad ways in which Whites avoid dealing with racism. DiAngelo asserted that White people in the U.S. live in an insulated social environment that protects them from experiencing race-based stress. In other words, Whites maintain a consistent level of racial protection by the sheer nature of skin color and conferred privileges. Whites can choose to think about race, how and when they like. Whiteness is normative and does not require daily

reflection. As a result, Whites have no need to build “racial stamina” in order to engage in meaningful conversations about race (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 2). When pressed, Whites who experience even small amounts of racial stress exhibit a condition that DiAngelo coined as White fragility. White fragility is a “state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress in the habitus becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves” (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 103). White fragility can be viewed as a default condition which manifests as denial, anger, fear, guilt and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and withdrawal from the stressful situation. These behaviors serve a purposeful function (which DiAngelo likens to bullying), to restore White racial equilibrium or return to racial comfort, thereby maintaining dominance in the racial hierarchy (DiAngelo, 2018). White fragility upholds the status quo of White silence with great cost to both BIPOC and White people.

Cost of Silence. Tatum (2003) described the cost of silence to Whites as a means of perpetuating racism. She described the following ways in which silence negatively impacts Whites. Whites learn not to notice contradictory societal messages including the myth of meritocracy (Tatum, 2003). Such avoidance results in fewer opportunities to develop insight and self-awareness; hence, Whiteness remains unexamined. White privilege also remains unexplored. Acts of hatred and bigotry go unaddressed, unless they are blatantly obvious but even then, some will choose not to intervene. Tatum argued that silence, lack of examination, and inaction alienate White people from themselves and others. Growth is stifled, and White racial identity development is stalled. DiAngelo (2018) went on to describe the disconnection Whites experience from BIPOC and other Whites. Whites are less able to engage in cross-racial dialogue and less comfortable in cross-racial scenarios which result in less meaningful interactions and relationships with BIPOC (DiAngelo, 2018). Whites who attempt to better understand

themselves as racial beings may also feel disconnected and isolated from other Whites with less developed racial identities or those who overtly express racist ideologies (Malott et al., 2015; Smith & Redington, 2010). As such, White antiracists experience a relational cost in their work to redress racism.

Antiracism

Antiracism or the policy and practice of opposing racism (Kendi, 2019) is often positioned as the antithesis to racism. Tatum (2003) likened the cycle of racism to a conveyor belt by which active racists walk fast and move along the conveyor belt upholding White supremacy, passive racists stand still and do nothing, and antiracists walk quickly in the opposite direction to outpace the conveyor belt and disrupt the cycle (pp. 11-12). In other words, being antiracist is very different from being nonracist.

Antiracism has a long and rich history, dating back to Civil War era abolitionists, civil rights activists in the fight for school integration and voting rights, and more current studies within Afrocentrism and Black psychology (Kendi, 2019). Each moment in time provides insight into the challenges and dangers of Black activism and antiracism from the killing of Medgar Evers to the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Current movements such as Black Lives Matter, protests for racial justice and police reform, and mainstreamed understandings of Whiteness, racism, and antiracism build towards a collective racial reckoning.

There is a danger in thinking about the need for antiracism as a thing of the past. Racism is not a thing of the past; it is alive and well in America. In fact, one could argue that racism thrives in America and has been elevated to the national stage with Donald Trump's 2016 "Make America Great" and 2020 "Keep America Great" presidential campaigns which embodied White supremacist ideology and promoted fear of the "other." Kendi (2020) articulated the complexity

of racism's visibility in a post-civil rights era America when he wrote, "Trump held up a mirror to American society, and it reflected back a grotesque image that many had refused to see" (p. 52). Further, recent enactments of racist policies including the Trump administration's family separation policies and 'Muslim ban' executive orders document the harm of hateful ideology coupled with power (Kendi, 2019, 2020). There is no time for passivity; antiracist Whites are called to act rather than sit in silence.

Black antiracist scholars including Robert Carter, Ibram X. Kendi, Courtland Lee, and Beverly Daniel Tatum have long articulated the dangers of nonracist passivity. Tatum (2003) who has written numerous books and journal articles on race and racism stated, "We may not have polluted the air, but we need to take responsibility, along with others, for cleaning it up. Each of us needs to look at our own behavior" (p. 6). Put differently, everyone has a responsibility to clean up the polluted air that racism breathes into our lungs. Unfortunately, not all Whites answer that call to action. In fact, very few White antiracists exist (Cross & Reinhardt, 2017; Sue, 2017). Marlon James (2016) who has written several award-winning novels about the killings of Black men in America articulated in a videorecording the essence of nonracist complacency, "So why are you sitting at home watching things unfold on T.V. instead of doing something about it?" In other words, White nonracists can witness violence towards BIPOC communities and individuals and be outraged but do nothing to change it. What prompts some Whites to take action and others to not? Antiracism literature provides some insight into this important question.

Antiracism in Counseling and Related Literature

Antiracism has been described as a way of life inclusive of sense of self, personal worldview, ideals, and transformative actions. Antiracism development is also known to be a

dynamic process of self-discovery and racial healing (Singh, 2019). I will further explore the process of White antiracism development and counselor training in this section of the literature review.

White Antiracism. White antiracism has been studied across mental health disciplines including counseling, counseling psychology, and social work (Croteau, 1999; Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1990, 1995; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Previous research has shown that White antiracism is a complex developmental experience marked by cognitive, emotional, and behavioral changes. O'Brien (2001) described these changes: Whites must *understand* racism and how it operates at all levels (cognitive); *feel* the effects of racism, including personal and institutional (emotional); and *act* on this awareness for change (behavioral). The following studies detail these complex processes for White antiracists.

Smith and Redington (2010) argued that at the time of publication the voices of White antiracist activists had received little attention in scholarly literature. Hence, the authors conducted a seminal study of White antiracism development. Using consensual qualitative research methods, Smith and Redington conducted in-depth interviews to explore the perspectives, developmental pathways, and experiences of 18 self-identified White antiracist activists. Participants (7 men, 11 women) occupied various social and cultural positions with ages ranging from 23 to 70 years; two who self-identified as gay; several who reported being spiritual or religious (e.g., Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Buddhist); and most coming from college-educated professions including teachers, counselors, psychologists, social workers, and administrators (Smith & Redington, 2010). The authors identified “turning points” or significant personal (e.g., connecting other experienced forms of oppression like sexism to racism) and

professional experiences (e.g., speakers, books, trainings) that helped shape Whites' antiracist identities (Smith & Redington, 2010, p. 545). Key tenets of White antiracism were identified as such: (a) heightened awareness of race, racism, and Whiteness as socially constructed phenomena designed to maintain White dominance; (b) antiracism action as imperative; (c) openness to "turning points" (p. 545); (d) importance of critical analyses of information and events; (e) perseverance despite obstacles and challenges or what Croteau (1999) referred to as "the necessary struggle" (p. 31); (f) sense of personal responsibility for antiracist learning and action; and (g) accountability to BIPOC who ultimately determine whether their White antiracism work is effective (Smith & Redington, 2010). The findings from this study have significant implications for antiracism development in that participants' antiracist identities developed over time and through various personal and professional experiences. The authors concluded that White psychologists and trainees should be prepared as antiracists early on and then supported by ongoing multicultural workshops and curricula to foster an appreciation for the long-term and challenging nature of antiracism development.

Malott et al. (2015) conducted another significant study in the field of White antiracism. Like Smith and Redington (2010), Malott et al. (2015) were interested in the developmental pathways of White antiracists and found a number of significant personal and professional experiences reflective of cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes. Using a qualitative approach and phenomenological methods, Malott and colleagues (2015) explored the lived experiences of 10 White adults (five men and five women, aged 25-69 years) who engaged in antiracist activities and whose personal characteristics reflected Helms's (1990, 1995) Autonomy status of White racial identity development (WRID). During semistructured interviews, participants were asked to discuss their personal meaning of White identities, racial identity

developmental processes, and impact of White antiracist identities on decision making (e.g., career, housing, relationships) and lived experiences of each. Overall, White participants indicated that being antiracist was deeply connected to White identity and viewed as something one does, a lifelong commitment that is demonstrated through action. Qualitative analyses highlighted key themes which are summarized here: (a) view of Whiteness as oppressive, (b) reconstruction of White identity to reflect positive aspects of self, (c) antiracism seen as integral to positive self-concept, (d) WRID processes are lifelong and nonlinear, and (e) struggles in lifestyle choices and relationships (Malott et al., 2015).

Participants in the Malott et al. (2015) study revealed conflict in attempts to hold a positive view of Whiteness due to the unearned and unfair privileges that create a racially hierarchical society. Some Whites redefined their Whiteness through antiracism, viewing antiracism as “an antidote to the negative (e.g., oppressive) aspects of Whiteness” (p. 337). They described these antiracist White identities as “redeemed” or “new Whiteness” (Malott et al., 2015, p. 338). Results also revealed unpredictable developmental pathways. Participants reported early observations of others’ and their own racism and subsequent understandings of systemic racism followed by a long vigilant journey of antiracist learning, self-discovery, and action, marked by progress followed by “one step back, then two more forward” (Malott et al., 2015, p. 338). These setbacks or challenges were often described as difficulties in alignment of antiracist values with life choices that required persistence, courage “to go against the grain” (p. 338), and a willingness to accept the costs of antiracism work as described by one female participant, “I’m alienating a lot of people... There’s a cost with it; no doubt about it” (Malott et al., 2015, p. 339). White antiracists also noted conflict in cross-racial relationships as BIPOC may question the validity and genuineness of White antiracist work as such efforts may serve to reenact White

privilege and supremacy. Participants described a process by which they moved from being a “White hero” and “striving to save” BIPOC from racism to engaging in antiracist activism to better society and self (Malott et al., 2015, p. 338). In summary, Malott and colleagues (2015) illuminated the complexity of White antiracism development.

Additionally, participants in Malott et al.’s (2015) study revealed the complexity of their intersectional identities, “My Whiteness is completely enmeshed with the fact that I’m a woman” (p. 337). Another participant described his antiracist White identity as being impacted by his experiences of religious persecution as a Jewish man in the U.S. (Malott et al., 2015). Feenstra (2017) and Croteau (1999) also highlighted the influence of intersectional identities. Both authors suggested that attention to other social group memberships, particularly marginalized statuses (e.g., female, gay), facilitated increased awareness of power, privilege, and oppression for Whites whose Whiteness might otherwise have remained invisible to them. Croteau further explained the impact of intersectionality as a means of widening his narrow individualistic view of racism as “the moral or psychological failures or shortcomings of individual White people” to a wider systemic view of racism via his own experiences with oppression as a gay man (1999, p. 31). In Croteau’s case, he was able to see himself not as a “bad” White person but as a White racial being complete with racist mistakes, a change that enabled him to grow. Although Croteau acknowledged his minoritized experiences are not the same as people of color’s marginalization in the U.S., he posited that “new, more collateral, and oppression-sensitive” viewpoints are a pathway towards increased understanding of Whiteness in America (1999, p. 31). These shifts in viewpoints are particularly important as other antiracism studies (detailed below) have shown that increased awareness of race and racism as societal and structural is a first step towards antiracism development (Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2019).

A second antiracism study conducted by Malott et al. (2019) further examined the aforementioned complexities in developing and sustaining White antiracism. Using a qualitative design and phenomenological methods, Malott et al. (2019) studied 10 White adults (five men and five women, ranging in age from 25 to 69 years) committed to antiracism through activism work. Participants held positions in education (k-12 to university level) and non-profit organizations with most identifying as upper or middle class. Like the previous Malott et al. (2015) study, participants also had to meet the criteria of Helms's (1990, 1995) Autonomy status as evidenced by a sophisticated understanding of race and racism. Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions during individual interviews, addressing meaning ascribed to racial identities, racial identity development, and impact of racial identity on lifestyle choices. Malott et al. (2019) found that Whites engaged in antiracism consistently reported an ongoing commitment to antiracism amidst struggles and challenges. This commitment was driven by values of fairness and justice and sustained by a moral obligation which for some was deeply connected to religious and spiritual beliefs (Malott et al., 2019). Further, the commitment was demonstrated by engagement in antiracist efforts and tactics in education (e.g., workshops), leadership (e.g., organize a rally), and beyond (Malott et al., 2019). White antiracists identified confrontation as the primary tactic when witnessing White racism but worried about its efficacy as some observed how it could backfire and cause further entrenchment of racist beliefs (Malott et al., 2019). Additional core challenges included backlash from other Whites in the form of rejection and isolation and balancing personal antiracist growth with action as White self-study can devolve into self-absorption and impede active engagement in social change (Blitz, 2006). To deal with these challenges, participants described their reliance on supportive relationships as a coping mechanism, "You have to find allies, you have to build networks, both of people of

color and White people, because otherwise you just get marginalized and isolated and burnt out” (Malott et al., 2019, p. 92). Others noted the importance of humility, “We realized we were wrong about was going on 90, 95% of the time, and it was because we were White” (Malott et al., 2019, p. 93) which helped them learn from mistakes and remain resilient.

The developmental struggles of White antiracists were also discussed by Linder (2015) who proposed a conceptual model of antiracist White feminist identity development. Using narrative inquiry, Linder conducted individual interviews and focus groups with six White undergraduate students (with a women’s studies major) who identified as antiracist and feminist. Similar to Smith and Redington’s (2010) findings, participants in Linder’s study identified personal experiences with oppression, in this case with sexism, as a critical factor in the development of their antiracist identities. Once prompted to explore racial injustices and accept the reality of racism, participants described a developmental process of moving through challenging emotions associated with awareness of White privilege, systemic racism, and personal inaction (Linder, 2015). Emotions ranged from guilt, shame, and fear of appearing racist to anger and defensiveness, finally moving towards antiracist action (Linder, 2015). However, according to Linder, the developmental process was described as nonlinear in that participants reported frequent cycling between feeling stuck in guilt and shame and engaging in antiracist actions. Given their female identities and resultant socialization towards politeness, some participants struggled with an overreliance on approval and likability (e.g., “wanting to be seen as ‘the cool White person’”) (Linder, 2015, p. 545) that lulled them into passivity and inaction for fear of offending others. Linder’s findings suggest that WRID models by Helms (1990, 1995) and Rowe et al. (1994) are incomplete in their lack of attention to the maintenance of antiracist identities given the previously stated challenges. Similar to findings from Malott et

al. (2015) and Malott et al. (2019), Linder noted that ongoing powerful cognitive, affective, and behavioral forces shape antiracism development. Therefore, antiracist identities must be developed and sustained over a lifespan through continued reflection, analysis, and engagement in action.

Feenstra (2017) further validated Linder's (2015) antiracist developmental processes in a scholarly personal narrative (SPN) documenting her own antiracism identity development. Like Linder, Feenstra assumed antiracism follows a stage-like developmental trajectory; however, she noted that her progression was both linear and nonlinear. Feenstra described a process of movement from racial color-blindness to recognition of race and racial privileges, awareness that prompted racial fragility and resistance to further exploration of White racial identity in early adulthood. In graduate school, Feenstra described a reckoning or turning point at which time she accepted the realities of racism and decided to work against it. However, antiracism action was not a fixed endpoint in her development as she continued to become entrenched in feelings of guilt and shame, illuminating how Linder's model has no clear end.

The abovementioned studies reflect the underlying growth processes for Whites engaged in antiracism. While these processes are not well documented or well understood, the studies provide insight into the lived experiences including influential personal and professional experiences, challenges, struggles, and coping mechanisms. Findings from previous studies indicate a potential developmental trajectory with nonlinear and cyclical stages of unawareness of racial injustice (e.g., color-blindness, denial), early awareness of race and racism, self-work in the form of education and relearning, integration of new awareness into self-concept, and commitment to social action and change. The development of White antiracism is ongoing, complex, and not without challenges.

White Ally v. White Savior. An essential aspect of antiracism is White allyship. Tatum (2007) described a White ally as “a White person who understands that it is possible to use one’s privilege to create more equitable systems” and who follows through with action in alignment with that awareness (p. 37). By this definition, allyship represents a process by which White antiracists engage in relationship building, increasing trust and accountability with minoritized communities to redress racism with or on behalf of oppressed peoples (Brown, 2019). Spanierman and Smith (2017) identified core aspirational aspects of White allyship: (a) understanding of institutional racism and White privilege, (b) ongoing self-assessment and reflection of one’s positionality and own racism, (c) commitment to using White privilege to promote equity, (d) engagement in antiracist actions, (e) ongoing coalition building and work with BIPOC, and (f) persistence despite other Whites’ resistance to antiracism (pp. 608-609). Hence, allyship is best viewed as a benchmark for antiracism.

Despite the need for White allies, multicultural counseling scholars have repeatedly noted the relative lack of their existence (Cross & Reinhardt, 2017; Sue, 2017). One of the counseling field’s leading experts in multiculturalism, Derald Wing Sue (2017) wrote, “I continue to be disenchanted with the low numbers of true White allies encountered in my professional and personal life” (p. 708). Sue described White allyship development as a “herculean struggle” (2017, p. 707) in that the first task is convincing White Americans that there is a need for such a role. Other personal and professional challenges stem from the nature of antiracism work and allyship as lifelong commitments that require perseverance and deep trusting connections to other White allies and people of color (Sue, 2017). Further, there are other concerns related to allyship described below.

Critics of White allyship cited potential challenges in White allyship. First, it is not possible for Whites to eradicate all their racist socialization (DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Hence, White allyship must be viewed with a critical lens. Previous research has shown the detrimental impacts of privileged White activists on BIPOC racial justice activists. Gorski and Erakat (2019) interviewed and documented burnout among racial justice activists of color from within-movement conflict. Specifically, they found burnout was exacerbated by the racism of White activists who held unexamined biases, exhibited racial fragility, and failed to take action as well as undermined, invalidated, or claimed credit for the racial justice efforts of activists of color (Gorski & Erakat, 2019). Therefore, Whites must constantly evaluate and reflect on their own positionality and racism when engaging in allyship or risk perpetuating the status quo of White supremacy. Second, White allies can cause harm when they convey paternalistic and White supremacist attitudes and beliefs through well-intentioned efforts (Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Trepagnier, 2010). Endres and Gould (2009) noted that some White allies objectify BIPOC as passive recipients of White humanitarian aid which inadvertently strengthens a cultural deficit model. White savior syndrome was coined to address a pattern of problematic, paternalistic White helping behavior popularized in films like *The Blind Side* and *The Help* (Cammarota, 2011; Hughey, 2012). “White saviors” do not embody true allyship but rather participate in self-serving, superficial, and transactional endeavors aimed at saving people of color rather than in deep structural change through revolutionizing systems of oppression (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Distinguishing between antiracist White allyship that focuses on systemic change and White saviorhood that emphasizes helping people of color can be difficult. Spanierman and Smith (2017) offered a guideline: White allyship “has nothing to do with helping people of color survive in a system of White dominance” but rather the work

“involves transforming systems of White dominance to be equitable, fair, and just” (p. 610). To that end, White allyship is a pathway to White antiracism as both prioritize and promote systemic changes to redress racism.

Factors Impacting Antiracism Development

Factors impacting antiracism development include WRID, cultural humility, and antiracism training. Each of these developmental influences will be explored in the following section of this literature review.

White Racial Identity Development. Anneliese Singh (2019) in her work, *The Racial Healing Handbook: Practical Activities to Help You Challenge Privilege, Confront Systemic Racism, and Engage in Collective Healing* argued that White antiracism is an evolutionary process that moves alongside development of White racial identity. WRID is explained as a developmental process by which Whites explore constructions of race and racism related to identity (Helms, 1990, 1995; Rowe et al., 1994). In simpler terms, it is a process by which Whites either explore or do not explore their racial identity. Previous discussion on color-blindness illuminated the challenges related to WRID and highlighted how for many Whites, Whiteness remains invisible. There is an enduring denial of the existence of White culture and the impact of Whiteness as a social construction and White as a racial identity (DiAngelo, 2018). Therefore, the process by which Whites explore, understand, construct, de-construct, and reconstruct White racial identity is complex, ongoing, and not without obstacles.

Racial identity theorists such as Janet Helms (1990, 1995) and Rowe et al. (1994) articulated the process of racial identity development for Whites which has significant implications for White antiracism development. Helms (1990, 1995) first described WRID as a linear process by which Whites move through two phases with related stages of racial

understandings or schematas. Schematas were defined as behavioral manifestations of underlying cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes (Helms, 1990). Phase one, the abandonment of racism, consists of three stages: Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration (Helms, 1990). Phase two, the defining of a nonracist White identity, is comprised of the Pseudoindependent, Immersion-Emersion, and Autonomy stages (Helms, 1990). To that end, the goal of Helms's White racial identity model is the attainment of an antiracist identity. Helms (1995) later updated the model to reflect a less linear developmental process and changed the language of her model from stage to status to reflect increased understandings of issues related to race. Specifically, Helms (1995) argued that the term stage falsely implies a fixed, transient place that one strives to reach. Helms updated her theory, noting that Whites can occupy various statuses that "are potentially accessible under the 'right' circumstances" (1995, p. 187). At times, Whites can occupy more than one status and can move fluidly between statuses based on information processing strategies (e.g., denial, flexibility), level of comfort and familiarity, and experiences with dissonance. At one end of the continuum is the Contact status, which is regarded as an early developmental status in that Whites who operate in this status maintain the status quo, hold White supremacist beliefs and attitudes, enact racist behaviors, and are largely unaware of race including the impact of power and privilege and the effects of individual and institutional racism (Helms, 1995). The Autonomy status is positioned at the opposite end of the developmental continuum (Helms, 1995). Helms (1995) delineated the following characteristics of Whites in Autonomy: (a) heightened awareness of self as a racial being and the privileges afforded to self as a member of the White dominant group, (b) abandonment of personal racism and White racial privileges, (c) increased knowledge of the effects of racism on BIPOC, and (d) ongoing and active engagement in antiracism work. In summary, Helms's WRID model reflects

an aspirational trajectory that begins with acknowledgment of race and racism and an emergent awareness of Whiteness and emphasizes subsequent movement towards a heightened level of racial consciousness and antiracist identity.

Rowe et al. (1994) proposed an alternative to Helms's WRID model. White Racial Consciousness (WRC) is defined as "one's awareness of being White and what it implies in relationship to those who do not share White group membership" (Rowe et al., 1994, pp. 133-134). In contrast to Helms's (1990, 1995) more linear model, Rowe et al. (1994) suggested that Whites engage in a cyclical process of racial consciousness development based largely on seven types of commonly held attitudes of Whites in reference to themselves and to BIPOC. These seven attitude types are classified under two major groups labeled unachieved WRC and achieved WRC. Whites in the unachieved status may lack exploration or commitment to understanding personal racial attitudes and exhibit the following attitudes: dependent, dissonant, avoidant. Whites in the achieved status have engaged in personal reflection, consideration, and commitment to changing racial attitudes and include the following set of refined racial attitudes: conflictive, dominative, integrative, and reactive. Similar to Helms's model, Rowe and colleagues described attitudes that range from dependent, which are indicative of the adoption of White cultural norms, and avoidant, which is demonstrated by minimizing or ignoring racial issues, to integrative and reactive which indicate a higher level of consciousness and positive racial attitudes reflective of an understanding of the impact race and racism. Rowe et al.'s model suggested that these racial attitudes give rise to subsequent behaviors that foster racial identity development among Whites. As such, WRC makes no linear or stage-based assumptions. WRC assumes that White people can move through these different attitude types in varying sequences.

Further, cognitive dissonance associated with differences between currently held beliefs and emergent beliefs can facilitate movement.

Critiques of Helms's (1990, 1995) and Rowe et al.'s (1994) models exist (Leach et al., 2002; Miller & Fellows, 2007). Leach et al. (2002) articulated a perceived deficit in Helms's model in that the focus is on how White people felt about other racial/ethnic groups and not how they felt about themselves. Leach et al. expressed concern that little attention is paid to how Whites connect to the White racial group and understand Whiteness as a social construct. Further, Miller and Fellows (2007) argued that Helms's model provides little definition of Whites' antiracist identity in the Autonomy status including how Whites come to engage in antiracism activism. Current theories assume the White experience is monolithic and do not attend to intersectional differences related to class, gender, sexual or affectional identities, and other variables (Brown, 2019; Lensmire et al., 2013; McCarthy, 2003). Lack of attention to intersectionality may lead some Whites to dismiss, deny, or disregard the need for racial identity development as they may not see themselves reflected in the model (Brown, 2019). Similarly, Leach et al. argued that Rowe et al.'s model may not be complex enough to capture the dynamic interplay of social processes that impact racial identity as the model is limited to a cluster of White racial attitudes, largely ignoring the social forces behind those attitudes. Critics asserted that current WRID and WRC models provide frameworks for understanding racial awareness and consciousness but may not offer enough explanation about identity formation and development, particularly related to antiracism. Despite these critiques, recent antiracist scholarship by Singh (2019) described the importance of raising race consciousness as a necessary developmental task in White antiracism development; therefore, it is necessary to further explore WRID and WRC in antiracism development.

Cultural Humility. Cultural humility is a construct with relevance to multicultural competency, culturally responsive psychotherapy, and a multicultural orientation or “way of being with clients” (Hook et al., 2016, p. 151). The construct is defined as “the ability to maintain an interpersonal stance that is other-oriented (or open to the other) in relation to aspects of cultural identity that are most important to the client” (Hook et al., 2013, p. 354). Counselors who exhibit cultural humility maintain a position of openness, curiosity and interest, and respect for others (Hook et al., 2013). They actively reject superiority, commit to ongoing self-reflective practices, and work to redress power imbalances within the client-counselor relationship (Hook et al., 2013). Humble counselors actively work to undo socialization that has led to viewing one’s own beliefs and values as superior to those of clients. As such, cultural humility as an interpersonal stance operates as an essential aspect of antiracism. In Malott et al.’s (2019) study of White antiracists, a majority of participants who exhibited humility also rejected White supremacist norms, recognized the impact of racism, affirmed cultural differences, and adopted a “not-knowing stance with a long-term growth perspective” (p. 93). Further, humility as a trait, disposition, and interpersonal stance has documented benefits. Hook et al. (2013) conducted a series of four quantitative studies to create a measure of cultural humility and explore cultural humility within the counseling relationship. Hook et al.’s (2013) results showed that cultural humility was viewed by Black adult clients ($n = 120$) as a desirable disposition positively associated with a stronger therapeutic alliance and perceptions of progress in therapy.

Antiracism Training. Given the persistent and insidious nature of racism in the U.S., some scholars have called for the need for coursework and training specific to antiracism (Boatwright-Horowitz et al., 2012; Paone et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012). The call for action is further intensified by recent events like the Black Lives Matter movement and

racial justice protests that focus on lethal police violence on unarmed Black and Brown individuals and systemic racism in the U.S. Some counselor educators have noted that a single course on multiculturalism has the potential to obscure the importance of race-based training given time constraints and required topics (e.g., class, sexual orientation, religion; Malott, 2010; Pieterse et al., 2009; Priester et al., 2008). Single courses that focus on race and racism have been shown to increase student awareness of these issues. Pieterse (2009) outlined a graduate-level counseling elective on antiracism that utilized a variety of didactic and experiential pedagogical methods: lecture, videos, small-group discussions, and racial-cultural interviews consisting of instructor-facilitated experiential process groups focused on race. The antiracism course focused on student processing of challenging emotional reactions of fear, anger, blame, and defensiveness which are often mischaracterized as forms of resistance rather than opportunities for growth (Pieterse, 2009). Pieterse argued that these challenging emotions must be allowed time for adequate processing or training runs the risk of shutting down students and stalling development. Student and instructor reflections on course participation revealed increased awareness of race and the effects of systemic racism such as ways in which students maintain racism through individual and group participation, particularly for White students (Pieterse, 2009). Further, students demonstrated increased accountability and responsibility for antiracist practices (Pieterse, 2009). The elective nature of the course is a consideration in evaluating the efficacy of course content and methodology and overall effectiveness as the nature of the course as self-selected may have biased the sample towards individuals more open and inclined towards antiracism. Still, the course serves as a model for antiracism training for counseling departments.

A second model for antiracism training was documented by Paone et al. (2015) and Rothman et al. (2012) who both described an experiential race-based counseling graduate course

that focused on Whiteness. Much like Pieterse's (2009) work, both articles outlined a group model with a variety of instructional activities: movement, expressive arts, games, videos, role-plays, and reflective exercises (i.e., journals, family genograms). Paone et al. analyzed data from five years of courses with a total sample of 121 White counseling graduate students. Quantitative analyses revealed that course participation resulted in student growth in the following domains: increased awareness of the negative impact of racism, increased awareness of White privilege, decreased levels of racial color-blindness, and positive growth in White racial identity (Paone et al., 2015). Similar to Pieterse, Paone et al. restated the need for adequate processing of challenging emotions as a necessary step for White students, in particular, to move from guilt and shame to positive antiracist actions. Rothman et al. analyzed data from 2 years of course enrollment with a total sample of 43 White master's level school counseling students. Findings from end of the semester surveys revealed positive changes in student awareness and knowledge in the following areas: understanding of personal racial identity, awareness of White privilege, and commitment to antiracist advocacy and actions (Rothman et al., 2012). Both research studies highlight the usefulness of a course specific to WRID and the positive benefits of extended exploration of Whiteness and systemic racism for White counselors in training.

Other disciplines such as psychology and education have also advocated for antiracism coursework and training, noting the potential challenges as well as the positive gains (Boatwright-Horowitz et al., 2012; Lensmire et al., 2013; Smith & Crowley, 2018). To highlight one particularly relevant study, Boatwright-Horowitz et al. (2012) surveyed 674 racially and ethnically diverse undergraduate psychology students who took part in an antiracism module as part of a general psychology course. Course curriculum and methods for Boatwright-Horowitz et al.'s study focused on White privilege and modern racism; specifically, in-class survey data

examined students' cognitive and emotional reactions to course content. Findings indicated that students of color strongly agreed with statements regarding the existence and impact of White privilege and systemic racism while White students were more likely to report feeling shocked, surprised, astonished, overwhelmed, guilty, or hopeless in response to learning about White privilege (Boatwright-Horowitz et al., 2012). Further, White students strongly agreed with statements like, "It made me feel that I was one of 'the bad guys' in society" (Boatwright-Horowitz et al., 2012, p. 900). The findings of the study have significant implications for the training of White antiracists. Most importantly, the understanding of White privilege and systemic racism is impeded by strong reactions like feeling personally attacked; therefore, training must include adequate time and space to fully process these complex emotional and cognitive reactions.

Lensmire et al. (2013) also noted the potential challenges in a study of White privilege as a stand-alone topic in teacher education. The authors argued that examination of White privilege and subsequent "ritual confessions" of the existence of privilege in individual's lives (without understandings of the structural aspects of racism and *why* White privilege exists) do not lead to long-lasting change and antiracism action (Lensmire et al., 2013, p. 421). Further, Smith and Crowley (2018) identified the pitfalls of teaching about White allies in social studies curriculum. The authors noted a dilemma in reconstructing U.S. history to include White historical figures who had significant roles in antiracism struggles: teaching about White allies provides models to challenge systemic racism but can further add to White dominant narratives (Smith & Crowley, 2018). Particular attention must be paid to amend historical accounts without decentering the voices of people of color in antiracism struggles. Thus, any study of White antiracists must be

careful to not promote the narrative of Whites as saviors or heroes as such portrayals reflect ideologies of superiority, dominance, and paternalism which are antithetical to antiracism efforts.

Findings from studies on antiracism training illuminate both the challenges and the positive impact on White students' racial identity development as well as multicultural knowledge, awareness, understanding, and commitment to antiracism. Although there are studies on how Whites react to different types of training, surprisingly, we know little about White counselors' antiracist clinical practice from the perspective of clients of color. To date, there is a paucity of literature on demonstrated antiracist counseling practice from recipients of such services, a notable gap in the literature. Antiracism is an integral aspect of multicultural counseling competency and social justice advocacy. As such, the next section of this literature review will attend to multicultural counseling and advocacy standards, competencies, training, and outcomes.

Multicultural Counseling and Social Justice Competency

Multiculturalism and social justice have been referred to as the fourth and fifth forces of counseling, respectfully, and have been embraced as core tenets of the profession (Pedersen, 1991; Ratts, D'Andrea, & Arredondo, 2004). As such, there is a need for multicultural and social justice scholars to work together and not in "isolation" (Ratts, 2011, p. 34) given the complimentary nature of these two major forces. Multicultural and social justice scholars argued that the counseling profession prioritize the training of both culturally competent counselors and social justice advocates to meet the needs of an increasingly diversifying U.S. population (Arredondo & Toporek, 2004; Ratts, 2011, 2017; Ratts, Toporek, & Lewis, 2010).

Professional Standards and Ethical Codes

In the past decade, the counseling profession's governing bodies have embraced efforts to incorporate multiculturalism and social justice advocacy into professional values, ethical codes, and standards for practice. The Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) adopted the 2016 *CACREP Standards* (2015), a comprehensive set of professional standards, mandating cultural competence for faculty and students and endorsing social and cultural diversity standards as part of professional counseling identity. Similarly, the American Counseling Association (ACA; 2014) *ACA Code of Ethics* named "honoring diversity and embracing a multicultural approach in support of the worth, dignity, potential, and uniqueness of people within their social and cultural contexts" and "promoting social justice" as core professional values (p. 3). More than four decades ago, the counseling profession called for specific multicultural training competencies and the field responded with the Multicultural Counseling Competences (MCC; Sue et al., 1992). The MCC is a conceptual framework that identifies competences (e.g., beliefs and attitudes, knowledge, skills) across three dimensions: counselor cultural self-awareness, understanding of client's worldview, and development and utilization of culturally appropriate skills and interventions (Sue et al., 1992). Refer to Chapter I for a more detailed description of the MCC and its relevance to antiracism in counseling. To summarize, the MCC called for counselors to develop antiracist attitudes, beliefs, and skills (Sue et al., 1992). The more recent adoption of the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) also required counselors to address issues related to power, privilege, and oppression in the counseling relationship. In addition, authors of the MSJCC mandated ongoing engagement in social justice advocacy on behalf of marginalized clients in order to address systemic issues (e.g., racism) that impede client growth and the ability to achieve optimal health and well-being (Ratts et al., 2016).

Lastly, the ACA Advocacy Competencies which were originally endorsed by the ACA in 2003 (Lewis et al., 2002) and updated more recently in 2018 (Toporek & Daniels, 2018) also required counselors to engage in advocacy interventions. Further, the ACA has two specific divisions devoted to diversity issues and social justice advocacy, the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) and Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) whose mission statements include the centering of multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy into the professional identities of current and future counselors. With the incorporation of multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy into professional counselor values and identity, a precedent is set for all counselors to embrace.

Multicultural Counseling and Advocacy Competency Development

Attention to multicultural and advocacy competency has had significant benefits within the counseling profession including: (a) the adoption of a contextual lens to counseling, (b) increased awareness of the importance of counselor worldviews, (c) understanding the client's cultural background (e.g., intersectionality of identity, multiple levels of marginalization), (d) the impact of power and privilege on the counseling relationship and on client mental health and well-being, (e) the identification of multicultural counseling micro-skills, and (f) advances in multicultural teaching and training techniques (Cook et al., 2015; Ratts, 2017; Smith et al., 2006). Research on White counselors' self-reported competency development has shown the positive impact of culturally diverse personal and professional experiences including coursework, supervision, mentorship, and client work. Atkins et al. (2017) found that early personal experiences with diversity, especially a feeling of being different in some way (e.g., gender, sexuality, religion, social class) facilitated the development of multicultural awareness and empathy for oppression among White counselors. Later professional experiences (e.g.,

White antiracist coursework, multicultural experiential training) have been shown to facilitate WRID and WRC, including greater antiracist attitudes (Atkins et al., 2017, Paone et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012), both of which have been linked to increased White multicultural counseling competency (Middleton et al., 2005; Middleton et al., 2011) and increased advocacy behaviors (Cook et al., 2016). Understanding competency development is necessary for the preparation of White counselors to be effective change agents when working with marginalized populations.

Strengths in Multicultural Counseling Training

The field of counselor education has made significant progress in the training of culturally competent counselors. Strengths in multicultural competency and social justice advocacy education and training include advancement in teaching and training techniques. Counselor educators noted the efficacy of a variety of techniques to address cognitive and affective aspects of multicultural competency, especially among White trainees (Collins & Pieterse, 2007; Cook et al., 2012; Cook et al., 2015; DeRicco & Sciarra, 2005; Sheely-Moore & Kooyman, 2011).

One such method is critical incident analysis which has been shown to increase racial/cultural awareness (Collins & Pieterse, 2007). Collins and Pieterse (2007) presented a systematic approach to develop multicultural counseling competency called Critical Incident Analysis Based Training (CIABT) and delineated four key components: acknowledgement, confrontation, reflection, and commitment. CIABT requires students to define and reflect upon a critical incident (e.g., cognitive and affective awareness) to achieve new understanding (Collins & Pieterse, 2007). This new model is contrasted against didactic training (i.e., readings, lectures) that targets surface level change. Often, students operate within the cognitive domain but CIABT

asks students to reflect on thoughts, feelings, and defense mechanisms (Collins & Pieterse, 2007). The use of real-life experiences is more transformative than the use of role-playing and vignettes typically incorporated into class discussions. Collins and Pieterse found that trainees take a more active role when they see themselves as stakeholders in events. Additionally, CIABT helps to normalize racial and cultural experiences. The method helps students view race-based discussions as meaningful and dispels the myth that critical incidents are bad things done by bad people (Collins & Pieterse, 2007). Further, the program aims to teach that denial of events is harmful (Collins & Pieterse, 2007). The implications of CIABT are that analysis of these naturalistic events or critical incidents can increase awareness of the role of race and culture in counseling and supervision as well as help develop students' racial/cultural self-awareness.

Creative, reflective, and experiential approaches and techniques also develop counselor self-awareness, promote cultural sensitivity and responsiveness, and foster social advocacy and skills development (Cook et al., 2012; Sheely-Moore & Kooyman, 2011). Effective techniques include self-reflection exercises, experiential activities, role plays, broaching and interviewing, immersion activities, and social action plans to facilitate social justice advocacy (Sheely-Moore & Kooyman, 2011). There are too many strategies to discuss in depth in this literature review; however, I will highlight several that are relevant to antiracism development.

One noteworthy article by Cook et al. (2012) described an experiential activity designed to increase awareness of unearned privilege, specifically White privilege, among master's level counseling students in a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI). The authors adapted the exercise based on a White-skinned privilege awareness activity designed by Niehuis (2005). As part of the experience, students are instructed to imagine themselves as a 34-year-old bisexual African American divorced woman with a 6-year-old daughter and to attempt to locate items on a list at a

local grocery, department, or drug store (Cook et al., 2012). Afterwards, students are asked to write a reflection paper about the experience. Specifically, students are asked to think about how easy/difficult it was to find the items such as African American hair products or band-aids that match your skin color and how the experience made the students feel (Cook et al., 2012). One of the most impactful experiences was described by a White female student who said she had a “light-bulb moment” in which she understood White privilege as something that she experiences every day, despite her initial hesitation to acknowledge (Cook et al, 2012, p. 498). In her journal, she wrote, “White privilege is not meant to discount all the struggles and frustrations we all as humans experience. It represents the inequality in this world, and it is a fact that some people have certain advantages others do not” (Cook et al., 2012, p. 498). The authors of this article suggested that experiential exercises can help students see White skin privilege, view privilege as a fact, understand privilege as part of everyday life, and not view privilege as an obscure and dismissible academic concept (Cook et al., 2012). Cook et al.’s (2012) use of case study data helps validate the exercise’s utility for multicultural counseling competency; however, more student reflections would have added depth and richness to the qualitative data.

A second study of importance focused on training outcomes. Cook et al. (2015) explored multicultural counseling competency and social justice advocacy development among 21 first year school counseling graduate students, some who were randomly assigned to a standard curriculum practicum course (i.e., standard group, 2 sections) and others who were randomly assigned to a multicultural and social justice-focused practicum course (i.e., targeted group, 2 sections). Nineteen students identified as White, one identified as Asian, and one identified as Latina (Cook et al., 2015). The multicultural and social justice-focused practicum’s curriculum focused on active reflection on cultural sensitivity and social justice advocacy using discussion,

modeling, and role-playing as well as multicultural and social justice readings with journal entries documenting students' reactions to assigned readings (Cook et al., 2015). Results indicated that nearly all ($n = 18$) students reported increased self-awareness of personal values, culture, and working in an urban and culturally diverse community (Cook et al., 2015). However, Cook et al. (2015) found several noteworthy differences between the two groups: 1) students in the targeted supervisory group within the multicultural and social justice-focused practicum expressed an increased understanding of the positive and negative impacts of privileges and the importance of being aware of personal biases (targeted group $n = 6$ versus standard group $n = 0$); and 2) the importance of engaging in collaboration with key stakeholders (e.g., parents, students, teachers, administrators, state legislators) and accessing educational resources. Possible variation in teaching style across the four sections might have impacted results, making it difficult to identify the specific mechanisms for increased multicultural competency and social justice advocacy development (Cook et al., 2015). However, the study has significant implications for training, specifically that a focus on antiracism within counselor education, training, and supervision may facilitate race-based competency development.

Lastly, DeRicco and Sciarra (2005) outlined an immersion experience in a multicultural counseling course and the impact on unexamined implicit racial biases among White students. The authors contended, "the immersion experience is endowed with the power to upend students' basic assumptions about themselves and their place in the world by introducing them into a community where they take on the role of the nondominant member" (DeRicco & Sciarra, 2005, p. 6). Immersion experiences are based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis theory which assumes that contact between different cultural groups is the best way to increase understanding and reduce tension. An immersion experience must meet the necessary conditions of contact to

prejudice: contact must be sufficient in time, must be between and among participants of equal status, and must be based on cooperation toward a desired outcome (Allport, 1954). DeRicco and Sciarra included a case study of a White student who journaled, “The history of the location combined with the racial makeup of the neighborhood seemed to stir some previously unconscious fears within me” which she referred to as “residual racial mistrust” (p. 7). The student had to work through her own uncomfortable feelings to begin to question some of her faulty assumptions about Black communities. In the end, she developed a deeper understanding of herself as a racial being and began to observe and challenge her racial prejudices, all necessary steps in White racial identity, WRC, and White antiracism development.

Experiential exercises can be used to fulfill the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) and aid counselors in developing enhanced awareness beyond the cognitive domain to include affective change. Increased cultural empathy and attitudinal changes have significant implications for multicultural counseling competency, specifically race-based competencies. There is an opportunity to enhance counselor education and training by centralizing the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) through multicultural and social justice-oriented training programs that mandate experiential activities.

Challenges in Multicultural Counseling Training

With regard to multicultural counseling training, there has been evidence to suggest that counselors are not fully able to translate theory to practice (Ratts, 2017). Hansen et al. (2006) conducted an exploratory qualitative study of 149, mostly White (92% of sample) professional psychologists who accumulated 20 or more years of clinical experience with 10 or more weekly hours in clinical practice working with marginalized populations (36% of caseload racially/ethnically different clients). Results of the study indicated that although 51% of the

sample reported being very or extremely multiculturally competent, participants endorsed only seven out of 52 multicultural counseling items as being used often or very often (Hansen et al., 2006). These items included: respecting a client's worldview, awareness of personal biases, and recognition of impact of race/ethnicity in diagnosis (Hansen et al., 2006, p. 68). An alarming finding in Hansen et al.'s study is that 42% of the current sample never created and implemented a professional development plan to enhance multicultural counseling competency. As such, psychotherapists "did not practice what they preached" despite self-reported multicultural counseling competency (Hanson et al., 2006, p. 66). Several factors may account for shortfalls in practice.

A primary factor in this training to practice gap may be that most counseling programs require only a single course in multicultural counseling (Malott, 2010; Priester et al., 2008). In a review of multicultural counseling syllabi, Pieterse et al. (2009) found a paucity of time devoted to race-based education (i.e., one or two course periods) given the wide range of multicultural and diversity-related issues that need to be covered in multicultural counseling courses. Further, multicultural training and race-based education can evoke powerful emotions and negative reactions like racial fragility expressed as defensiveness, guilt, and shame among White counselors in training which may impede growth and development (DiAngelo, 2018; Paone et al., 2015; Reynolds, 2011). In a qualitative study on preparedness to participate in multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy behaviors, master's level counseling students ($n = 32$; 82% of sample identified as White) named the single multicultural graduate course, a supervisor in practicum/internship, and learning activities as being significant critical incidents for competency development (Collins et al., 2015). However, many critical incident entries ($n = 101$) identified barriers to competency including a lack of buy in (e.g., disinterest, resistance to

acknowledging privilege/bias, ethno/cultural centric attitudes), personal agency, and support (e.g., modeling) for multicultural counseling or social justice advocacy (Collins et al., 2015). Although the use of a Canadian sample might not represent the perspectives of students in the U.S., this study provides evidence that multicultural competency development is a difficult process for some counseling students that requires intensive work, commitment to the process, motivation, and insight (Collins et al., 2015). Replication with a U.S. sample could further highlight similarities or differences.

When discussing White allyship and development, Cross and Reinhardt (2017) argued that coursework that focuses on White privilege without acknowledging students' ideological starting points (i.e., color blindness, cultural universalism) may leave some White students "lost, shutdown, and behind" (p. 701). Further, training related to multiculturalism, diversity, and differences must also confront hostile views of such training as "political correctness," a term further politicized after the 2016 presidential election (Cross & Reinhardt, 2017). Such resistance is often difficult to interrupt and undo (DiAngelo, 2018). Questions remain as to how to best meet White students where they are to avoid further entrenchment in color-blind and universalist ideologies that impede multicultural competency development.

Given the aforementioned challenges, one comprehensive and generalized multicultural counseling course may not allow enough time for White students to reflect, analyze, react, and respond to race-based education in order to sufficiently develop multicultural awareness and White racial consciousness (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Paone et al., 2015; Rothman et al., 2012). Additional race-based training and professional experiences may be needed to promote an antiracist counseling identity and race-based competency among White counselors. Hence, counselor professional identity development is another important aspect of White counselors'

antiracism development. A thorough analysis of counselor professional identity development will be presented next.

Counselor Professional Identity Development

Numerous studies have explored counselor professional identity development and noted its positive impact on professional unification, greater sense of professional self-efficacy, and increased commitment to counseling work (Auxier et al., 2003; Brott & Myers, 1999; Dollarhide et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2006; Moss et al., 2014; Prosek & Hurt, 2014; Reisetter et al., 2004). Professional identity development is a complex process that occurs over time and that involves the integration of personal and professional aspects of self, including values, beliefs, and roles (Auxier et al., 2003; Brott & Meyers, 1999). Reisetter et al. (2004) defined professional identity as the perception of oneself as a professional combined with competency in that professional role. In a qualitative study of critical incidents related to counselor development, Howard et al. (2006) identified professional identity and competency as salient themes for novice counselor trainees during their first year of supervised practicum. Further, Moss et al. (2014) used a grounded theory qualitative design to investigate transformational tasks among counselors at various stages of expertise (e.g., beginning, experienced, expert) and found that professional identity development tasks were also salient and significant experiences. Similarly, Dollarhide et al. (2013) found the integration of multiple identities to be an important transformational professional development task for counseling doctoral students. Prosek and Hurt (2014) used a quantitative design to explore professional identity development among novice and experienced counselors and found a significant difference between groups; specifically, advanced counselors had more fully formed professional identities. Interestingly, most professional identity studies

utilized samples of students or novice counselors; therefore, there is a need to further explore identity development among more experienced counselors.

In conclusion, the aforementioned studies on counseling identity development found that development begins with structured training and reliance on external validation with more experienced counselors developing an internalized self-concept or view of professional self via a process of individuation. Much like multicultural competency, professional identity is not a linear process with a definitive goal or endpoint. Professional identity development is a maturational process that requires continuous efforts. This continual process is especially important for advanced counselors who need to be intentional in professional development planning. While there has been a great deal of attention devoted to counselor professional identity, little is known about the integration of multiculturalism and social justice, specifically antiracism into professional identity. Hence, these studies can provide a framework for the current study of antiracism as a professional identity.

Social Justice Identity Development

In the last decade, social justice advocacy has been viewed as an important aspect of counselor professional identity due to the increased attention to the impact of power, privilege, and oppression on marginalized clients (Chang et al., 2010; Ratts et al., 2015; Toporek et al., 2009). As a result, multiple studies have explored the social justice identity development of counselors (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Dollarhide et al., 2016; Hoover & Morrow, 2016; McMahan et al., 2010; Melchior, 2017). Several of these studies focused on trainees' social justice development. Hoover and Morrow (2016) studied master's level practicum trainees' social justice orientation development and presented a model based on the interaction between the personal, interpersonal, and political. Similarly, Caldwell and Vera (2010) conducted a mixed

methods study to explore critical incidents that fostered the development of a social justice orientation among ethnically diverse counseling psychology doctoral students and professionals. The researchers identified the following critical incidents: (a) influence of significant persons like mentors, peers, and family; (b) exposure to injustice which was ranked highest among participants (c) education and work experiences; and (d) religion/spirituality and other issues including a commitment to lifelong learning (Caldwell & Vera, 2010).

Other social justice identity studies have explored the development across the professional lifespan and across settings (Dollarhide et al., 2016; McMahan et al., 2010; Melchior, 2017). To better understand social justice advocacy development among school counselors, McMahan et al. (2010) conducted a qualitative study with school counselors who identify as social justice advocates. The purpose of the study was to explore aspects of self that were associated with engagement in social justice advocacy work. Important themes and categories included racial identity, self-reflection, and feminist work style (e.g., collaboration, giving voice, empowerment, ongoing self-examination, consciousness raising; McMahan et al., 2010). The authors developed a model for social justice advocacy orientation that integrates “personhood” and racial identity (McMahan et al., 2010, p. 12). Participants in McMahan et al.’s study described a connection between personal and professional experiences, a common theme in the professional identity development literature. Similarly, Melchior (2017) conducted a qualitative study on the social justice identity development of six racially/ethnically diverse school counselors who advocate for undocumented immigrant students in their school counseling roles. Although the small sample size is a limitation, results showed that social justice identity was significantly impacted by the experiences of the undocumented students in the school settings which prompted self-reflection, leading to increased advocacy behaviors and the

integration of personal and professional identity towards social justice advocacy (Melchior, 2017). Melchior's study highlighted the relational aspects of identity development, specifically the importance of counseling experiences with diverse populations, as a catalyst towards social justice advocacy and identity development, a connection which can be further explored with antiracist counselors. In another qualitative study, Dollarhide et al. (2016) explored the experience of social justice identity among a majority White sample of self-identified social justice counselor educators. Results revealed salient themes of social justice awareness, changes in affect, behavior, and cognition, and social justice identity as "who they are" (Dollarhide et al., 2016, p. 636). Participants reported that social justice identity was more than just work; social justice was a part of who they were (Dollarhide et al., 2016). Previous studies on social justice orientation have identified a connection between significant personal and professional experiences and professional identity development which may also be a potential mechanism for understanding antiracist identity development.

Further, researchers have linked social justice identity development to advocacy competency (Cook et al., 2016; Gibson et al., 2010). With a majority White sample, Gibson et al. (2010) noted that counselors need a level of confidence in their professional identity in order to effectively advocate on behalf of clients. In a related qualitative study, a majority White sample of counselors-in-training who participated in a practicum training program based on the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) developed a social justice orientation, which led to increased multicultural competency and engagement in advocacy behaviors (Cook et al., 2016). Cook et al.'s (2016) findings suggested that the more oriented a White counselor is towards multiculturalism and social justice, the more competent a counselor becomes in these areas. Hence, these findings regarding the link between multicultural training, competency, and advocacy behaviors, and

multicultural/social justice identity have significant implications for the development of antiracism and an antiracist identity within counseling.

Theoretical Framework

CRT and MCT and related social justice theory were used as the theoretical frameworks and conceptual lens from which I designed this antiracism study from inception to conclusion. Counseling in the U.S. is a predominantly White profession with just over 60% of current mental health providers identifying as White (USCB, 2017). As such, the profession is a microcosm of the larger U.S. society, and therefore manifests White norms, ideals, and practices. CRT and MCT were used to inform my research questions as both theories centralize issues related to race, power, and privilege and seek to illuminate Whiteness and the impact of White dominance on personal and professional experiences (Bell, 1995, 2008; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Haskins & Singh, 2015). Further, CRT and MCT will be the frameworks from which I will analyze and interpret the data given this study's focus on race and the ways in which Whites go against the grain of White hegemony to develop antiracist identities and practices meant to interpret and dismantle systemic racism, a system that largely benefits them. As such, CRT provides a useful framework to explore White antiracist counternarratives and examine the professional identity development of White mental health counselors who adopt antiracist ideology and enact antiracism through their practices. With a focus on race-based competency, MCT provides a groundwork to better understand the professional development of White antiracist mental health counselors. Hence, both theories will be used as guiding principles from which to explore competency, professional development, and identity development of White antiracist mental health counselors.

Critical Race Theory

CRT originated as a critique of racism within the U.S. legal system (Bell, 1995, 2008) and has since been applied to education and higher education (Taylor et al., 2009). The interdisciplinary nature of CRT has resulted in multiple descriptions of the framework (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). This study will be informed by Haskins and Singh's (2015) examination of CRT's five core tenets as they relate to the field of counseling.

The first tenet of CRT is the permanence and intersectionality of race and racism (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Race and racism have historically encompassed people's lives (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). CRT illustrates that race and racism continue to influence every aspect of people's lives. According to Haskins and Singh (2015), "racism is deeply engrained legally, culturally, and psychologically and intersects with sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation" (p. 289). In the U.S., Whiteness is assumed as normative and becomes the standard for all others which in turn marginalizes BIPOC communities (DiAngelo, 2018; Tatum, 2003; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Due to the centrality of race, racism, and Whiteness to this study, CRT was selected as a guiding framework. Further, CRT will facilitate better understandings of the ways in which White antiracists deconstruct Whiteness and understand antiracism.

The critique of liberalism, the second tenet, calls attention to two forms of oppressive ideology, beliefs in meritocracy and color-blindness (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Both ideologies have been explained in previous sections of this literature review, and both serve to maintain White privilege and dominance by minimizing the impact of race and racism on access, opportunity, and experiences in education, employment, and housing, to name a few. As such, CRT authors stated that research can be used to challenge White hegemonic standards that have contributed to the subjugation of racially and ethnically marginalized communities and the

perpetuation of White racism (Haskins & Singh, 2015). This study is based on a critique of liberalism as it seeks to better understand the experiences of White antiracist counselors who challenge color-blindness and the myth of meritocracy.

The focus of the third tenet is counterstorytelling (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Critical race theorists assert the need for researchers to challenge White dominant discourse which serves to minimize, dismiss, invalidate, and marginalize the voices of racially and ethnically diverse people. Counterstorytelling “aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 144). Although this antiracism study does not focus on the stories of people of color, the counternarratives of White antiracists may draw attention to the ways in which some Whites challenge White hegemony and validate the experiences of people of color in the U.S. Further, this antiracism study hopes to avoid perpetuation of deficit models of the experiences of BIPOC communities and individuals by identifying Whites as key stakeholders in racist systems, such as counseling, who have a personal, professional, and ethical responsibility for change.

The fourth tenet is interest convergence which posits that previous changes to discriminatory policies and procedures converged with White interests (Haskins & Singh, 2015). In other words, racism benefits all Whites, and antiracist efforts are only supported by Whites when these efforts appear to serve White self-interests, either by image improvement or agenda advancement. Previous studies on White allyship have shown that some White allies operate as “White saviors” and participate in self-serving, superficial, and transactional endeavors instead of meaningful structural change (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Therefore, any study of White antiracism must exercise caution when interpreting the experiences of Whites who self-identify as antiracist as motivations and commitments to antiracism work vary.

The final tenet that undergirds this antiracism study is Whiteness as property or the social, educational, and economic value attributed to being White (Haskins & Singh, 2015). Whiteness is seen as an asset and is protected by both White individuals and White systems of power (e.g., legal). In other words, White antiracist counselors have access to opportunities that aid them in maintaining dominance. Therefore, this study explores how White antiracists make sense of Whiteness as property and work to dismantle systems that privilege them and oppress others.

Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Theory

MCT was developed in response to traditional counseling paradigms that failed to address the social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions of the human experience (Sue et al., 1996). MCT authors mandated counselors to develop knowledge, awareness, and interventions specific to culture and deliver culturally competent services (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999). MCT recognizes the diversity of experiences and cultural identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, age, disability, religion, class, gender, sexual orientation) that both clients and counselors bring to the counseling relationship (Sue & Sue, 1999). Social justice theory, as articulated in the MSJCC (Ratts, et al., 2015), draws attention to the impact of counselor/client identities and differences in experiences of power, privilege, and oppression on the counseling relationship (Ratts et al., 2015). Multiculturalism and social justice in combination (Arredondo et al., 1996; Ratts, 2011; Sue & Sue, 1999) prioritize cross-cultural knowledge, awareness, and counseling skills and emphasize the need to advocate for systemic change to address systemic oppression. The aforementioned constructs, ideals, aspirations, and mandates are integral to a study on White counselors who engage in antiracism work.

In summary, MCT and social justice theory constructs are essential aspects of an antiracist counseling identity. As such, MCT and social justice theory undergird the design of this study. Additionally, the five tenets of CRT as articulated by Haskins and Singh (2015) inform all aspects of this antiracism study, including conceptualization of the following key constructs: Whiteness and antiracism, research questions, the use of interviews to emphasize counter-narratives, and the analysis of data to critique dominant ideology (e.g., liberalism) and to revolutionize current multicultural competency teaching, training, and supervision practices.

Conclusion

Racism is a pervasive and insidious system of oppression in the U.S. that impacts individuals, groups, and institutions. It is clear from the literature that racism negatively impacts BIPOC communities and individuals as evidenced by frequent racial microaggressions, racial trauma, racial battle fatigue, and increased mental health symptoms (Carter, 2007; Malott & Schaeffe, 2015; Smith, 2004, 2008; Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2008). White racism, when enacted in cross-racial counseling, is particularly alarming and has been shown to result in a variety of negative therapeutic outcomes, ranging from lower retention rates to increased perceptions of racial bias and prejudice, frequent racial microaggressions, decreased satisfaction, and lower levels of perceived multicultural incompetency (Carr et al., 2014; Fortuna et al., 2010; Holley et al., 2016; Lewis et al., 2017; Nadal et al., 2014; Neville et al., 2006; Ryan et al., 2007; Spanierman et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2007).

Clearly, there is a need for White mental health counselors to engage in antiracism. The literature reveals that White antiracists view antiracism as lifelong work that is both challenging and rewarding. Moreover, White antiracists may have varying experiences related to identity development and practice. The obscurity of Whiteness, White privilege, and White supremacy,

the adoption of racially color-blind ideology, and the manifestation of White fragility are impediments to White antiracism development. While the literature offers some insights into the successful developmental pathways of White antiracist identity and the necessary training to increase race-based competency, there is still more to know about how and why some White counselors develop an antiracist identity and how they enact antiracism within their counseling practices.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the existing literature related to White counselors' antiracist identity development. I discussed the history of racism in the U.S., the impact of racism on BIPOC and White people, and the significance of antiracism in counseling. I explored how race-related experiences impact White counselors' competency and identity development and highlighted the current andragogical and training methods used to promote race-based competencies and antiracism within the counseling profession. Thereafter, I presented an overview of the theoretical frameworks that guide this study and discussed their application within this study's design. Finally, I provided a brief conclusory discussion of the literature. In Chapter III, I will present the methodology for this study, including a detailed overview of the research design, data collection, and data analysis.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter revealed how much of the existing literature on White counselor identity development is limited to racial/ethnic identity development and multicultural competency. There is limited information regarding an antiracist perspective in counseling for White counselors. Consequently, the developmental experiences of White counselors who identify as antiracist remain unknown. Therefore, this qualitative study aimed to explore the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors. Using constructivist grounded theory as the methodological framework, the goal of this study was to examine the developmental processes of an antiracist counseling identity and to construct a theory of antiracist counseling identity development based on emerging data.

This chapter provides an overview of this study's research design. First, I will discuss my researcher stance and positionality as well as my epistemological assumptions. Then, I will present a description of constructivist grounded theory and the methodological frameworks' essential components. To this end, I will detail my study's plan including purposeful and theoretical sampling, data collection procedures, data analysis, and trustworthiness. Lastly, I will provide a summary of the chapter.

Researcher Positionality

In qualitative research, the researcher acts as an instrument of inquiry; therefore, it is imperative that I identify my position and stance towards this study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I grew up in a predominantly White, working class, conservative, Christian rural area in upstate New York where the experience of being White was not discussed. Being a part of the dominant culture translated into privileges and advantages that were not acknowledged (McIntosh, 1992). I did not know I was White. Although I was sensitive to bullying in school, I was unaware of how

race affected me or others. In adolescence, things began to change as I was deeply affected by witnessing overt acts of racism and discrimination against my Black friends and other individuals who were not part of the dominant group. Several White students in my high school proudly discussed their membership in the Ku Klux Klan. I was appalled at the overt acts of racism but unsure how to enact change. My racial identity was shaped by distancing myself from the majority group. I felt like the other White or the non-racist White person and developed friendships with similarly minded White students and students from non-dominant groups in my community (e.g., LGBTQ, Jewish, BIPOC). I rejected my racial group membership; I did not want to be identified as the oppressor and adopted liberal and progressive ideology. I became close to White teachers who exhibited open-mindedness and who challenged the norms in our community. However, I was unaware of my own racial biases and prejudices and only saw other Whites as responsible for racism.

When I left to attend college, I relocated to a more racially and ethnically diverse city where I could meet more open-minded individuals. I was intensely interested in learning more about systemic issues of oppression (e.g., racism, heterosexism, sexism, classism) and enjoyed my courses that addressed them. As a women's studies minor, I became more aware of power, privilege, and oppression and was taught to question my personal biases and to challenge assumptions and stereotypes. However, I did not fully understand my own responsibility for racism. As an education graduate student and teacher in racially, ethnically, and economically diverse school districts, my professional development emphasized learning about other cultures and how to teach children from those cultures. I cannot recall being asked to reflect on my own cultural identity as a base from which to explore others. The work centered on understanding others and not me as a racist or prejudiced being.

It was not until I began doctoral level training in clinical psychology that I gained a deeper understanding of my White racial identity. I began to understand the ways in which I benefit from White privilege including access to adequately resourced schools, greater economic opportunity, quality healthcare, and the ability to live without fear of harm due to the color of my skin. I became more aware of my own covert and unintentional racist beliefs and attitudes, such as choosing to sit next to a White student as opposed to a student of color in class or my experience of discomfort during cross-racial dialogues and racial fragility (DiAngelo, 2018). Instead of dismissing or compartmentalizing my childhood experiences, I began to integrate my previous socialization with my new awareness in order to fully take responsibility for my racism. Like Helms (1992) stated, I strived to move beyond ancestral guilt to a sense of personal responsibility to end racism. At the same time, I committed myself to working towards social change and towards finding an antiracist White identity.

As I continue to develop my White racial identity in middle adulthood, I have attempted to integrate the active anti-racist part of myself with the rest of my White upbringing. I recognize that White cultural values (e.g., paternalism, individualism) influenced and continue to influence my development. I am aware of how my racial group membership impacted my access to quality education, ability to attend college and graduate school, good paying jobs and a fulfilling career, marriage, children, home ownership, as well as the ability to nurture my other interests or hobbies. I strive to view situations from multiple perspectives and have an integrated and relativistic worldview. As a mother, I teach my children to value diversity. Given the current volatile political climate in our country, I am worried about the consequences of White leaders who lack an understanding of their cultural identity, power, and privilege. I believe it is my personal and professional responsibility to address oppression and to educate other White people.

Now, as a White, cisgender, female, heterosexual, and middle-class counselor, I am cognizant of the impact of my social and cultural identities on my whole being. I am aware of my position of power and privilege in the counseling relationship. I tentatively identify (for a lack of better terminology) as an antiracist ally (Malott et al., 2015) in both my personal and professional life while maintaining a humble stance towards learning through my mistakes and missed opportunities in addressing racism.

I believe that multicultural counseling competency which includes race-based competencies (e.g., self-awareness, knowledge, skills) and social justice advocacy equal ethical practice with racially and ethnically diverse clients, especially those who present at the intersection of multiple marginalized identities. I am committed to understanding myself as a cultural being, my clients' worldviews, and the impact of cultural differences on the counseling relationship and process. I believe that it is equally important to understand the role of systemic oppression in clients' lives and to use my privilege and power as a White person to advocate for change. As a White, cisgender, female, heterosexual, and middle-class counselor educator, I believe it is essential that the counseling profession re-evaluate our multicultural training practices and approaches to ensure that counselor training does not relegate racism to one multicultural counseling course. Instead, counselor education must focus on race throughout curricula and training to ensure that counselors are ready to meet the challenge of providing culturally competent counseling in a time when race and race-related issues have become politically and socially divisive which might result in the diminishment of race-based competencies.

A salient aspect of my professional identity is my multicultural and social justice counseling orientation and my commitment to antiracism; therefore, I am a member of the group

I wish to study. Given my positionality, I am motivated to better understand how and why others develop an antiracist counseling identity as part of professional identity development. My first-hand experiences with developing an antiracist counseling identity provide me with some understanding of the role of antiracism in counselor professional identity development. My experience is reflected in the following assumptions:

1. Racism is a major problem in the United States that manifests in a variety of ways.
2. Racism impacts all aspects of life, including client health and wellbeing, the counseling relationship, and counselor education and training.
3. Silence about racism perpetuates racism; therefore, it is the ethical and professional responsibility of professional counselors to verbalize opposition to racism through antiracist actions.
4. Eradication of racism is the responsibility of all Whites in the United States.
5. Knowledge of cultural identities including race and ethnicity, worldviews, and the role of power, privilege, and oppression on the counseling relationship and counseling outcomes is essential to culturally competent practice.
6. Multiculturalism and social justice advocacy are integral to equitable mental health services, especially for marginalized racially and ethnically diverse clients.
7. An antiracist counseling identity affirms the diverse experiences of clients of color, including experiences with racism and involves active engagement in systemic change (e.g., policies, procedures).

My assumptions align with Critical Race Theory (CRT) and multicultural and social justice counseling theory. Further, my assumptions largely influenced the research questions and choice in a qualitative design, specifically constructivist grounded theory, to explore the

developmental experiences of White antiracist counselors. A grounded theoretical framework was also selected for its goodness of fit with my philosophical stance regarding the importance of identifying personal beliefs, biases, and assumptions about the phenomenon of study and my belief that theory emerges from the data itself through an iterative analytic process.

Morrow (2005) examined the credibility or trustworthiness of qualitative research and identified several challenges with the researcher as an instrument, including subjectivity and researcher bias. As an antiracist counselor, I hold several biases that might impact my experience as a research instrument including the potential to ask questions and look for answers that support my beliefs about good counseling. I believe in the need for all counselors to hold a multicultural and social justice orientation with an ongoing and active commitment to antiracism, moving beyond ‘checking boxes’ during mandatory training and instead committing to multicultural counseling competency, including race-based competencies as a lifelong developmental process. In order to limit the impact of my strong beliefs about antiracism on the collection of data, I must be mindful of my assumptions and biases throughout the entirety of the research process. Several strategies will be used to ensure trustworthiness of data to be detailed later in this chapter.

Research Design

I selected constructivist grounded theory as the methodological framework for this antiracism study. Grounded theory stands apart from other qualitative methodological frameworks in its focus on theory development and can be useful in addressing questions about process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In grounded theory studies, a theory, model, or conceptual framework emerges through an inductive process by which meaning is derived from the data or participants’ experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Grounded theory provides a method to not

only describe participants' experiences of the phenomenon but also construct theoretical knowledge of the underlying processes of the phenomenon (Charmaz, 2008). I chose grounded theory for this study because while previous literature has illuminated some of the unique experiences related to antiracism, to date, antiracism research lacks theoretical development. Hence, grounded theory design seemed most appropriate for contributing a unique perspective on White antiracist counseling development. Further, given the importance of social context within the counseling field, specifically multicultural counseling and race-based competency development, a social constructivist paradigm seemed equally important for framing this study.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

Classic grounded theory as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) assumes theory development is a process by which theory is “grounded” in the data or emerges from the data, separate from the researcher. While I believe in the centrality of data for theory development, I also recognize the importance of social and relational contexts, including the influence of the outside observer on the research process. As researcher, I hold certain social and cultural positions (e.g., White, cisgender, female), beliefs, assumptions, and biases that influence my interaction with participants and the data. I believe that it is impossible to erase all researcher subjectivity, and instead, I need to engage in a process of reflexivity as I make meaning from the data. Therefore, I have designed this study with social constructivism in mind, an epistemology that views knowledge as socially constructed and co-created by humans in relation to one another (Charmaz, 2008, 2014).

Constructivist grounded theory is based on Charmaz's (2014) philosophy of grounded theory which emphasizes the researcher is “part of the world we study, the data we collect, and the analyses we produce” (p. 17). Constructivist grounded theory assumes that theoretical

understandings are “an interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 17). In constructivist grounded theory, the process of constructing knowledge is an active, interactional, and interpretive meaning-making experience shared among participants and researcher (Charmaz, 2008, 2014). Therefore, this study seeks to present a theoretical rendering of White antiracist counseling identity development that recognizes and values the interaction of researcher and participants and the social contexts in which both live. In accordance with Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory, this study’s methodological design was guided by the following principles: (a) memo writing or memoing, (b) constant comparative method, (c) theoretical sampling, and (d) emerging theory that is grounded in data yet informed by socially constructed values and interactional meaning making processes (Charmaz, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Given the dearth of literature on White antiracism development in counseling, constructivist grounded theory is appropriate because little is known about the process by which White professional counselors develop an antiracist counseling identity. A constructivist grounded theory design is also consistent with the theoretical frameworks for the study: CRT (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Haskins & Sing, 2015) and multicultural counseling and social justice theory (Arredondo et al., 1996; Ratts, 2011; Sue & Sue, 1999). These aforementioned theories emphasize critical inquiry, plurality of experiences, and multiple realities based on social context. By using CRT and multicultural and social justice theories, I centered White antiracist counselors’ voices and experiences to reveal the unique experiences of antiracist counseling identity development among White mental health counselors.

Participants

White mental health counselors who self-identify as antiracist counselors were invited to participate in this study. A mental health counselor is defined as a professional counselor who specializes in clinical mental health counseling and who holds a terminal degree in counseling (i.e., master's degree) or counseling-related discipline and may also hold a doctoral degree in counseling, counselor education or related discipline (e.g., doctoral degree in counseling psychology). An antiracist counselor is defined as a counselor who is committed to antiracism and who actively works to eradicate racism through antiracist beliefs, policies, procedures, and practices aimed at reducing racial inequity (Kendi, 2019; O'Brien, 2001).

Full participant inclusion criteria included: self-identify as White; self-identify as a professional counselor which may include those who work as mental health counselors, psychotherapists, counselor educators, and counseling psychologists as many counseling psychologists train counselors; self-identify as antiracist; previous mental health counseling experience with a minimum of one year in practice (at some point in career) with marginalized populations within a community-based setting (e.g., hospital, agency, non-profit, counseling center); and antiracism expertise with a commitment to antiracism work as evidenced by at least one of the following, antiracist counseling practice (i.e., promoting equitable policies, procedures, and practices for racially/ethnically marginalized populations), professional development experiences, research, publication, presentations, leadership roles and/or a professional reputation among academic and scholarly peers.

Grounded theory sample sizes vary dependent on study aims and goals. Creswell and Poth (2018) recommended 20-30 participants while Charmaz (2014) noted that 12 in-depth interviews may be enough to reach theoretical saturation. For this study, 12 White mental health

counselors were interviewed twice in order to fully explore the phenomenon of antiracist counseling identity development. Data saturation was reached after 24 interviews; therefore, no new data were required. Additionally, the inclusion of 12 participants allowed for a cross section of different identities related to age, gender, sexual orientation, class including educational and professional background, and other social group membership. Participant demographics are depicted in Table 1.

Table 1

Participants’ Demographic Information (n = 12)

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Other Self-Described Identities</i>	<i>Professional Role (License)</i>	<i>Highest Completed Degree</i>	<i>Years of Experience</i>	<i>Region</i>
<i>Alex</i>	30	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied	Counselor (LPC)	Master’s	5	MD
<i>Elizabeth</i>	42	Female	Middle-class, straight, spiritual, left-leaning political views	Counselor Educator, Counselor (LCMHC)	Doctorate	13	NC
<i>Emma</i>	38	Female	Middle-class, bisexual, agnostic, left/radical political views	Counselor (LMHC)	Master’s	5	NY
<i>Grace</i>	59	Female	Middle-class, feminist	Counselor, Adjunct Professor	Doctorate	15	NY
<i>Hope</i>	37	Female	Disability, heterosexual, middle class, non-denominational Christian, Independent political views	Counselor (LMHC)	Master’s	9	FL
<i>Jane</i>	31	Female	Middle-class, cisgender, able-bodied, heterosexual, Catholic, liberal political views	Counselor (LMHC), Adjunct professor	Doctorate	5	NJ
<i>June</i>	41	Female	Middle-class, grew up lower class, able-bodied, cisgender, gay/lesbian, raised in evangelical Christianity, Democrat	Counselor (LMHC)	Master’s	10	WA
<i>Lila</i>	40	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied, cisgender, Jewish, progressive political views	Counselor Educator, Counselor (LMHC)	Doctorate	18	FL
<i>Merrit</i>	53	Female	Grew up working class poor, liberal political views	Counselor (LPC)	Master’s	9	AL
<i>Michael</i>	60	Male	Upper middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual, seeker, progressive political views	Counselor Educator (LPC)	Master’s	29	PA
<i>Mickey</i>	60	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied, gay, liberal political views	Counselor Educator (LPC)	Doctorate	25	CO
<i>Rylie</i>	28	Female	Physical disability, bisexual, agnostic, left political views	Counselor (LPC Associate)	Master’s	2	TX

Participant Recruitment and Sampling Procedures

In a constructivist grounded theory study, purposeful and criterion-based sampling is used to recruit participants who have both experienced the phenomenon of study and are capable of articulating those unique experiences (Charmaz, 2014). Using criterion-based and purposeful sampling procedures, White professional counselors who self-identify as antiracist mental health counselors were selected for the study. Several strategies were used to recruit eligible participants.

First, I used a nomination process to recruit potential participants. I contacted colleagues of color including counselors, counselor educators, and supervisors via phone, email, and/or LinkedIn and asked them to nominate White counselors whom they highly regard as antiracist and who may meet my full selection criteria. I reached out to leaders from Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) and the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) as well as known antiracist counselor educators and scholars to ask them to nominate professional counselors who may meet selection criteria. For each of the above contacts, I provided a copy of my study's flyer (see Appendix A) and Recruitment Letter (see Appendix B) to ask for assistance in locating participants who may meet my study criteria.

Second, I advertised my study to recruit participants. I asked personal contacts and colleagues to share the study's flyer (see Appendix A) on social platforms like Facebook. The purpose of this study was also advertised on professional platforms like the Counselor Education and Supervision Network Listserv (CESNET-L) and the American Counseling Association's ACA Connect listserv for several ACA divisions including Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) and the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) (see Appendix C). CSJ and AMCD leaders were also e-mailed a brief letter describing the study (see Appendix B)

and asked to forward the call to participate to their professional networks and other counselors who may be interested in participating.

Third, I reviewed *Psychology Today* counselor profiles and recent peer-reviewed articles on multicultural and social justice issues in counseling to identify racism/antiracism scholars and counselors who may meet my study criteria. Potential participants were emailed my Recruitment Letter (see Appendix B) and invited to participate.

In addition to purposeful and criterion-based sampling methods, constructivist grounded theory studies rely on theoretical sampling methods (Charmaz, 2014). The purpose of theoretical sampling is to search for additional data related to emerging categories constructed from data collected through initial sampling methods (Charmaz, 2014). Through theoretical sampling, data is repeatedly collected until theoretical saturation has been reached which is evident when no new ideas, categories, or themes emerge (Charmaz, 2014). After the initial purposeful round of data collection and analysis, I used theoretical sampling to recruit several new participants who could provide additional relevant information on an antiracist counseling identity to ensure the final theory was grounded in data for which theoretical categories have reached a point of saturation. Through theoretical sampling, I recruited mental health counselors who solely work as practitioners, those who are practitioners and who also work in academia, as well as former practitioners who are now primarily counselor educators.

Following each of these recruitment methods, identified White professional counselors were contacted by email and telephone and asked to participate in the study using the Initial Phone Screening Script (see Appendix D). I provided a definition of an antiracist counselor asked the following scaling question to identify potential participants: How would you describe the extent to which you identify as an antiracist counselor? Answers: I do not identify, I

somewhat identify, I strongly identify, I very strongly identify. Professional counselors who strongly or very strongly identify as an antiracist counselor and whose antiracism work is publicly verifiable via employer's website, published works, or resume/curriculum vitae were invited to participate in the study.

Data Collection

Procedures

Participants were contacted by email and then telephone using an initial phone screening (see Appendix D) to discuss the purpose of the study, criteria for selection, and to answer any questions. This initial phone screening was followed up with an email that included the following documents: an introductory letter with a description of the study, an invitation to participate, the Adult Consent Form (see Appendix E), as well as the Demographics Questionnaire (see Appendix F). Before the first interview, participants were asked to review and agree to the conditions outlined in the consent form. Upon receipt of completed materials, participants who met criteria for selection were scheduled for semistructured interviews.

I used qualitative methods to collect information on the development of an antiracist counseling identity including a demographics questionnaire with attached resume or a curriculum vitae for practitioners who also work(ed) in academia, artifacts including professional websites and online profiles, as well as semistructured interviews. I conducted two 60-90-minute-long individual interviews with each participant. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted virtual interviews via video conferencing using Zoom. These Zoom interviews were downloaded as digital recordings to my personal password protected computer for later transcription and data analysis. Each participant was assigned an identification number as well as

a pseudonym of their choice, and all personal information was kept confidential. After reviewing confidentiality and audio/videotaping procedures, I began the interviews.

During the first individual interview, I used a semistructured interview guide (see Appendix G) to explore an antiracist counseling identity. This interview guide included questions about critical incidents, meaningful experiences, interpersonal relationships, worldviews and beliefs, as well as personal and professional aspects of self that fostered development of an antiracist counseling identity. I also invited participants to share their thoughts, views, perceptions, conceptualizations, opinions, and experiences regarding antiracist counseling identity development. Each interview followed the predetermined script; however, I also probed different areas of interest based on participants' responses. Participants were also provided an opportunity to share any additional information that they felt was relevant to the study. Upon conclusion, I recorded field notes on logistics (e.g., location, length of interview), behavioral observations, rapport, and other perceptions of interactions. Field notes were used in conjunction with narrative data for accuracy of analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

During the second individual interview, I conducted member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013) using a semistructured interview guide (see Appendix G). Prior to the second interview, each participant was invited to review a summary of codes, categories, and themes with supporting quotations extracted from the first interview to check for accuracy and to provide further explanation or clarification. During the second interview, I asked follow-up questions to clarify, modify, and expand on previous information shared. Upon completion of the interview process, I thanked participants for their time. In addition, I emailed letters of appreciation (see Appendix H) to participants at the conclusion of the study.

Data Collection Tools

Materials and instruments. The primary data collection instrument was a semistructured interview guide (see Appendix G). The semistructured interview questions explored factors that contribute to the development of an antiracist counseling identity. Questions addressed key topics including definitions, critical incidents, developmental pathways and processes, meaning-making of experiences, and impact on counseling practice. A Montclair State University Zoom subscription was utilized to record all virtual interviews.

Informed consent procedures allow participants to make an informed decision to participate in the study (Heppner et al., 2016). To ensure optimal understanding of the study and its risks, the Adult Consent Form (see Appendix E) was emailed to volunteers prior to beginning interviews. The consent form included the following information: (a) the approximate length of each interview will be 60-90 minutes, (b) the acknowledgement that interviews will be audio/videotaped, (c) participation is voluntary, (d) all information provided will be kept confidential, and (e) anticipated risks and benefits for participation.

The Demographics Questionnaire (see Appendix F) was also emailed to participants to complete prior to the first interview. This brief 12-item questionnaire elicited information about participants' cultural identities, professional demographics (e.g., highest level of education, licensure, number of years in practice, caseload), antiracist counseling identity, as well as information about antiracism research, publications, presentations, leadership roles, and higher education teaching experiences. I also requested a resume/curriculum vitae and reviewed additional artifacts like professional websites, online biographies or profiles, and reviews of work when available.

Data Analysis

Given the constructivist grounded theory design of this study, I used a constructivist grounded theory method of data analysis (Charmaz, 2014). A fundamental tenet of grounded theory design is a concurrent and interactive process of data collection and analysis (Hays & Wood, 2011). As such, I engaged in multiple rounds of data collection via purposeful and theoretical sampling and member checks with extensive analysis of data between rounds of data collection. The data were reviewed using a constant comparison method, a cyclical process during which information was continuously reviewed for comparisons and differences in order to report the most authentic accounting of participants' everyday experiences of the phenomenon (Hays & Wood, 2011).

Constant Comparative Method

Throughout the data collection and analysis process, I used the constant comparative method to develop a more complex understanding of White antiracist counseling identity development from the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Creswell (1998) described the constant comparison procedure as a “zigzag” process: “out to the field to gather information, analyze the data, back to the field to gather more information, analyze the data, and so forth” (p. 57). Initially, I interviewed participants, transcribed tapes verbatim using transcription software, and checked transcripts for accuracy. Next, I analyzed transcripts for reoccurring words, phrases, sentences, and patterns in order to identify and label common themes and categories. Then, I collected new data through theoretical sampling and subsequent interviews. All new data were constantly compared to existing data for similarities and differences with the intent of uncovering the essence, as well as the variations, in experiences of participants as themes,

patterns, and categories emerged from the interview data to guide theory development (Hays & Wood, 2011; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Coding

Constructivist grounded theory relies on a 3-phase data analysis process: initial, focused, and advanced coding (Charmaz, 2014). During the first phase of coding or initial coding, I became familiar with the data through multiple readings of interview transcripts. The goal of this phase was to begin noting ideas for initial coding using a word-by-word and line-by-line method which breaks down data into smaller units of meaning or initial codes. Charmaz (2014) recommended that initial codes consist of a few words that “stick closely to the data” and that “reflect action” (p. 116). In this way, I increased my intimacy with the data and ensured that data analysis remained focused on participants’ lived experiences. Using the constant comparative method, I also compared initial codes across transcripts and looked for similarities and differences among participants’ experiences. These comparisons highlighted any gaps in the data and directed future data collection. In the next phase of coding, these initial codes helped me sort data into categories, and I began to observe underlying processes of the phenomenon (Charmaz, 2014).

In phase two, focused coding, the researcher moves from “immersion in data” towards deeper analysis (Charmaz, 2014, p. 145). Charmaz (2014) suggested studying and assessing initial codes as a starting point. As such, I moved beyond line-by-line coding of transcripts to focus on initial codes that appeared more frequently or that appeared to have more significance (Charmaz, 2014). I identified focused codes by organizing key initial codes into categories or chunks and then differentiated each focused code by a representative phrase or set of key words. Again, I used the constant comparative method to compare data to other data; compare initial

codes to focused codes; and compare focused codes to focused codes. I began to sort, synthesize, analyze, and conceptualize larger amounts of data. During this phase, these deeper analyses resulted in several new codes and refinement of previous codes as well as clearer connections amongst participants' lived experiences. Ultimately, focused coding resulted in codes that were more conceptual and that helped advance theory development including key tenets of the White antiracist counselor identity development process (Charmaz, 2014).

In phase three, constructivist grounded theorists recommend the use of several advanced coding techniques including axial coding and theoretical coding to capture patterns, collapse categories, and synthesize data towards theory development (Charmaz, 2014; Chun Tie et al., 2019; Hays & Wood, 2011). Through axial coding, I synthesized focused codes into categories and subcategories of data (Charmaz, 2014). While initial and focused coding separates pieces of data to construct unique codes, axial coding begins to put the data back together towards a clear whole (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Finally, theoretical coding aims to identify the most theoretically significant codes. I used theoretical coding to integrate substantive axial codes or categories and subcategories with a focus on how these codes relate to one another in order to tell "an analytic story that has coherence" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 150). I used theoretical coding to better understand the experiences and processes of participants' antiracist identity development. Charmaz suggested viewing theoretical coding as a process by which theory emerges and not as an analytic tool to apply. As such, I focused on emerging processes within the data and created visual representations to check against earlier codes and data to develop a model of how White antiracist mental health counselors describe and understand their developmental experiences.

Memo Writing

Memo writing or memoing is a critical element of constructivist grounded theory data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). Early memos were a way to record my initial thoughts about the data collected from individual participants' interviews and helped direct future data collection efforts. Advanced memos refined categories and guided theory development. According to Charmaz (2014), memoing ensures that data analysis begins at the onset of data collection through ongoing reflections on methodological decision-making processes. Memo formatting and procedures varied, and included the following content: methodological dilemmas, definitions of codes and categories, processes underlying codes or categories, comparisons of data (e.g., data and data, codes and codes, codes and categories, categories and categories), questions about emerging categories, and synthesized information towards theory development (Charmaz, 2014, p. 171). Clarke (2005) referred to memos as "intellectual capital in the bank;" therefore, I recorded memos in a 'memo bank' in which all versions of memos are saved for later review (p. 85). Memoing occurred throughout the data collection and analysis phases of this study in order to ensure the quality of the results of this study.

Trustworthiness

The validity and reliability of a qualitative study ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). First, I used triangulation or multiple sources of data (e.g., multiple participants, multiple interviews, multiple questions) to ensure the validity and reliability of data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Then, several other steps were taken to address trustworthiness including researcher reflexivity through journaling, member checks, and peer debriefing as well as attention to ethical considerations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Self-Reflective Journal

Reflexivity, or the awareness of the impact of the researcher on the research and vice versa, is an essential component of critical inquiries that deal with issues related to race, power, privilege, and oppression (Charmaz, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To this end, I remained mindful of my positionality throughout the research process. Further, qualitative research is subject to researcher bias (Maxwell, 2013) which threatens the validity of qualitative data. No qualitative research is value-free or bias-free but the researcher must still be cognizant of this bias. Hence, I maintained a personal journal throughout the entire research process. Journal entries helped me monitor my experience as a White researcher and reflect on my personal experiences, thoughts, opinions, and views of the world and how they affected the research process (Morrow, 2005). Self-reflective journaling also highlighted my hidden values, beliefs, assumptions, biases, and other preconceptions. As such, I used a self-reflective journal in addition to peer debriefing to describe my positionality, my interest in antiracism, my assumptions about antiracist counselors, as well as my knowledge about theory and practice that might influence the study.

Member Checks

According to Maxwell (2013), a major threat to internal validity is the extent to which a researcher inaccurately represents what is seen, heard, or experienced. Member checks are a way to solicit direct feedback from participants on my preliminary findings. The second individual interview in this study served as a member check. Prior to the second interview, I emailed participants a summary of preliminary findings which included codes, categories, and themes extracted from individual interviews as well as supporting quotations and asked participants to respond with initial comments and feedback at the second interview. During the second

interview, participants were asked to check the accuracy of each code, category, and theme and share additional comments or concerns regarding the analysis of their interview data. Any discrepancies were addressed. Hence, member checks helped ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Peer Debriefing

Peer debriefing is a process in which the researcher collaborates with an outside observer or ‘critical friend’ for the purpose of “exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer’s mind” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308). I had two peer debriefers/critical friends throughout my research process. One critical friend is a current doctoral candidate in Counseling at Montclair State University who identifies as White and as an antiracist counselor. My second critical friend is a current Montclair State University counseling doctoral candidate of color who self-identifies as antiracist and who is committed to equity in higher education. As a White researcher investigating antiracism, I hold certain biases related to my White socialization which might skew the study’s results. Therefore, a peer debriefer/critical friend who identifies as a person of color provided a necessary and different set of perceptions of the race-related data based on their unique socialization experiences in a racially hierarchical society. The purposes of peer debriefing are: (a) to discover any biases and assumptions the researcher has that could influence the analysis, (b) to facilitate self-awareness of the researcher’s stance towards the data and analysis, and (c) to test the accuracy of emergent themes by an impartial observer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The peer debriefers/critical friends assessed and gave feedback during all stages of the data analysis process in order to increase the validity of my research decisions.

Ethical Considerations

The validity and reliability of qualitative data is dependent upon high ethical standards of the researcher (Heppner et al., 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To further enhance the trustworthiness of my data, attention was given to the following ethical issues: confidentiality, informed consent, and protection from harm.

As part of a comprehensive informed consent process, I discussed the study's purpose, my background, methodology including data collection techniques (e.g., semistructured interviews), and any potential risk in participating in the study. The Adult Consent Form (see Appendix E) indicated participation is voluntary and that participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time. During interviews, I informed participants that if information they provide leads me to think that they might be at risk of significant harm to themselves, someone else, or there is reasonable suspicion of abuse, I am required by law to report these issues to the appropriate authorities and thus break confidentiality.

To ensure confidentiality, demographics questionnaires and interview transcripts were encrypted and stored on my personal password protected computer. Transcripts were coded by number and pseudonym; identifying information was removed. I was also the only person with access to these files. I decided to employ a professional transcription service to transcribe the audio/videotapes and used Rev, a secure transcription company. Tapes, questionnaires, consent forms, and transcripts will be erased after three years from the completion of the study.

The design of this study prioritized the protection of participants from harm. The overall risk for harm was low, and several steps were taken to further minimize risk. First, the sample did not include any vulnerable populations. Second, the semistructured interview questions were carefully constructed to limit the potential for activating painful, traumatic, or embarrassing

memories. During the interviews, participants were reminded that they may share their thoughts and feelings to the point they are comfortable and that they may choose not to answer questions if they are uncomfortable. Third, participants were also informed that they may withdraw from the study at any time.

Limitations

Qualitative inquiry, like all other forms of empirical study, is undertaken with the knowledge of potential challenges and limitations (Creswell & Poth, 2018). First, the number of White antiracist counselors may be limited, thereby, impacting the salient experiences of participants and subsequently the themes and categories used to create the theory of development of a White antiracist counseling identity. Further, one participant who was recruited and who completed the first interview did not complete the second interview. Given the study's design requirement for completing both interviews as the second interview included valuable follow-up and new questions, this participant's experience was excluded from data analysis. Second, there is a minimal number of years of clinical experience required to participate in the study, and the fluctuation of time spent in practice may dramatically alter the interview responses. Therefore, variability in identity experiences may impact the emerging theory of White antiracist identity development. Third, although attempts were made to recruit a culturally diverse sample, participants were not actively recruited across a wide range of cultural identities (e.g., age, disability status, gender, social class, sexual orientation, religion) as this range of diversity was beyond the scope of the current study. However, intersectionality of identities (Crenshaw, 1989) might also impact White counselors' experiences of antiracist identity development and may alter the perception of relationship between significant personal and professional experiences within the context of antiracism work.

Chapter Summary

In the current constructivist grounded theory study, I sought to explore the experiences of White mental health counselors who self-identify as antiracist counselors and who are committed to antiracism work. Participants were recruited using purposeful and criterion based sampling techniques. In addition, I used theoretical sampling to fully explore the phenomenon of White antiracist counseling identity development. White mental health counselors who met study criteria and who completed the consent process and demographic questionnaires were invited to participate in two semistructured interviews aimed at uncovering the developmental processes of an antiracist counseling identity. Qualitative data were analyzed using constant comparative thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2014) in order to propose an emergent developmental model.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

The previous chapter detailed the methodology for this dissertation study. I discussed my researcher stance and positionality in relation to White antiracist counseling identity development as well as the rationale and essential elements of a constructivist grounded theory approach. Further, I outlined my research methods as well as the strategies I used to protect the trustworthiness of the data within this study.

Although researchers have explored antiracism, there is a dearth of literature on antiracism in counseling. To date, there exist no studies on the development of an antiracist counseling identity. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors in order to understand the process of developing an antiracist counseling identity and how an antiracist counseling identity affects counseling practice. The two guiding research questions for this constructivist grounded theory study were: 1) How do White counselors develop an antiracist counseling identity? and 2) How does an antiracist counseling identity affect counseling practice?

Qualitative data were collected using two semistructured 60-90-minute-long interviews with each participant, totaling approximately 28 interview hours and 467 pages of transcription (see Table 2 for details). Data were analyzed using constant comparative thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2014) and three phases of constructivist grounded theory analysis including initial, focused, and advanced coding in order to propose an emergent developmental model. Chapter III provides a detailed description of data analysis procedures, and I will summarize the process here. After initial interviews, I engaged in multiple readings of transcripts and analyzed transcripts for reoccurring words, phrases, sentences, and patterns in order to identify and label common themes and categories. Then, I collected new data through theoretical sampling and

subsequent interviews. All new data were constantly compared to existing data for similarities and differences through multiple readings of transcripts and comparisons across transcripts. During the first interview, participants described their experiences of White antiracist counseling identity development using similar chronologies (e.g., beginning with graduate training or significant race-based personal experiences). At times, participants began their narratives related to their role as counselors at later points in life; therefore, the researcher asked probing questions to fully explore salient developmental experiences across their lifespan. These developmental chronologies were analyzed using the aforementioned strategies resulting in initial and focused codes with accompanying interview excerpts that were outlined in a summary sheet (see Appendix I, J) for participants to review prior to the second interview. Member checking using these summaries occurred during the second interview, and participant feedback was incorporated into the final version of the emergent model. The final model based on advanced thematic codes was comprised of major categories and supporting themes to tell the analytic story of White antiracist counseling identity development.

Table 2

Summary of Qualitative Data

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Interview #</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i># Pages of Transcript</i>	<i>Review of Resume/CV (to determine eligibility for study)</i>
<i>Alex</i>	1	95 min.	26 pgs.	Yes
	2	53 min.	13 pgs.	
<i>Elizabeth</i>	1	109 min.	34 pgs.	Yes
	2	53 min.	15 pgs.	
<i>Emma</i>	1	94 min.	20 pgs.	Yes
	2	60 min.	15 pgs.	
<i>Grace</i>	1	90 min.	21 pgs.	Yes
	2	54 min.	15 pgs.	
<i>Hope</i>	1	75 min.	23 pgs.	Yes
	2	49 min.	12 pgs.	
<i>Jane</i>	1	56 min.	19 pgs.	Yes
	2	27 min.	10 pgs.	

<i>June</i>	1	94 min.	23 pgs.	Yes
	2	65 min.	17 pgs.	
<i>Lila</i>	1	78 min.	26 pgs.	Yes
	2	52 min.	17 pgs.	
<i>Merrit</i>	1	91 min.	27 pgs.	Yes
	2	50 min.	14 pgs.	
<i>Michael</i>	1	108 min.	31 pgs.	Yes
	2	63 min.	17 pgs.	
<i>Mickey</i>	1	90 min.	21 pgs.	Yes
	2	43 min.	11 pgs.	
<i>Rylie</i>	1	90 min.	26 pgs.	Yes
	2	57 min.	14 pgs.	
TOTAL	24	1696 min. (28 hours)	467 pgs.	

In this chapter, I will present the findings from a constructivist grounded theory analysis of the participants' interviews conducted for this study (see Table 2). The chapter is divided into two main sections. Section one presents an overview of the developmental model, and section two highlights the core categories and corresponding themes that support the model. Specifically, I will describe each component of the emergent grounded theory model as well as the corresponding categories and supporting themes using excerpts from two semistructured interviews with 12 White mental health counselors who self-identify as antiracist.

Section One: A Developmental Model of a White Antiracist Counseling Identity

The purpose of this study was to explore how White mental health counselors described their experience of developing an antiracist counseling identity and how that identity affects their counseling practice. In this section, I will present the emerging theoretical model which depicts how the participants described their experience of antiracist counseling identity development. The model represents the experiences of the 12 White mental health counselors described in Chapter III. Table 1.2 with the participant demographics as presented in Chapter III, Table 1 is provided again for reference.

Table 1.2

Participants' Demographic Information (n = 12)

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Other Self-Described Identities</i>	<i>Professional Role (License)</i>	<i>Highest Completed Degree</i>	<i>Years of Experience</i>	<i>Region</i>
<i>Alex</i>	30	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied	Counselor (LPC)	Master's	5	MD
<i>Elizabeth</i>	42	Female	Middle-class, straight, spiritual, left-leaning political views	Counselor Educator, Counselor (LCMHC)	Doctorate	13	NC
<i>Emma</i>	38	Female	Middle-class, bisexual, agnostic, left/radical political views	Counselor (LMHC)	Master's	5	NY
<i>Grace</i>	59	Female	Middle-class, feminist	Counselor, Adjunct Professor	Doctorate	15	NY
<i>Hope</i>	37	Female	Disability, heterosexual, middle class, non-denominational Christian, Independent political views	Counselor (LMHC)	Master's	9	FL
<i>Jane</i>	31	Female	Middle-class, cisgender, able-bodied, heterosexual, Catholic, liberal political views	Counselor (LMHC), Adjunct professor	Doctorate	5	NJ
<i>June</i>	41	Female	Middle-class, grew up lower class, able-bodied, cisgender, gay/lesbian, raised in evangelical Christianity, Democrat	Counselor (LMHC)	Master's	10	WA
<i>Lila</i>	40	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied, cisgender, Jewish, progressive political views	Counselor Educator, Counselor (LMHC)	Doctorate	18	FL
<i>Merrit</i>	53	Female	Grew up working class poor, liberal political views	Counselor (LPC)	Master's	9	AL
<i>Michael</i>	60	Male	Upper middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual, seeker, progressive political views	Counselor Educator (LPC)	Master's	29	PA
<i>Mickey</i>	60	Female	Middle-class, able-bodied, gay, liberal political views	Counselor Educator (LPC)	Doctorate	25	CO
<i>Rylie</i>	28	Female	Physical disability, bisexual, agnostic, left political views	Counselor (LPC Associate)	Master's	2	TX

The theoretical model of participants' experiences of antiracist counseling identity development is illustrated in Figure 1. This model, which represents the constructivist interpretation of the collective experiences of the participants, is depicted as a multilayered dynamic process or cycle (and re-cycling) of development with five phases: (a) Pre-contemplation, (b) Awareness, (c) Identity Integration, (d) Manifestation: Antiracist Action, and (e) Maintenance. Additionally, the model is comprised of contributing and necessary factors like

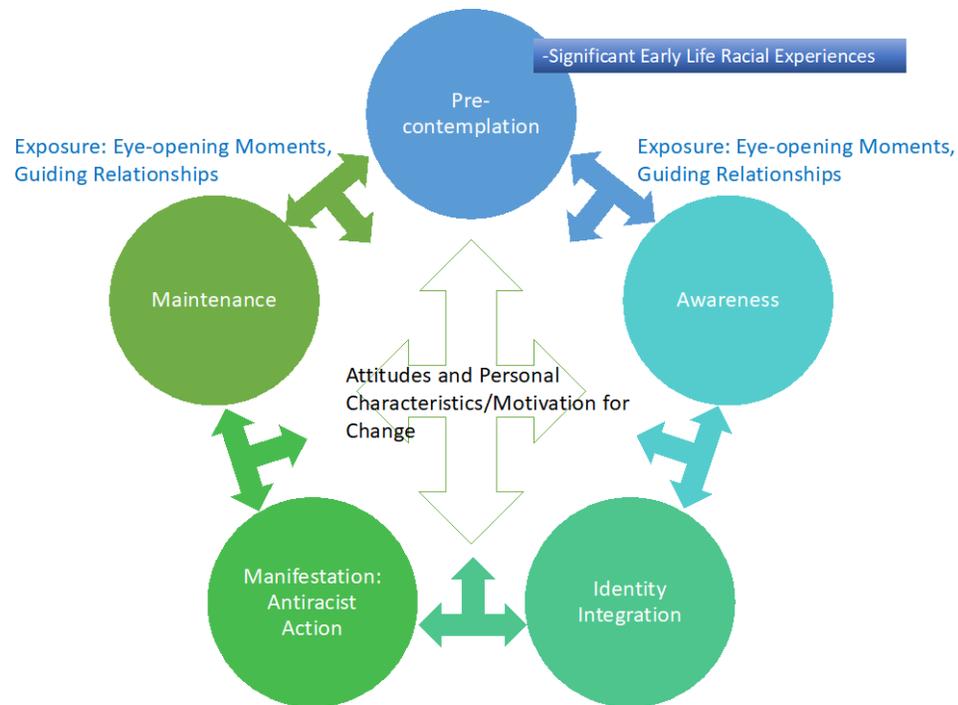
Exposure via *Eye-opening Moments* and *Guiding Relationships* which help individuals move within the five phases as well as influences throughout the cycle like *Attitudes and Personal Characteristics* and *Motivation for Change* which serve as catalysts for each phase of development. Throughout the cycle, participants engaged in critical reflection, meaning-making, and resolving dissonance (represented as the arrows between phases) in order to progress to another phase. These cognitive processes are described throughout the reporting of findings; therefore, no separate section is provided to avoid redundancy. Each phase of the cycle is reflective of various experiences which will be described in Section Two.

Preliminary findings led to the depiction of the model of White antiracist counseling identity development as a cycle with dynamic and fluctuating movement through and within each phase. Given that both the participants and I as researcher self-identify as White, it is important to note that the experience of Whiteness and White values are embedded within our thought processes which inherently impacted both participants' descriptions of development and my interpretation of these experiences. Therefore, even this model of White antiracist counseling identity development may be saturated in White supremacy. Hence, it is essential to recognize that the process of antiracist counseling identity development may be more non-linear than the emerging model indicates. The path may be both linear and haphazard as the complexity of antiracist counseling identity development cannot be fully described using a purely linear model. For some Whites, antiracist counseling identity development and progression through the phases of the cycle may have a different order. There are likely scenarios in which some people's development may follow a different trajectory. For example, some White antiracists may experience more fluid movement back and forth between phases and perhaps even experience bypassing a phase and then returning to that phase later. Thus, this emerging model is a first step

toward understanding the complexity of dynamic factors and processes that impact White antiracist counseling identity development and antiracist practice. A more comprehensive understanding of this dynamic developmental process will come with future research.

Figure 1

Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development



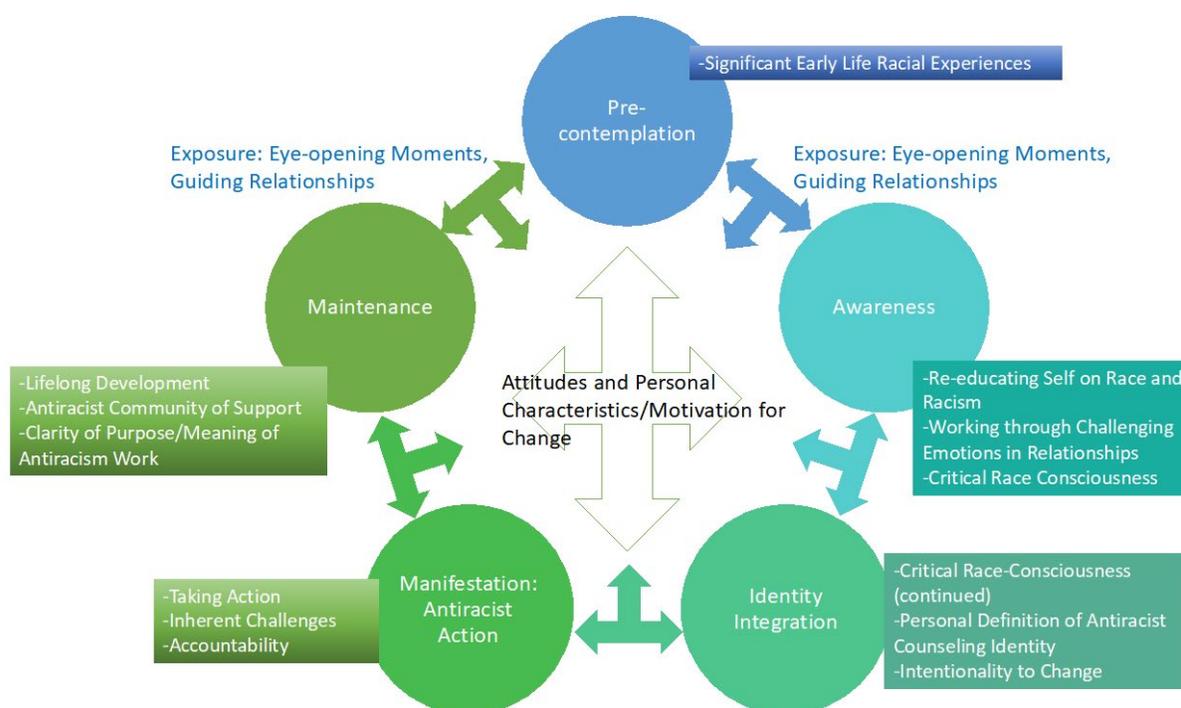
This emergent grounded theory model is reflective of the most salient factors of influence on antiracist counseling identity development based on participants' interviews. Further, the model represents a dynamic cyclical process, beginning with Pre-contemplation. Participants described antiracist counseling identity development as a process of becoming antiracist which involves lifelong development and continuous growth, depicted as progression through a series of phases of growth. It is important to note that some participants described their development as a fluidity of movement through the series of phases (e.g., concurrent developmental experiences within multiple phases, skipping a phase and returning to that phase later) while others spent

more time in one phase or another depending on the situation. The model is also recursive in nature as counselors re-cycle through phases over and over throughout the course of a lifetime. Participants described their development as starting with a lack of awareness of racism, of their Whiteness, and of their personal and professional responsibility to redress racism both in and out of the counseling space. As participants gained exposure through various social and cultural experiences with race, privilege, and oppression as well as other aspects of cultural diversity (e.g., ethnicity, gender, class), they developed awareness and integrated this multicultural awareness, specifically racial awareness and antiracism into both their White racial identity and professional counseling identity which prompted intentional antiracist actions. As participants engaged in antiracist practices, they continued to encounter experiences that promoted new learning and recognition of racial issues and their experience of Whiteness in relation to these racial issues. As such, participants described a process of re-cycling through each phase of development over and over again as they encountered new race-based and intersectional experiences like acknowledging their microaggressions or racial blind spots. It is important to note that this recursive process does not signify a starting over. Participants described re-entering the Pre-contemplation phase after a lapse in antiracism and a relapse into racism which was not described as a total lack of awareness but rather a gap in awareness. Furthermore, participants identified the circular nature as a process by which having new race-based and intersectional experiences and “eye-opening” moments prompted contemplation of aspects of self and antiracism not previously recognized. However, they did not describe a total lack of awareness but rather that there was something they had not thought about yet or not yet recognized until their eyes were opened by a new race-based experience and/or significant guiding relationship(s) in their professional and personal lives. Following this new eye-opening experience, they then

developed awareness and continued to move forward through the model towards action and maintenance of changes. Each phase and factor of the model will be explored in greater detail in the next section of this chapter. Figure 2 provides an overview of the model with phases and categories. A chart of the model (see Appendix K) with all phases, factors, categories, and supporting themes is also provided for reference.

Figure 2

Overview of Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development



Section Two: Categories and Themes of the Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development

As described in the above section, participants described a lifelong process of becoming antiracist. Rylie reflected on the nature of antiracist counseling development as, “It’s just my values. It’s who I am, but no, it was really a process. It was a developmental process.” In this

section, I will detail each phase of the cycle of development and influential factors with supporting categories and themes as illustrated by participants' own words.

Recursive Nature of Model

During the second interview, I asked participants to describe how their development had changed over time. Each participant ($n = 12$) described an ongoing and continuous developmental process including exposure to new race-based ideas and experiences, reflection leading to new learning and awareness (including self-awareness and knowledge) gained, skill development or taking new action, and future growth. During the second interview, Lila summarized her developmental process which aptly captures the phases of the emergent model. She shared about how her antiracist counseling identity developed over time, beginning with exposure to racial experiences and “being incensed that I had some experiences” to how that initial exposure prompted further development:

I think, you know, from that passion [for justice and change], I think I got started with more self-examination understanding myself and my Whiteness and the dynamics of race in this country. And maybe even more broadly than that...I started really just being thirsty for knowledge. And then from there I began to be able to develop some skills and actions. And yeah, I'm going to be thinking about this one, I think after we end today, but that's sort of, you know, one way that I'm thinking about that is, yeah, I think there was sort of that natural evolution from passion to reflection and awareness, gaining knowledge, putting that knowledge into practice.

Illustrating the recursive nature of this process, Lila elaborated on the nature of her White racial identity development as a continual process which includes re-cycling through phases over and over during the course of a lifetime. She stated that the nature of antiracist counseling

development is “continuing the process in terms of getting more awareness, more knowledge, being able to put more skills and action into my toolbox.”

During the second interview, Hope, too, described the recursive nature of her development as an “ebb and flow” and “periods of growth and not” which she illustrated below:

I definitely realize that there's times where I do better than others, you know, and, and that sometimes, you know, it's, it's easy to get distracted or to get busy or suddenly realize like, “Oh my God, there's this whole other aspect that I had never thought about or never talked about!”

The model's recursiveness is an “ebb and flow” of growth during which exposure to something unknown related to race facilitates a return to Pre-contemplation, gaining awareness through learning, integrating new learning into identity, and finally taking and maintaining new action. Further explanation of each phase will be provided next.

Pre-contemplation

Pre-contemplation is the first phase of the cycle of White antiracist counseling identity development. As such, Pre-contemplation sets the stage for later development. The main category of experiences that emerged within this phase of development was *Significant Early life Racial Experiences*. It is important to mention that due to the recursive nature of the model, subsequent movement through the cycle includes revisiting the Pre-contemplation phase as counselors experience new significant racial experiences that prompt deeper reflection, new awareness, learning, and new action. This aspect of the model will be further described in subsequent sections, including the Maintenance phase. Figure 3 and Table 3 illustrate the components of the Pre-contemplation phase.

Figure 3

Pre-contemplation Phase within Model

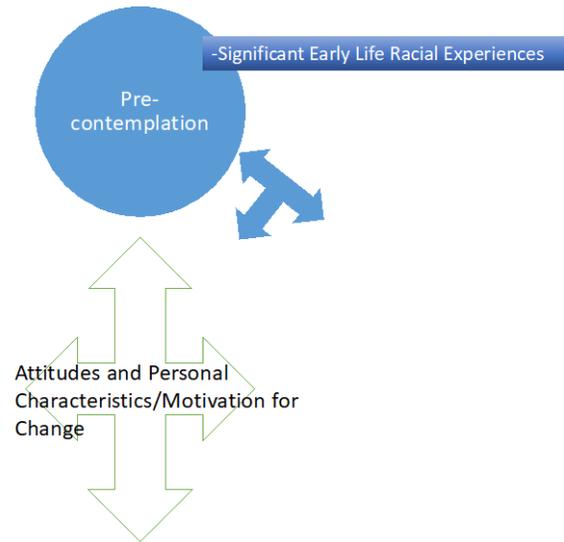


Table 3

Pre-contemplation Phase Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Significant Early Life Racial Experiences</i>	Lack of Exposure Color-blindness Missed Connections Family Influence

Significant Early Life Racial Experiences

All participants ($n = 12$) identified salient significant early life racial experiences, occurring during childhood and adolescence, as part of their journey towards antiracism.

Significant early life racial experiences during the first phase of the cycle were described as precursors to development. These experiences planted seeds for later learning and growth. Four themes were indicative of participants' significant early life racial experiences, including 1) *Lack of exposure*, 2) *Color-blindness*, 3) *Missed connections*, and 4) *Family influence*.

Lack of Exposure. Seven participants in this study noted the significance of a lack of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity during childhood and adolescence and in some cases adulthood. The theme *Lack of exposure* encompasses the ways in which participants described growing up in racially and ethnically homogenous or segregated communities and living in a White bubble. Most participants acknowledged this lack of exposure as being a salient early life racial experience as it limited their understanding of themselves, others, and systems. Grace shared about her experiences growing up in a White farming community and knowing only other White people as a lack of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity when she shared that she “had not had experience with a lot of diversity in the United States.” When describing her limited interactions with BIPOC individuals over the years, she stated, “There’s just such a lack of exposure.”

Alex also “grew up in a very White affluent area” and shared that she attended college in “still a very White area” which limited her ability to foster significant cross-racial relationships until graduate school. Hope shared about her lack of exposure due to living in a predominantly White community:

I went to a predominantly White school, a predominantly White church, predominantly White neighborhood. I really don't think I came into contact with a lot of people of color. You know, as a child of the eighties, I don't feel like there were a lot of people of color in media.

Lila shared about the impact of this lack of exposure on her racial biases and “confounding race and class” below:

I might see a Black man ride by on a bike. And I think when I look back, it was an othering experience. I would other, other, these folks that I would see, because I would think about Black people as being poor people, because I really didn't have exposure to anything outside of that.

Lila shared that later immersion in a more racially and ethnically diverse middle school magnet program led to a genuine interest in getting to know Black teachers and classmates better. She shared that these racial experiences “burst that bubble” of racial bias and she recalled a change in thinking, “Oh, wait, they're not, wait. Black is not poor. What's going on here?” Participants like Lila understood a lack of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity as a developmental challenge for which they actively sought to redress later in their development through sustained cross-racial relationships.

Color-blindness. Each participant ($n = 12$) discussed the impact of color-blindness on their early life racial experiences. The theme *Color-blindness* is defined as an outcome of early life racial socialization into ignorance and obliviousness of the importance and impact of race. Singh (2019) described racial socialization as a process by which racism is internalized.

Throughout this chapter, I will refer to racial socialization as the process by which participants experienced socialization into White supremacy. Participants described color-blind attitudes and beliefs as the invisibility of Whiteness which mirrors the Contact status in Helms's (1990, 1995) model of White Racial Identity Development (WRID). *Color-blindness* was described by participants as a worldview by which racially color-blind Whites are taught by family, friends, and others in their communities to not see color and to treat all people the same. This worldview

limited participants' awareness of their own racist thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors and of the structure of racism in the U.S.

Participants indicated how being raised in predominantly White communities resulted in being socialized into White homogeneity where White was the norm. Hence, they adopted a racially color-blind worldview. Grace described this experience as the “step before color-blindness.” She shared, “It wasn’t even like people saw color...just thought everybody was the same. There was just no other color.”

Hope described how a lack of exposure to racial and ethnic diversity impacted her worldview. She shared about her “naïve perspective on the world” and racial color-blindness:

I really do think that I drank the Kool-Aid in a lot of senses where I thought that we lived in like a post racial society that like, we, you know, everybody's the same, we all bleed red that I don't see color.

Later, Hope discussed the impact of this worldview on her development, specifically a lack of recognition of racism. She said that she was “pretty ignorant of a lot of the struggles of people of color in our country” until taking the master’s level cultural diversity course when she “started to get a picture of that [racism].” Emma also discussed the impact of the invisibility of Whiteness and racial color-blindness on her development. She explained that a color-blind worldview “has kept me in that kind of room, you know, it's kept me separated from, oftentimes from people of color” which “limited my exposure, my knowledge” and her “sense of what is true in the world.” She added that limited exposure and a color-blind worldview fostered faulty ideas and “led me to sort of to just develop some, some erroneous assumptions about the world and about people and about, you know, what, just to just how things, how things work, how systems work.”

While most participants described color-blindness as not seeing color, Mickey shared a different perspective as a White person growing up in a more racially/ethnically diverse town. She noted that she saw race but only the race of BIPOC individuals and did not think about the importance of her Whiteness and the impact of her White racial identity on her experiences or participation in systems of oppression. She explained:

I thought about them being Brown or them being Black more than I thought about me being White, if I'm really, if I'm really honest... And I recognized the marginalization, and I recognized the oppression and the discrimination, even as early as, you know, probably ten or 11 years old. I think very, I very much recognized that, but I don't know that I ever really thought about my Whiteness.

June was also raised with no analysis of self as White. She articulated the consequence of the invisibility of Whiteness and said, "It's grievable to me that nobody in my life challenged racism or that I didn't hear it."

Participants noted that color-blindness was also adopted and promoted by others in their communities. Lila who was "raised a reform Jew" spoke about the ways in which racial color-blindness was expressed in her religious community. Lila recalled at age 12 hearing her rabbi discuss the HIV/AIDS crisis and Rwanda genocide "but he never talked about racism in the United States." Lila noted her rabbi modeled a "well-intentioned voice to advocate" but his lack of attention to race, racial issues, and systemic racism in the U.S. was an example of "blinding White privilege where there still was not this acknowledgment of racism right here in our backyards."

Critical analysis of each of these experiences described by participants facilitated growth. Further, intentional critiques of color-blindness prompted a desire to change and facilitated

movement towards awareness and action. All participants indicated the harmfulness of color-blindness and actively worked to reconstruct their White identities later in life.

Missed Connections. Although the theme *Missed connections* was not expressed by all participants ($n = 4$), it is still important to note given that for those participants who recalled these experiences, they were remembered as being developmentally significant. Several participants were aware of relational losses due to racial differences and racial norms in U.S. society. These experiences were described as salient memories which remind them now of the importance of challenging the racial status quo and being open to new ways of thinking and being. Missed connections were experiences related to a loss of potential and actual BIPOC friendships or cross-racial romantic partnerships. For example, Merrit noted having missed connections in relationships with BIPOC individuals. She described attending high school in a “really rural and conservative” area in the Southern U.S. and missing an opportunity to date someone she really liked:

There was a guy in high school that I liked and he liked me. He was Black. We could not possibly date in 1984. And so, we couldn't go out or do [anything], so it was like this real missed opportunity.

As an adult, Merrit made meaning from this experience and later added, “He was a nice guy, smart guy...I liked him, and he liked me and not being able to really pursue that” developed an awareness of loss, specifically “what I was missing out on by not being able to be in a relationship with him that affected me.”

When asked to describe the experiences that facilitated her antiracist counseling identity development, Hope recalled a significant early life racial experience with her Black best friend who had Black dolls. Hope shared that she asked her parents for a Black doll, too, which her

parents “dissuaded.” She recalled that the family then moved to another town with less racial diversity, and her friendship was severed. She noted the impact of this experience and how she was “really sheltered [away from BIPOC individuals] for a long time” and missed out on relationships with BIPOC individuals. Through active meaning-making and reflection, participants recognized the long-lasting effects of these missed connections on their openness.

Family Influence. Six participants identified family influence as a significant early life racial experience that impacted their development of an antiracist counseling identity. *Family influence* is a theme defined as the racial attitudes, beliefs, and expression of racism and antiracism within the family system including the observation and modeling of activism by family members.

Some participants like Jane noted a lack of awareness of herself as a racial being before graduate school and recognized the impact of parental racial attitudes as formative. Jane described her parents as seeing themselves as “not racist but not antiracist” and being unaware of the privileges they have. She shared that this color-blindness led to years of her not seeing herself as a racial being.

Other participants described overt racist attitudes and beliefs within the family system. Alex recalled a salient early life racial experience. At age 12 years, she recalled a conversation her mother had with a relative, and Alex’s takeaway was that for her father “the only thing worse than me or my sisters bringing home a Black man would be if we brought home a woman.” Alex reflected on the meaning of this experience in her life and shared that she believed it helped her question family influences and facilitated an open-mindedness.

In contrast to Jane’s and Alex’s experiences, Rylie shared about her experience of gaining empathy through adversity and reconciling dissonant family narratives on race. She said,

“I kind of had these two different narratives around difference.” Rylie recalled her mother and maternal grandmother as “open to different perspectives and experiences” and that her maternal family had a “legacy of kindness that was passed down through my grandparents.” However, she shared it was also not uncommon to hear “extremely racist stuff” like the N-word from members of her father’s side of the family. These experiences created dissonance that she reconciled later in her development. She noted that these racialized experiences and other traumatic experiences (e.g., substance abuse) within her family of origin opened her up to a deeper understanding of oppression, calling this effect “empathy through adversity”:

Having some sort of pain in my own life and other people’s lives, really challenged me to start to take, take other people’s perspectives... That prompted me, I guess, kind of as a protective measure, to be very empathetic and to try to put myself in other people's shoes.

For Rylie, family influences fostered an empathic understanding and openness about others’ experiences with oppression which facilitated later engagement in conversations and making connections with Latinx people.

While most participants spoke about the expression of racism within family systems, some participants like Mickey and Emma described the significance of their families’ antiracist and anti-oppression practices. Both Mickey and Emma shared examples of observation and modeling of activism within their family of origin. Mickey reported that she grew up in a small town in the Southwestern U.S. in the late 1960s and early 1970s where she witnessed school segregation protests which helped her understand segregation as “unfair” at age 12. She noted the importance of observing her father’s work as a Hispanic-serving university administrator “seeing that up close and personal to some degree” which facilitated later understanding of systemic racism.

Emma also noted the influence of her parents which promoted an early activist identity and “defiance” of unjust laws. She shared,

My dad was an activist against the Vietnam War and stayed involved in some activism and community organizing throughout my childhood...And so, the defiance of the law, unjust law, was always part of my life...My mom was a social worker, working with foster children and changing school districts and things like that. So, she had a lot more of this direct at-home experience and gave me and my dad a little hard time for being off in other places. She's like, “There's so much to do right here. There's so much injustice just right in our neighborhood.”

Emma explained that she “appreciated both of their impacts” and recognized how each parent influenced her antiracist counseling identity development through direct modeling of activism. Both Emma and Mickey observed their parents’ acts of personal and professional activism and viewed these experiences as developmental precursors to antiracism.

Exposure

Exposure is a developmental factor that facilitated participants’ awareness of self and others and prompted further learning about race and racism. Exposure was gained through two categories of experiences: 1) *Eye-opening Moments* and 2) *Guiding Relationships*. Participants described experiencing multiple types of eye-opening moments and having several guiding relationships which helped them process these exposing experiences. In addition to exposure through eye-opening moments and guiding relationships, participants described engaging in critical reflection and analysis of these new experiences which led to antiracist growth and development. Figure 4 and Table 4 illustrate the components of the developmental factor Exposure.

Figure 4

Exposure within Model

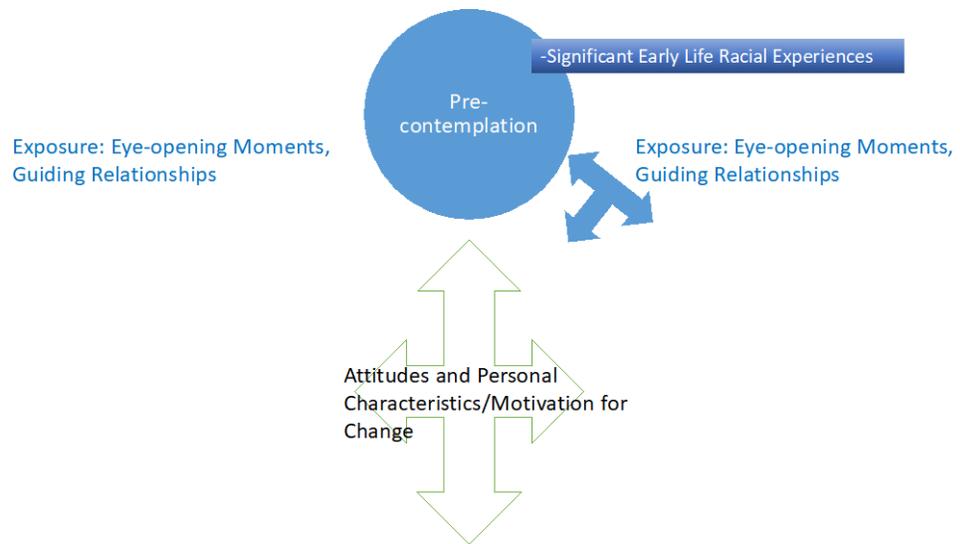


Table 4

Exposure Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Eye-opening Moments</i>	Having Windows into Racist Systems Witnessing Racial Oppression Intersectional Experiences Immersion Experiences Multicultural Coursework and Training Experiences
<i>Guiding Relationships</i>	Mentoring Relationships Significant Relationships with BIPOC

Eye-opening Moments

All participants in this study ($n = 12$) discussed having eye-opening moments. The category *Eye-opening Moments* is defined as seeing, hearing, observing, and learning about race and racism. These moments provided opportunities for observational learning which increased participants' exposure to racial issues.

Participants described “aha moments” and “eye-opening” moments that activated development. Michael reflected on the nature of this type of exposure-based learning, “I think it started out, that way, I had my own aha moments and then I started to kind of want to try to explore and understand more.” He labeled this aspect of development as a time when he was “trying to be an observational learner.” Participants described several types of eye-opening moments. These themes include: 1) *Having windows into racist systems*, 2) *Witnessing racial oppression*, 3) *Intersectional experiences*, 4) *Multicultural coursework and training experiences*, and 5) *Immersion experiences*.

Having Windows into Racist Systems. This theme represented how participants reported having windows into racist systems. These eye-opening moments illuminated racism within systems like counselor education and counseling. Examples of eye-opening moments within this theme include witnessing the hypocrisy of White counselor educators, counselors, and colleagues such as observing flaws or harm. For example, Lila described a salient memory from her training during which she remembered “seeing just how insidious racism is and how unaware White people largely are of it.” She recalled working with her lifelong mentor, a Black female faculty member on a grant-funded project with African-American school-age girls in a “high poverty school.” She described her experience interviewing White school counselors in the school:

That was eye opening too, to hear some of these school counselors, the White school counselors and some of the things that they said to me, not even aware of how racist, frankly, the things they were saying were and how they just didn't really believe in these girls. They definitely did not believe in these girls the way that they believed in their own children. In fact, there's still a quote in my head that I remember so vividly, which was me asking about how they felt about their math and science achievement and aptitude. I remember one school counselor saying, "Well, they're never going to be partners at Pricewaterhouse," the big accounting firm.

Lila recalled witnessing racism within school counseling as one of the most influential experiences in her development as it opened her eyes to the embeddedness of racism even within the helping professions. Rylie also spoke about having a window into racist educational systems, specifically observing harm within counselor education. She shared about eye-opening experiences as a student of White counselor educators who are known for social justice, antiracism, and/or feminism and who "enact a lot of harm themselves" without awareness. She exclaimed,

I've realized like that could be me, like I could be walking around with this self perceived benevolence and enacting harm in a position of power, whether that's counselor or counselor educator. And I just do not want to be that.

Rylie alluded to the impact of observing the racial microaggressions of White counselor educators and leaders whom she viewed as "people that I consider models" as a "powerful motivator for me" to continue to engage in self-work to do better, "I do not want to be that person."

Witnessing Racial Oppression. Participants like Grace, Michael, and Rylie discussed witnessing and recognizing the racial oppression of BIPOC individuals in their lives as an influential experience that facilitated further awareness. Grace asserted that going into the home, community, and schools of clients of color “filled me in on their lived experience” during which time she “saw” the oppression with her own eyes. She described witnessing and recognizing oppression within communities of color as the most influential experience in her antiracist counseling identity development as it facilitated awareness and prompted intentional action.

Unlike Grace’s facilitative experience witnessing oppression in middle adulthood, Rylie noted that witnessing oppression as an adolescent impeded her development. She described the impact of early life racial experiences around witnessing oppression and “that I would be known to speak up.” Rylie noted that she saw herself as a benevolent White person, an identity that led to “the veil of kindness” which cloaked her personal racism and impeded deeper understandings of systemic racism until graduate school. She shared “because I was a kind person, I was not racist because I was willing to defend my friends growing up, that I was not racist.” In college, Rylie recalled that the veil continued by “patting myself on the back” for being open and meeting people from various cultural backgrounds, but “I wasn’t doing anything to address the systems that were impacting them.” While dissimilar in outcome, both Grace and Rylie were prompted to reflect on what they witnessed and how it affected their development. Although Rylie’s awareness of her personal racism was slowed, both she and Grace identified later action as stemming from these experiences.

Each participant who witnessed and recognized racial oppression described the impact of observing the racial trauma of friends and family. These personal experiences facilitated a connection with the insidiousness and pain of racial oppression, increased their empathy, and

motivated change towards antiracist action. Michael explored how the personal became professional after seeing racial pain and trauma in his own family, including salient experiences as partner to his wife, a Black woman and witnessing his wife's and mixed race children's experiences with racism. Michael shared a powerful example of a time his daughter was crying at summer camp after a White child said to her, "All Brown people are a disgrace." Michael articulated the impact of this experience, "that's when it really clicked in for me as a parent, I was like, 'Oh, no this is not.' Yeah. So, that's where the personal turns into professional" which prompted later action:

Yeah, and that's when I started getting involved with my wife and other people doing diversity trainings and prejudice reduction work outside of counseling. It was like, I can't wait for the counseling profession, this needs to be done ASAP...that began my journey of finding ways to make a difference on a larger level.

These personal experiences of witnessing and recognizing racial oppression aided participants' understanding of the importance of recognizing race and the impact of racism on others' lives.

This exposure facilitated growth in awareness and later action.

Intersectional Experiences. Almost all participants ($n = 11$) described their marginalized identities (e.g., gay, female, poor) and intersectional experiences with oppression as a form of eye-opening to systems of oppression, including racism. These personal intersectional experiences of oppression fostered an understanding of systemic oppression and increased empathy for others. Emma shared about her intersectional identities (e.g., female, bisexual) and described how her experience as a member of a marginalized group facilitated later awareness. She reported experiencing misogynistic "hatred" and described an experience when protesting the Iraq War and a man "spat at me the whole time." She felt it was meant to "diminish me, you

know dismiss me, you know tell me I'm not valid" "as a woman" which "opened my eyes to what's lurking below maybe a comment." These intersectional experiences gave her "an appreciation" for what BIPOC clients experience in terms of racial oppression and an "openness, an expectation of the time and size of these issues."

These personal experiences with intersectionality helped participants connect with the insidiousness and pain of oppression, fostering an increased capacity for understanding and empathy which motivated change and taking action. Rylie explored her intersectional identities (e.g., bisexual female with a disability) and personal experiences with oppression during both interviews. She shared how critical analysis of these intersectional experiences facilitated an understanding of antiracism and "how those different systems of oppression support and sustain one another." She discussed her gender identity and that being a woman provides "an entry point" to understanding oppression:

And so that has been one way in which I've been able to make sense of systemic oppression in particular, because I can make sense of sexist oppression. So, it's not such a radical notion to me that systems and organizations can be constructed in such a way that they are against a group of people.

Rylie also explored reactions to her identity as a bisexual woman with an invisible disability which gives some insight into the dehumanizing aspect of racial oppression. She stated,

I've heard close family members say things like, "There's no such thing as bisexuality." And just hearing that and having kind of my identity challenged in that way, and my experiences challenged in that way, has been giving me some insight into what it might be to have your experiences questioned on a daily basis or to have your humanity challenged through certain policies and things like that.

Additionally, some participants discussed how experiencing oppression due to their membership in non-dominant and marginalized social and cultural groups in the U.S. impeded antiracist counseling development. Elizabeth offered a different perspective on intersectional experiences when she shared about her personal experiences with sexism and oppression as a barrier to her antiracist counseling development. Elizabeth articulated how the pain of her personal trauma affected her growth. She stated,

I think that kept me from doing any real work on an antiracist front for a long time. And it kept me from being able to see anything outside of my own experience. And at some, I mean, I do remember glimpses of this isn't the only thing that's important, but I just don't have the bandwidth to do the work on any other front now.

Later, Elizabeth shared that she was able to connect her personal experiences with sexism to racism which ultimately led to deeper understanding of systemic oppression:

It does seem like the antiracist road is kind of like the first place to start to circle back to the anti-heterosexism road. And it took me a long time to learn that because of my own personal resistance, I guess.

Other participants like Mickey and Lila articulated how understanding one marginalized identity helped them better understand race and racism. Mickey described the impact of her experience as a gay woman on her antiracist counseling development. She said,

Certainly, I think having a certain amount of empathy of what it feels like to be judged, and misunderstood, and even hated because of who you are, something about yourself that is just who you are. I think there's that intersection, obviously, between what some folks of color must feel all the time.

She shared that dealing with her own internalized homophobia and coming to terms with her sexual orientation facilitated her being able to speak up for herself which in turn facilitated comfort in speaking up for others.

Similarly, Lila recalled writing a cultural autobiography in her master's level multicultural counseling course and how easily she was able to connect with her Jewish identity but not with her Whiteness. Through discussions with her professor of color who later became her lifelong mentor, she saw how "being on the margins" of one identity facilitated understanding of marginalization across other identities:

I think being able to talk about being Jewish became a scaffolding in a way for me to at least start to understand race and racism, because I saw how people discriminated against Jews...Like being othered is I think, you know, first of all, not just having the empathy and understanding what that feels like but seeing it as a reality.

Other participants articulated the impact of being in the minority and/or feeling othered due to racial and ethnic differences. Merritt described a pivotal moment in her 20s when she went to the movies and experienced being the only White person in the theatre. She articulated the lasting impact of being "the only one" on her awareness and empathy level:

And I thought, this is what it must feel like, most of the time for Black people. I was like, this is so interesting...that was a real turning point. I think real awakening awareness. I mean, I knew there were issues and problems, but I hadn't seen it from someone else's point of view until then. And I thought, "Wow, this is what this feels like."

Michael also shared about experiences when he felt othered. He described being physically assaulted as an eight-year-old "because I was Catholic living in a predominantly Protestant, rural

town” as well as another experience during high school when he moved to a new city and felt “rejected by the White population there.” He said,

In my experience there, I was the other, because I was Irish, Italian, and Catholic. And these people clearly said to me, “You’re not really American; we’re the real Americans.”...And that I think was a moment where I sort of began the seed of recognizing how people just reject you for what you are and not who you are, even if they look like you.

Michael articulated the significance of these intersectional experiences as a “really powerful moment” which served to “help me recognize the mistreatment in others” and “build a little bit of empathy and understanding then how this can happen to other people.” These experiences changed his life course. He shared that these experiences helped him “be willing to step outside myself and step out into other worlds.” Michael described them as “the impetus to be curious and to explore” and later discussed immersing himself in racially and ethnically diverse spaces which is described below.

Immersion Experiences. In addition to discussing witnessing oppression and experiencing oppression due to intersectional and marginalized identities, participants discussed how participation in immersion experiences influenced their antiracist counseling identity development. The majority of participants ($n = 9$) identified living and working in racially and ethnically diverse spaces and/or living in another country as pivotal and transformative eye-opening moments.

For example, Grace described having her eyes opened through exposure to new environments in college. Grace recalled, “I mean my eyes opened just by going away to college, being out of my area and then moving from there, too. But, yeah, just putting yourself in new

[non-White and racially integrated] spaces.” Later, she intentionally exposed herself to other cultures and experiences while living and working in another country. She identified how this experience led to significant relationships with people of color, including meeting her husband who is half Samoan as well developing a close relationship with her Samoan mother-in-law. Grace asserted that a pivotal moment in her antiracist counseling identity development was when she returned to the U.S., “So, coming back to the United States, I was kind of primed to see something different than what I had experienced having been in the States growing up.” Grace articulated how the combination of these two experiences: living in another country and returning to the U.S. to start her doctorate and work within a racially/ethnically diverse community “spurred me into the direction of being able to use it [exposure, awareness], to be more awake in these things.”

Michael described another “developmental piece” despite “not fully comprehending what that all meant because I was 23 years old.” He shared about putting himself in new spaces and having his eyes opened through exposure to new environments and new knowledge through living and working in historically Black spaces. He said,

You have to make a conscious choice to put yourself in places where you’re going to maybe feel uncomfortable, maybe not feel welcomed, but you know that’s not a new experience for me. My whole life up until being an adult has pretty much been being put in places where I didn’t know people, and I had to make it, make something happen.

Similarly, Lila also shared about having her eyes opened through exposure to racial diversity in high school and that these experiences facilitated an openness and interest and “process of opening me up” during which she was “ready to receive the teachings that I received” in graduate school.

Other participants like Alex described immersion experiences as the most influential factor in their antiracist counseling development. Alex detailed an experience during her second year working at a women's correctional institution, facilitating a dialectical behavioral therapy support group when one of the group members called her out. She shared,

She looked at me and my co-facilitator and said, what was it? Something like, "What kind of White person shit is this?" And it had both of us just, kind of, stop and pause...And I remember saying, "You make a very fabulous point"...And I think that was, honestly, really the first time that, at least, I hadn't been able to really openly address how it's very different. And with her and with other members of that group, we were able to talk about how, "You're absolutely right. This is something that was really made for a middle-class White woman."

Alex described this experience as "the best thing...to challenge racist rhetoric in my life" which enabled her to see the systemic racism within the criminal justice system, including mental health treatment. She recognized the need for critical analysis and reflection on the colonization of counseling, "It made me realize that I was not questioning, actually, that I was not questioning some of the treatments that we use, some of the modalities that we get trained in, the theories themselves." These immersion experiences facilitated growth in "approaching things from more of a culturally sensitive lens" and prompted more intentional conversations with clients about race, privilege, marginalization, and how their lives were affected by racism, specifically "what their experiences were that really contributed to the reason they were in prison."

Multicultural Coursework and Training Experiences. A salient theme in antiracist exposure was engagement in multicultural coursework and training experiences. All participants

identified impactful educational experiences. Elizabeth captured the essence of these experiences, “Wow, that opened my eyes.”

For many participants, the multicultural counseling master’s course accelerated antiracist counseling development. Jane emphasized, “I think the main thing that to point out is that, you know, this whole antiracist concept really did not emerge until grad school. Right. And I really had no idea, no thoughts about it until I had that class.” This coursework challenged participants to see and talk about Whiteness, which was especially transformative for participants like Elizabeth who were “brought up to be color-blind.” Elizabeth also explored the impact of taking the course with a faculty of color:

I mean, I feel both ways about that. Inappropriate that we always put that class on the shoulders of people of color. And it did allow me to learn some things that I probably couldn’t have learned from a White person or wouldn’t have been as open to learning. Other participants shared about being challenged to see and talk about White culture including White cultural values and myths. Rylie recalled taking the master’s level multicultural counseling course in her early 20s which “disrupted my whole sense of self” as she had previously felt “cultureless” until the moment when she read a chapter on White culture. She reflected, “I was just shocked.”

The multicultural counseling course was the only course that centered diversity issues for the majority of participants who described this exposure as a necessary step towards antiracism. Lila viewed the multicultural counseling course as the most influential factor in her development, “that is the period of time where that veil was lifted, where I really began to explore and understand the dynamics of race.” Hope also shared about eye-opening moments that facilitated greater understanding of the dynamics of race. She recalled specific moments from the diversity

course in her master's program which was taught by a Black female counselor educator, including "really impactful" class discussions and films like *The Color of Fear*. She identified how the course helped her move from racial color-blindness to recognition and affirmation of cultural diversity and strengths. She said,

It was like here's how you can appropriately affirm and celebrate different cultures. And you don't have to pretend that they don't exist. That their culture doesn't matter. But how can you show that their culture is important, and it can be a strength.

Hope articulated the impact of the diversity course on her ability to see her own White racial privilege and biased thinking which helped direct later learning and the "work" she needed to do next.

For some participants, the multicultural counseling course was not as impactful but planted seeds for later analysis and critique. June described taking the master's level "multicultural issues course" taught by a Black female adjunct faculty member who introduced topics which were not assimilated into her identity until later. She explained,

It was a really powerful class, but I remember thinking in my own racism, just like racism isn't my thing. I'm passionate about women and sexism and that's going to be my thing. This is important, but it's just not going to be the hill that I die on kind of thing.

Although taking the multicultural course was not viewed as critical to her antiracist counseling development at the time, June recalled a pivotal experience during her master's level practicum/internship training when she began to see blind spots in the organization's structure, mission, and training. June stated that multicultural issues which were introduced in her multicultural counseling course were "floating in the back of my mind somewhere, too" and that her "logical brain" and sense of "integrity" prompted some questioning of practices on the site.

She shared, “I went to the director and said, ‘We did a deep dive into the impact of gender on mental health, but what about race and what about sexual orientation? What about socioeconomic stuff? What about these other categories?’” The seeds that were planted in her master’s diversity course began to grow, and June recognized the need to address race-related issues as part of a comprehensive intersectional lens. Like June, Alex viewed her master’s level diversity course as less impactful than other participants. She reported that the professor’s approach was “uncomfortable” as students from “non-White backgrounds” were asked to “essentially speak for their entire culture.” However, one key takeaway was that the class facilitated awareness of the importance of an intersectional lens. Alex reflected,

Generalizations can be helpful in beginning to grasp awareness of how to treat and engage with different cultures, but also, it’s very unique to each individual. And so, that was a lens that I really began to recognize and develop there, is that ultimately, each individual’s experience is their individual experience.

Other participants reflected on their past training experiences and pinpointed movement towards cultural competency as the starting point in their antiracist counseling development. Elizabeth shared that in hindsight she could see how her antiracist development began with efforts at developing cultural competency. She recalled attending a conference presentation “either given by Black identified individuals or about working with Black identified individuals or both,” and realizing that she “was, for the most part, the only White person in the room.” She realized,

I really was just floored at how incompetent I was and how easily I was getting away with it because none of my colleagues or supervisors were in the rooms either. And that just did not sit right with me as a person.

This eye-opening moment prompted a commitment to learning more and engaging in more “difficult topic conversations” about race/racism which “started me on the path” towards antiracism.

Several other participants identified that they received no multicultural training in their master’s programs. Michael shared that there was no course in multicultural counseling during his graduate training “in the 80s and 90s” and that “We didn’t talk about any of this stuff, none, zero, zilch, none of it.” As a result, Michael observed the importance of self-directed learning and having other guiding relationships to support his development and stated, “I really literally had to do this on my own. It was literally on my own with my mentor, my wife.”

Guiding Relationships

Another path towards increased exposure to diversity and racial awareness was through guiding relationships. Interpersonal connections played a significant role in the antiracist counseling development for all participants; therefore, the theory of antiracist counseling identity development is grounded in the lived personal and professional experiences and supportive relationships along participants’ journeys. All of the participants in this study identified significant relationships that supported their antiracist counseling development, including learning from both BIPOC and White counselor educator mentors and antiracist counseling models.

It is important to highlight that the large majority of participants did not describe supervisory relationships as significant in their antiracist counseling development. Most participants ($n = 11$) noted that their past supervisors did not discuss race or racism within the supervisory relationship and as such these relationships were not significant sources of support in their antiracist counseling identity development. Participants did identify other significant

interpersonal relationships like relationships with BIPOC clients, colleagues, friends, and family as well as White antiracist models and mentors.

Each of these guiding relationships were described as significant supports which helped to guide them along their antiracist journey. Michael described these guiding relationships as facilitative of “interpersonal learning” which helped him “get out of my head, stop intellectualizing everything” and engage in authentic, genuine dialogue by “putting myself out into uncomfortable situations, engaging in difficult conversations myself.” Lila noted the importance of guiding relationships as “one of the major factors that can be the difference between someone moving through the stages or falling back” in antiracist counseling development. The impact of each type of guiding relationship is described below.

Mentoring Relationships. Eight participants described the connection between supportive mentoring relationships and their antiracist counseling identity development. Participants explored the impact of observational learning (e.g., modeling) as well as interpersonal and social learning experiences (e.g., dialoguing) within their mentoring relationships. Each participant noted the helpfulness of their mentors in: (a) resolving dissonance, (b) facilitating awareness, and (c) teaching/refining of skills in practice.

Mentoring relationships provided a safe space for participants to explore new ideas and resolve dissonance. Several participants articulated how they were able to explore, examine, and resolve dissonance through supportive cross-racial mentorship experiences. For example, Lila described feeling unsettled during her master’s multicultural course and the guidance of a Black female faculty member who would later become her lifelong mentor,

When everything you thought you knew kind of crumbles under your feet and you just realize, wow, the world is so different than I have experienced it up to this point in my life, it's really unsettling. But she was very supportive and challenging at the same time. Others noted the importance of mentoring relationships for both emotional support and awareness and skills development. During interview one, Lila described the significance of her lifelong relationship with her mentor on her understanding of herself, including her White racial privilege manifesting as an urgency to act:

How she tells it, she says that I was like a social justice advocate from the beginning. But she likes to say I was shooting with blanks. I had these strong ideas, and I was like, "We got to change this. Why is this like this?" She was like, "Okay, calm down. You don't know what you're doing, but I'm going to help you with that."

Lila also shared about the importance of having someone she trusted who "made me feel very safe" to navigate experiences with a respected White male clinical mentor who "demonstrated a lot of color-blind attitudes" and with whom BIPOC supervisees at the training facility "were having a much different experience." Lila described the helpfulness of conversations on race with her lifelong mentor and talking to her about questions like, "What do I do?" or "How do I have these conversations here?" Lila shared that her lifelong mentor helped her "kind of strategize" ways of supporting other BIPOC supervisees at the site. Lila reported that this experience helped shape her own antiracist supervision lens including "the importance of broaching and having conversations about identity and power and supervisory relationships."

Interpersonal Learning Experiences. Participants developed their antiracist identities through social experiences, interpersonal interactions, and ongoing dialogues with their mentors. Michael noted that his antiracist development was largely formed within significant personal and

professional relationships with people of color including “with my mentor, my wife” whom he recognized as being “a major influencer and encourager.” For example, he shared that his antiracist action skills were honed within significant cross-racial relationships including professional mentors like a Black female anti-oppression scholar and counseling professional mentor whom he recalled saying, “So, what are you going to do now?” He described both formal and informal mentorship experiences which occurred in conversations in hallways and at conferences with colleagues/scholars of color. He noted the importance of having the ability to dialogue about his learning and new awareness on a regular basis, and he valued relationships in which “you could have honest conversations, you could open up, be vulnerable, say the things that you wouldn’t say.”

Guiding relationships within mentorship also occurred within same-race mentoring experiences. Participants provided examples of relationships with White antiracist models and guides. These mentoring relationships provided opportunities for increased exposure and interpersonal learning. Participants described mentoring relationships with White counselor educators, counselors, antiracist scholars, and friends. For example, June described being a part of a “White affinity group” and noted the importance of White antiracist peer support during her formative years of development. Similar to June, Michael explicitly named White antiracist peer mentorship (e.g., professional colleagues and scholars) as supportive. In reference to one White male guide, Michael shared, “He’s just so honest about it and his own experience.” Having conversations with these White models and guides aided participants in exploring questions, processing new learning and awareness, and resolving dissonance.

Social Learning Experiences. Additionally, mentoring relationships facilitated social learning experiences by modeling antiracist attitudes, behaviors, and actions for mentees.

Elizabeth recalled a critical incident at work when discussing equitable advising for the department's racially/ethnically diverse student body. Her White mentor called out another White colleague whose motto was, "My door is always open," highlighting the problem with White faculty who did little to address racial dynamics and power differentials within advising. Elizabeth articulated the impact of this exchange as she began to realize her personal responsibility. She shared, "Oh, just showing up as an authentic person isn't enough. I have to learn some things and be actively developing myself. So, it was that colleague who helped open my eyes." During the second interview, she shared about how she internalized her mentor's voice:

But I think the piece of him that has stuck with me through my career is that it never stops, that you keep bringing it. You don't just bring it up in the fall first faculty meeting of the year. It's something we return to over and over again...I hear him. I hear those moments playing over in my head. I see him speaking through a voice that's wavering at the faculty meeting, and he's the only one saying what needs to be said.

Significant Relationships with BIPOC. Nine participants described the impact of significant cross-racial relationships in their antiracist counseling identity development. Hope identified the single most influential factor in her development as her relationship with her husband who is a Black man. She shared about meeting her husband in graduate school and "the journey of being the first one in my family to date someone of another race" and how the relationship "opened up this window *into* a whole, different set of experiences." Significant relationships with BIPOC friends, family members, partners, colleagues, and clients provided exposure through: (a) encountering racial pain, and (b) feedback on participants' own racism.

Further, participants noted the importance of allowing themselves to be impacted by these guiding relationships and cross-racial interpersonal experiences.

Encountering Racial Pain. Some participants identified encountering racial pain within significant relationships with BIPOC individuals as salient developmental experiences. Rylie shared about having significant relationships with people of color, including her best friend who identifies as Latina. She described this guiding relationship as the “most meaningful relationship in my development as an antiracist counselor” and that “we’ve been able to talk through a lot of these issues, and really grow, both of us from those conversations. And I think those conversations have been most meaningful to me as of recent.” Rylie noted that when you witness racial trauma and pain and understand feelings like anger as “an expression of racial pain...you can’t just un-know that.”

Feedback on Own Racism. Within these guiding relationships with BIPOC individuals, participants explored the developmental impacts of receiving feedback on their own racism. Feedback on one’s own racism was viewed as an opportunity for learning. Rylie described her experience receiving feedback from her Latina best friend and shared, “She was able to help me understand that that is a gift. When somebody is willing to give you feedback on your racism, that’s a gift and it’s a vulnerable thing and a risky thing for them to do.” Jane, too, echoed the importance of supportive cross-racial relationships to continue learning about her own racism. She spoke about a significant relationship with a female colleague of color who is also a behavioral health consultant. She reported that these cross-racial dialogues are like a form of “peer supervision” which “helps me process,” providing another perspective which facilitates growth. Jane recalled conversations about her missteps as a White therapist and questions like, “What would you do in that situation? How would you address it?”

During Exposure, participants explored the impact of eye-opening moments and grew within guiding relationships. To summarize, all participants identified a desire to let these new experiences affect them in deep, meaningful, and long-lasting ways. Hope described how she integrated these new experiences into her identity. She articulated not wanting to live in ignorance as “the driving force for me” that prompted further learning and awareness. Hope shared,

And I personally am an overachiever. I’m a perfectionist. I like to know what I’m talking about. And that deep sense of ignorance and awareness of ignorance really bugged me.

And I was one of those people that was like I don’t want anyone else to feel this way.

Like I don’t want other White people to be walking in ignorance anymore. I don’t want people of color to have to accommodate White people in ignorance or in hate.

Here, Hope summarized a key aspect of the cycle of antiracist counseling identity development as a process of moving from “ignorance” or Pre-contemplation to Awareness via Exposure through eye-opening moments and guiding relationships.

Awareness

The Awareness phase, second in the cycle of development, is characterized by deep reflective work on the self. This phase is reflective of three main categories: 1) *Re-educating Self on Race and Racism*, 2) *Working through Challenging Emotions in Relationships*, and 3) *Critical Race Consciousness*. Participants viewed gaining racial awareness as a necessary first step toward taking effective antiracist action; therefore, the Awareness phase of development is critical. Rylie expressed the importance of this personal work when she shared about the need for “starting with the internal work before we start saying we’re going to dismantle these systems in our counseling sessions or in our counseling profession.” Michael shared, “It started with my

own individual awareness. It was like an internal journey of self-understanding and understanding others.” Figure 5 and Table 5 illustrate the components of the Awareness phase.

Figure 5

Awareness Phase within Model

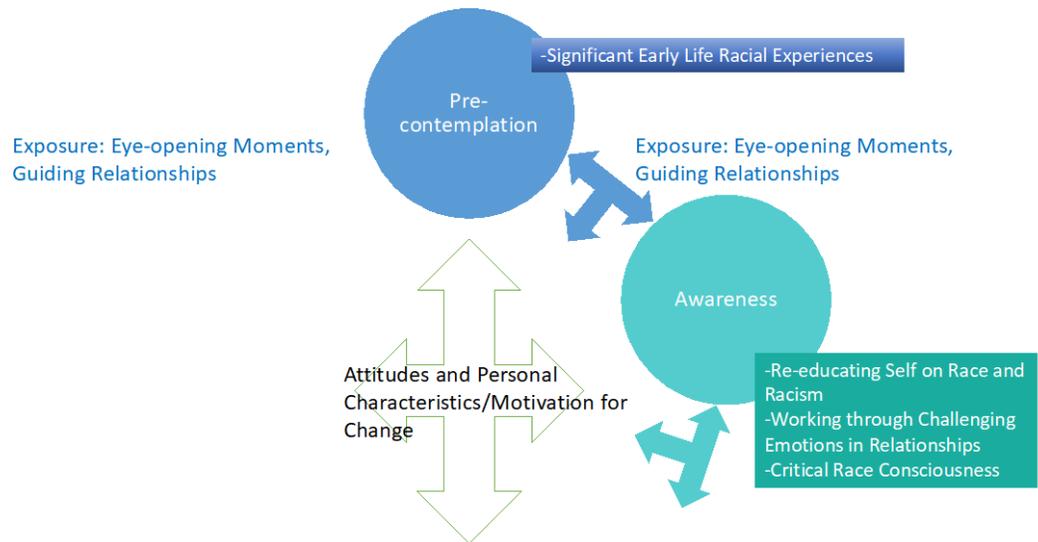


Table 5

Awareness Phase Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	Supporting Themes
<i>Re-educating Self on Race and Racism</i>	Disrupting Cycle of Socialization Learning from Books, Articles, Workshops, and Conversations “Let this Matter” Critical Analysis and Assimilation

Working through Challenging Emotions in Relationships
Critical Race Consciousness

Reconciling White Fragility

Deconstructing/Reconstructing Whiteness to Include Antiracism
Acknowledging Personal Biases and Privilege
Shifting Understanding of Racism
Developing Knowledge of History of Racism in U.S.
Knowledge of Others: Impact of Culture and Context

Re-educating Self on Race and Racism

All participants in this study identified re-educating themselves on race and racism as a key developmental task. Participants described a process during which they intentionally sought out new information and learning about race and racism in the U.S. This process of unlearning misinformation and re-educating the self was complex and multifaceted. Each aspect of this learning process will be detailed below.

Disrupting Cycle of Socialization. One pathway towards new learning was disrupting the cycle of socialization in their personal and professional lives (e.g., values, beliefs, practices). To accomplish this task, participants like Rylie and Merrit described seeking out sources of information created, written, and produced by BIPOC individuals as well as varying types of information on race-related issues like White supremacy and antiracism. Due to the nature of racial socialization into White supremacy in the U.S. and the subsequent internalization of

racism (e.g., values, beliefs, attitudes; Singh, 2019), Rylie explained the need to actively seek varied information, “As a person who says I’m committed to antiracism, I need to be looking for things that challenge me and not just like passively receiving whatever kind crosses my world.”

She described a process of continuously exposing herself to new ideas:

Not only exposure, but very intentionally exposing myself to new and challenging information...I think a lot of the ideas that have been really helpful or meaningful for me, they’re not just going to come across your newsfeed. You have to seek that out as a White person. And if you have mostly White friends, it’s not like these really radical ideas are going to just happen in your world.

Merritt shared a similar process as other participants. She stated, “I’ve always read a lot. I’m a big reader.” However, she qualified her original statement to reiterate the importance of seeking out race-focused sources of information for both herself and her family. She said,

I’ve read some great books, and I would try to specifically read books from different authors and try to come up with ways to kind of open their world to different ideas and different things and stuff. So, I’ve read books from a lot of different Black authors.

Learning from Books, Articles, Workshops, and Conversations. Throughout this study, participants discussed factors that contributed to their development of racial awareness and knowledge. Participants actively sought out opportunities to re-educate themselves on issues related to race and racism in the U.S. All participants ($n = 12$) described this process as occurring through informational and social learning experiences, specifically learning from books, articles, workshops, and conversations with clients, students of color, and colleagues.

Participants understood the inherent need to challenge previously held beliefs through new learning. Merrit explained the importance of new learning to develop awareness and knowledge:

I did a lot of deep reading and stuff then; and the more you learn, the more you realize you don't know, and you need to learn. The Dunning Kruger effect is so true. It's when you know nothing, you think you know everything because you are not aware of how much you don't know. So, I learned about that and started reading more and doing more. Informational and social learning does not occur without intention. Elizabeth articulated that at times one may want to retreat into privilege and avoid new racial learning. She alluded to the need to challenge herself and stated, "I make a point to read hard books [about race] that make me do some reflecting." Elizabeth recognized that as a White person it can be easier to "just check out and watch a crappy TV show or read some fluff book before I fall asleep," therefore, she intentionally chooses to read books on racial issues because she recognizes that not thinking about her Whiteness and systemic racism is a privilege not afforded to BIPOC people. She viewed reading "hard books [about race]" as her responsibility and attempt to minimize lapses into a lack of racial awareness.

Participants gave numerous examples of informational and social learning. For example, Grace shared,

I think just the more experiences and the more I learned, the more books I read, the more articles I read, the more I saw in the community I worked with, and then the more dialogue I had with my office mate, but with other colleagues, too.

Others recalled specific learning moments. June spoke about her process of unlearning racism and developing an understanding of her own Whiteness and the impact of White supremacy

through self-study or “personal work.” She discussed learning from Black antiracist scholars like Kimberle Crenshaw and White antiracist scholars like Robin DiAngelo and acknowledged the need for “the recognition of the labor that has gone before us, especially because of women of color.” Hope explored the importance of ongoing education, “I’m a pretty self-guided person. So, like, I really dived into a lot of fantastic literature that is out there.” She shared about reading McIntosh’s (1992) article on White privilege in graduate school and how it fostered “this initial awareness that my experience is different than an experience of a person of color...I never thought of that because I live in this really sheltered bubble.” Rylie discussed having systems “illuminated for me” by seeking out new information and “listening” which she described as the key to re-educating herself about race and racism. She recalled watching the documentary *13th* as a “transformative experience for me because I had never heard of so many things. I had never imagined how deeply embedded these systems are.” This learning experience highlighted the insidiousness of systemic racism and left her permanently altered, “You just can’t go back. I can’t buy into it anymore.”

Other participants articulated the need to challenge racial socialization into White supremacy and unlearn patterns of behavior through dialogues with others. They cited social learning as being key to their resocialization and re-educational processes. For example, Michael asserted, “unlearning has to happen in a context” and “in those dialogues” with other White and BIPOC antiracists. Grace also pointed to the need to be in conversation to learn. She described intentionally choosing to be in spaces with people of color to listen to “the myriad of voices” discussing work, community, national, and global race-related issues. Being in conversation alone is not enough to facilitate the unlearning and re-learning. Rylie shared about the need to listen to learn. She shared,

To me, the key piece of unlearning racism is listening. It has been important for me to have safe or brave spaces to discuss but I don't mean discuss in the same sense like you discuss on a Facebook post, where you're like exchanging opinions and not letting anything resonate with you.

Instead, participants like Rylie recognized they must listen to hear and not to respond. They must listen to absorb new information, especially since this new information challenges some implicit biases and deeply ingrained misinformation about the world. Rylie explained how she must "hold myself back from the urge to be the center of any conversation about race and really just listen and hear and contend with the implications for me as a White woman." Later in our discussions, Rylie shared an example of listening to hear and shared about bearing witness to racial pain and not reacting from a place of guilt but learning from it. She articulated, "Their pain says something about White supremacy. It says something about Whiteness. It doesn't mean I'm a bad person because I'm involved in those systems, you know, but it says something about what I need to do in response."

"Let this Matter" Critical Analysis and Assimilation. In addition to re-education, critical analysis of previously held beliefs and assimilating new race-based information were identified as significant developmental tasks along the antiracist journey. As part of re-educating the self on issues related to race and racism, all participants reported that they needed to continuously reflect, analyze, and assimilate information in order to undo years of racial socialization into White supremacy and misinformation. Each participant discussed ways in which they let new learning matter. Several factors facilitated this informational processing including openness to change, critical thinking skills, and self-reflection. For example, Merrit spoke about being open to taking in new information, learning from that experience, and

changing her perception. She provided an example of recognizing that there is a whole history that goes untaught in some classrooms like teaching about the Civil War and de-emphasizing or omitting the history of slavery. She said,

Challenging all of those notions that society has told us, that our racist structured society has told us. Like challenging all of that, going back and reading and understanding the history, and then reading from different people's points of view, like people of color, their experiences, to really take it in and try to walk in their shoes.

June shared about challenging her previously held ideas about oppression during a master's course to facilitate an intersectional analysis:

The work we did was really deeply reflective. Paying pretty close attention to not just up here (points to head) but dropping into our own reactions and what we notice. Still at the time I would not have known to say, this is my Whiteness or my own internalized White supremacy or feel connected to that in any way but that was a formative experience for me where I, from an integrity standpoint said, "I need to let this matter. I can't just care about sexism." Especially reading something like *Mapping the Margins*... That was like a string that just unraveled all the things that had never really been questioned inside of me before.

Another example of critical analysis was questioning previous socialization into racial color-blindness. For example, Hope discussed how her thinking was transformed to question her White lens and previous socialization into White supremacist culture which manifested as racial color-blindness and stated, "I was mostly raised to believe that we're all color-blind. Like color doesn't matter... And then learning that like that's actually really dismissive of people's cultures to just wash everything out. Which, by proxy, is really whitewashing everything." Hope began to

better understand her White lens and question it, “Before I would maybe judge something that somebody else said or done or something that I observed from my White lens, [and now] kind of questioning that. How much of this judgment, this advice that could be contributing to their experience?” Similarly, Elizabeth shared about her self-reflection on color-blindness during the master’s multicultural counseling course and feeling some resistance. She said, “I have a really clear memory of learning to unlearn that.” Later in the course, Elizabeth began to shift her thinking from good versus bad and right versus wrong dichotomous analysis to curiosity and an openness to learning more and shared “Oh, okay, well, now let me back up and see how that feeling might be rooted in my perspective as a White person, or my experience or visibility as a White person.”

Regardless of the precipitating events, critical analysis and self-reflection prompted changes in understanding, awareness, and knowledge that facilitated a later *change in identity*. To illustrate this point, Rylie shared a transformative experience in the masters’ level multicultural course when she began to question, “Who am I?” and “What do I even believe?” She began to use a “critical eye” after reading about White cultural values and norms like “individualism” and “that pull yourself up by your bootstraps mentality.” When asked directly how her thinking was transformed, Rylie stated,

I started to get, I guess, a better grasp on the socially constructed nature of so many things, and secondary to that, understanding more of why those things are socially constructed and who they're constructed for, and who they're constructed against, if that makes sense...I started to really get that sense of like it's the system, like I'm a pawn in this. That led me to, I guess, more of a critical eye moving forward, including, when we were presented with counseling interventions or counseling theories, being more aware of

when those kind of White-centered ideas and perspectives and experiences would come up in those as well.

During the Awareness phase, participants described a process of critically analyzing and assimilating new information into consciousness and awareness, a process which oftentimes activated challenging emotions.

Working through Challenging Emotions in Relationships

As previously mentioned, antiracist counseling identity development is a process that requires fortitude and a commitment to work through challenging emotions. Like any developmental process, this process evokes powerful emotions, and participants described a range of experiences.

Reconciling White Fragility. This sub-theme is reflective of a process by which participants reconciled feelings like guilt, shame, and defensiveness which are emotional experiences commonly associated with White fragility (DiAngelo, 2018). Nearly all participants ($n = 11$) identified some aspect of White fragility manifesting during the Awareness phase of their antiracist counseling identity development. To illustrate this phenomenon, Grace explained “a lot of emotion that goes into this” awareness development, necessitating intentional efforts or “trying to obviously reflect on my own emotion, but not make this work about my own emotion.”

Participants described the emotional component of antiracist counseling development in differing and overlapping ways. Jane echoed Grace’s assessment of the emotionality of antiracist counseling development as she reflected on what it was like to have her eyes opened in an elective on race in her master’s program and how she reconciled the dissonance through her counseling work with BIPOC clients and cross-racial dialogues with colleagues. She shared,

And then there was a period where like, “Oh, my God, I’m so racist. What the heck? Who am I?” And feeling like this intense guilt. And then, at the peak of that was when I took the class. And then, as I got into workforce and started learning, and just becoming more self-aware and acknowledging my privilege.

Like Jane, Merrit reflected on intense guilt and shared, “I’ve went through a very guilty phase.” She spoke about working through this White guilt in relationship with her Black female clinical supervisor. Some participants recalled specific times when racial fragility impacted and at times impeded development. Emma noted a “high profile” and pivotal developmental experience during which she received media attention and explained how it affected her below:

At times, I would be overwhelmed, and I would just cry and sort of get out of it. I’m going to take myself away from this situation. This is overwhelming. I’m a real crier, and as an emotional person with a lot of sensitivity, I don’t think I appreciated how White women being very sensitive can be a very easy way to avoid engaging with material that’s uncomfortable.

When I asked Emma directly about what helped her sustain her interest and commitment to antiracism work, she shared about the importance of working through her fragility in relationships within her social-justice and antiracist “community group.” She said, “They showed me support without necessarily centering me.” Similarly, Rylie articulated the need for supportive relationships to help her process “a lot of guilt” after learning about White values during the multicultural course in her master’s program. She shared,

I think something that was important for me was having some White educators who were willing to talk about their experiences. Not only their experiences of transforming or developing an antiracist identity, but also, the times when they had been racist, and what

the impact of that was, and how they grappled with that. And seeing those educators being willing to be vulnerable allowed me to more sit with that guilt and other painful emotions that came up and recognize that as part of the process.

Like others, Rylie noted that successful reconciliation of challenging emotions was integral to moving forward in her antiracist counseling identity development. For Rylie, these relationships took the form of White antiracist models who normalized emotions as part of the developmental process. For others, relationships took the form of BIPOC mentors, colleagues, and friends but all participants alluded to these relational supports as necessary for emotional growth.

Critical Race-Consciousness

During this phase of development, all participants articulated gaining awareness of new ideas and ways of thinking about race and racism or *Critical Race Consciousness*. Previous exposure facilitated critical reflection and analysis and a deeper understanding of the operation of race within their personal and professional lives, and this awareness continues to develop over the course of a lifetime. Hope described this aspect of development as a process that results in “just having my eyes wide open as much as I can.” As such, *Critical Race Consciousness* is reflective of five main supporting themes: 1) *Deconstructing/Reconstructing Whiteness to include antiracism*, 2) *Acknowledging personal biases and privilege*, 3) *Shifting understanding of racism*, 4) *Developing knowledge of history of racism in U.S.*, and 5) *Knowledge of others: Impact of culture and context*. In this next section, I detail participants’ descriptions of the awareness or *Critical Race Consciousness* gained from the previously discussed eye-opening experiences and within the support of guiding relationships.

Deconstructing/Reconstructing Whiteness to Include Antiracism. Participants described a process in which they actively deconstructed and reconstructed Whiteness to include

antiracist tenets as part of their critical race-consciousness development. All twelve participants explained a type of transformative process in which their White identities shifted from an oblivious, privileged, and superior stance to an antiracist stance which was defined as having awareness of privilege and a responsibility to use that privilege towards antiracist action and change. During the second interview, Merrit remarked that this aspect of development closely aligned with Helms (1990, 1995) WRID model, “I mean that follows the White racial identity process of Janet Helms.” Furthermore, participants recognized that this aspect of the developmental process was never complete. Lila captured the ongoing nature of identity construction, “I am in the process of developing my antiracist White identity and that never ends.”

Participants in this study spoke about the process of re-educating themselves on race and racism (i.e., learning and re-learning) and its impact on their critical race-consciousness development. Emma shared that the deconstruction of Whiteness began with the acknowledgment of Whiteness as a construct, “It's sort of like this invisible presence that I want to kind of make more visible so that we can, you know, do the work of undermining it.” Similarly, Rylie reflected on Whiteness and the need to challenge herself to “understand that as a social construction.” She explained, “being White doesn't mean I am a bad person, but it means that I'm entangled with racism in ways that I can never escape.” The invisibility of Whiteness is reflected in the obscurity of White cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Participants described actively looking for the invisible. Rylie shared about “learning how my reality was constructed around Whiteness, and the myths that come with that, like that my experience is universal.” The invisibility of Whiteness is particularly insidious as it masks the ways in which White is viewed as superior or the norm. June reflected on this aspect of Whiteness as an “internalized sense of

superiority as part of White supremacy” and that she has a responsibility to undo that socialization. She shared that racial superiority is “part of my work to undo and unlearn.” Rylie, too, believed that reconstructing Whiteness to include antiracism meant acknowledging “the impact of White supremacy” and a responsibility or “being able to use that privilege and try to undo some of this gives me a sense of purpose, and I can’t not do that.”

Participants described starting with the understanding of Whiteness as “unearned” racial privilege and socialization into racial superiority. Next, they engaged in a process of deconstruction and reconstruction. Lila described this process as deconstructing Whiteness from oblivious and privileged or “the yardstick that we judge everyone by” to a responsibility and commitment to antiracism. She noted,

I think it’s something that I have to, you know, consistently and continuously check in with. How am I using my Whiteness? or “How am I using my White privilege? Am I using it in a way that is, uh, creating more equity or am I using it in a self-serving way? Or am I using it in a way that is maybe discriminatory and maybe I’m not even aware of it.

Emma further articulated the deconstruction and reconstruction phase of development as an active learning and analytical process:

A lot of that process has been reading articles, going to workshops, trying to recognize the previously invisible to me privileges, and then connecting these layers of privilege and oppressions with the extreme inequality and difference in opportunity among people in my community and in the world.

As participants navigated reconstruction, they began to move towards developing an active antiracist White identity. The reconstruction of Whiteness to include antiracism meant

using privilege in positive antiracist ways. Grace shared, “I want to use my positioning, my privilege to further the cause.” Similarly, Hope viewed Whiteness as “a tool” and redefined her Whiteness as “a privilege and a responsibility,” recognizing the need to use her White racial privileges in positive antiracist ways. She provided an example of using her privilege to “uplift minority voices, to make space at tables where there was no space before for people that definitely should be there.”

Throughout the deconstruction/reconstruction process, participants discussed the importance of self-awareness, acknowledgment, and ongoing recognition of the footprint of racism in their personal and professional lives. They described gaining awareness and knowledge as essential developmental tasks that facilitated skill development and engagement in more effective antiracist action. Next, each type of awareness and knowledge will be detailed.

Acknowledging Personal Biases and Privilege. All participants ($n = 12$) described acknowledging personal biases and privilege as the starting point for critical race consciousness and antiracism work. Each noted the importance of self-awareness (e.g., cultural identities and background) and acknowledgement of privilege and biases for understanding the impact of counselor positionality on the counseling process. Hence, the starting point for antiracist counseling is knowing where you come from. To illustrate this point, Grace shared that “the work is you have to embrace yourself and your own culture before you can move on to help.”

First, this theme exemplified acknowledgement of White racial privilege as an essential developmental task. For example, Alex shared about acknowledging her White privilege and recognizing how it means “having extra open doors to me that other people may not or being able to open other doors that people may not be able to open.” Jane discussed the impact of an elective course on race in her master’s program on her developing awareness of White privilege.

She described a process of critical reflection which enabled her to see her own White privilege and helped her to dispel the myth of meritocracy which was one of the most influential changes in thinking. She said,

I realized how privileged I am, where before I'd be like, "I worked hard and that's why I am where I am. And I'm such a hard worker, and I did this, and I did that." But I didn't realize how big a piece that privilege came into play. And that guilt came up. I didn't deserve this privilege. This is how I was born with this privilege. So that was hard to deal with.

During the second interview, Alex's advice to new and seasoned White counselors was to "recognize privilege and do their own work that they need to around it, to not bring any of their guilt or shame or racist ideation into their practice."

Second, this theme is also reflective of White antiracist counselors' acknowledgement of their own racism, specifically their racial biases as an essential aspect of antiracist identity. Jane explained, "I think being an antiracist counselor just means that you are acknowledging that you may have these biases and you're learning why and how to handle them, if that makes sense." She shared about her "light bulb click" awareness gained through a master's level elective on race taught by a prominent Black antiracist scholar who engaged students in critical analysis of their racial attitudes, beliefs, and biases within small cross-racial group discussions. Jane described her awareness through the course as the most influential experience to date in her development of racial awareness.

Mickey articulated a need to pay attention to the impact of implicit biases. She described acts of unintentional racism, "I know that I have done and said racist things unknowingly." Intentionality is irrelevant, and participants alluded to taking responsibility for racist ideology,

beliefs, and biases, regardless of intention. Alex described how her recognition of personal biases towards minority or oppressed groups motivated her towards “correcting racist ideation that we might have, just because of how we were raised and how we were socialized.”

Shifting Understanding of Racism. Throughout this study, all participants shared about how their critical race-consciousness included awareness and knowledge of self, others, and racism within the U.S. As participants gained more knowledge about White supremacy, White culture, Whiteness, WRID, and antiracism, their understanding of racism shifted from individual acts to a system of oppression. Participants described this knowledge as fundamental to developing an antiracist counseling identity. First, antiracism requires a deep understanding of the social construct of race which participants understood to be constructed as a means for Whites to maintain dominance and consolidate institutional power. Second, antiracism requires knowledge of the history of systemic oppression in the U.S. Participants shared about past historical trauma as well as more current examples of institutional trauma including evidence of police brutality, racism within the criminal justice system, and voter suppression. Mickey spoke about the recent spate of state-level voter restriction laws and said, “What they did in Georgia yesterday...I mean we've got to advocate for the Voting Rights Act.” Most participants described the impact of Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the murders of Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and George Floyd on their commitment to antiracism. Elizabeth shared,

It was Ahmaud Arbery's death that really did it for me...I remember watching that video of him being shot...I could not stop watching it. I was horrified. Tears, days of not being able to communicate with people because I could not stop crying. Again, with the White tears. I'm embarrassed that it took me until age 41 to wake up to all of that, but I guess that's when it got serious for me.

Developing Knowledge of History of Racism in U.S. In addition to understanding racism as a system of oppression that operates within all U.S. institutions (e.g., law, education, counseling, criminal justice), four participants articulated a process of developing a more comprehensive knowledge of the history of racism in the U.S. as part of the category *Critical Race Consciousness*. Michael captured this need when he explained, “That’s the biggest issue is that we have counselors that if their only history is from k through 12 curriculum, they don’t have any history.” Grace, too, reported on her developing awareness of the history of racism in the U.S. as a need to “understand what marginalized communities have gone through, knowing the history, knowing the systems.” Grace recognized the entrenchment of White supremacy in all U.S. institutions and the impact on U.S. history, both past and present events. She shared, “This is us.” This theme illustrates the need for antiracist counselors to relearn U.S. history. Merrit discussed this need as

Doing the work to try to better understand what it means to be a minority, and a racial minority, specifically. I mean, the history of the United States is, our country was founded on the ownership of Black people. And so going back and understanding that history, how did we get here today?

Participants described gaining knowledge of the history of racism in the U.S. as another developmental task to achieve in order to effectively engage in antiracist action.

Knowledge of Others: Impact of Culture and Context. The final theme within the category of *Critical Race-Consciousness* is knowledge of others which was described as gaining knowledge of the impact of culture and context. For example, Merrit spoke often about learning about clients of colors’ experiences to better understand what it means to be a racial minority in

the U.S. and “truly having to step back and be aware of all that I don’t know.” Knowledge of others was viewed as an essential component of *Critical Race-Consciousness*. Jane stated,

Yeah, I think another piece of being an antiracist counselor would be just always trying to learn as much as you can about other people's experiences. I'm not Black, but tell me what you're experiencing, let me learn from you and not pretending like I understand, so that's part of it. I think it's a big thing.

Mickey shared about the importance of understanding culture and context in antiracist counseling:

It's a part of the commitment that I've always had to continue to learn and grow and be more understanding and empathic of other people and their experience, and acknowledging that because of the color of my skin and some of the advantages that just were given to me that my experience, or the experience of others, the experiences of people of color who didn't have some of those advantages, how that affects them and just knowing that that's part of their story, not all of their stories, but many of their stories, and just making sure that I'm paying attention to that.

Similarly, Alex recognized the impact of systemic oppression on health and wellness. She stated, “really the marginalized and oppressed components of identities is really what contributes to people coming to therapy.”

Identity Integration

Identity Integration is the third phase of the cycle of antiracist counseling identity development. Three main categories of experiences emerged within this phase of development: 1) *Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)*, 2) *Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity*, and 3) *Intentionality to Change*. This phase of the emergent model is reflective of

intentional changes in beliefs and awareness leading to heightened levels of critical race-consciousness. Throughout this phase, participants described the importance of critical analysis and reflection which aided the complexity of thought and understanding needed for further antiracist development. In this phase, participants also experienced an alignment of the personal and professional domains of identity. Finally, the outcome of this phase of development is an integrated personal and professional identity based upon a personal definition of a White antiracist counseling identity and an intentionality to change counseling practice and behaviors.

Figure 6 and Table 6 illustrate the components of the Identity Integration phase.

Figure 6

Identity Integration Phase within Model

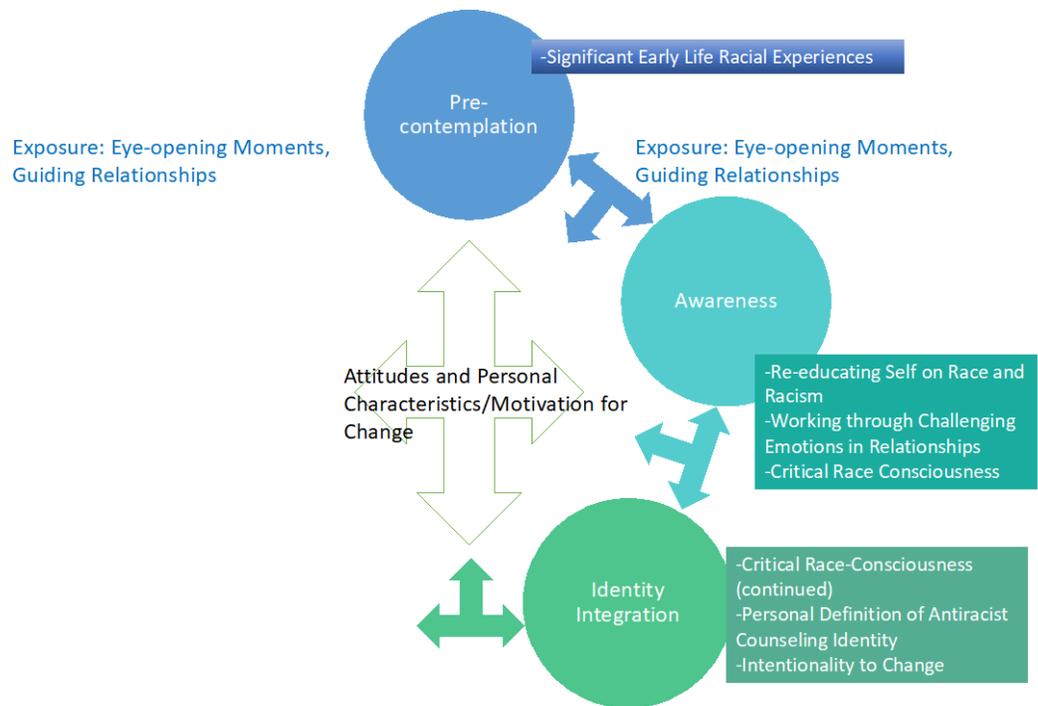


Table 6

Identity Integration Phase Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
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<i>Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)</i>	Reconstruction of Whiteness and Professional Counseling Identity to Include Antiracism
<i>Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity</i>	Awareness and Knowledge Plus Action Prioritizing Change within Systems Definitional Challenges
<i>Intentionality to Change</i>	Healers Cannot Be Oppressors Living and Acting with Integrity

Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)

Reconstruction of Whiteness and Professional Counseling Identity to Include Antiracism. After participants ($n = 12$) began to develop critical race-consciousness, they integrated their White antiracist identities and their professional counseling identities. This integration resulted in a personal definition of antiracist counseling identity which crystallized participants’ commitment to antiracism in professional counseling and directed antiracist counseling practices.

The first step in integrating personal and professional identities was a reconstructed White identity. Merrit articulated completing this developmental task in the Awareness phase by resolving initial questions about what it means to be White and ultimately deciding that White identity is “to be as an antiracist.” Next, participants began to explore how antiracism fit into their professional counseling identities. Elizabeth and Mickey both shared about previously identifying as a counselor “attempting” to be more multiculturally competent and recently shifted to include antiracism as a part of professional identity. Elizabeth shared about having new language to frame her commitment and stated, “I don’t think it became even important to me to

identify as an antiracist counselor until last summer. Before that, I would say I was engaging in practices that were antiracist, but I didn't know that antiracism was a thing until a year ago.”

In the Identity Integration phase, participants actively reconstructed their identities to include both an antiracist White identity and an antiracist professional counseling identity. This newly and intentionally constructed identity was described by June as “a salient identity out of discipline.” June explored the integration of antiracism into her White racial identity and professional counseling identity. She asserted, “It’s an important part of my identity and awareness of who I am, how I live in the world, how I relate and always something to be wondering about, reflecting about.”

Two developmental tasks emerged within the reconstruction and identity integration process. First, participants asserted the need to acknowledge the racist history of the mental health profession. For example, Lila explained,

The fact that there are disparities, that there's a history that we don't like to talk about, but that very much has a legacy that permeates through, for example, the theories we teach and the practices that we teach and utilize. I think to be an antiracist means, first acknowledging that, and then actively participating in dismantling that.

Participants also addressed the need to recognize colonization within counselor training and the educational process. For example, Lila explored the importance of critical reflection when teaching counseling as most theories courses “start at Freud”:

We're starting with these White European and men, too, by the way, theories and saying, “He's the father of psychology. This is where it began.” But that's a very colonized perspective because we know that there have been indigenous ancient healers, helpers, methods of healing, conceptualizations of healing way before that. Even just the fact that

that's the knowledge that we say is most important to begin this educational process with, is very colonized...Someone comes in and says, "My culture is superior to yours. I'm going to bring my culture to you. This is a gift that I'm bringing you."

Participants described a fundamental aspect of an antiracist commitment in counseling is to acknowledge the racist history of the mental health profession and recognize the colonization within the profession including the educational and training process and the practices counselors employ.

The second developmental task that emerged within the reconstruction and identity integration process was seeking out culture-centered counseling theories and practices.

Participants described turning a critical eye towards colonized practices and questioning previous training. They sought out alternative ways of being with BIPOC clients using knowledge and awareness gained from exposure and guiding relationships. Alex discussed questioning the pathologizing of cultural norms and practices of BIPOC clients. She stated,

I think it's also important to take it into awareness, and be willing to talk about how this client is presenting with this, but this is actually more of a cultural norm for what their background is, and is this actually something that can be pathologized? And being willing to speak up about that, when you notice that occurring.

Similarly, Lila's integrated antiracist counseling identity prioritized the decolonization of counseling. She spoke about "digesting knowledge from multiple perspectives" below:

Making sure that we're not just sort of centering on one camp of knowledge or one group of researchers or theorists, but we're diversifying the information that we're consuming. Then in terms of skills and actions, actively pursuing culture centered theories and practices.

Ultimately, the reconstruction of Whiteness and professional counseling identity to include antiracism resulted in a personal definition of an antiracist counseling identity which will be explored next.

Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity

In the Identity Integration phase of the cycle of antiracist counseling identity development, participants actively sought to integrate antiracism into their racial identity and counseling identity and successfully integrated the two. The result is a multifaceted personal definition of an antiracist counseling identity which becomes infused throughout participants' personal and professional lives. According to participants in this study, this personal definition is individualized and unique; however, there were common elements across participants. Three common themes emerged including: 1) *Awareness and knowledge plus action*, 2) *Prioritizing change within systems*, and 3) *Definitional challenges* inherent in antiracism.

Awareness and Knowledge Plus Action. All participants in this study defined their antiracist counseling identity in terms of awareness and knowledge plus action. Due to the cyclical nature of antiracist counseling development, critical reflection and analysis were described as ongoing processes resulting in updates and modifications to personal definitions during the course of a professional lifetime. Below is a summary of participants' current definitions.

Participants' personal definitions of an antiracist counseling identity comprised of three essential factors: awareness, knowledge, and action (i.e., skills). Lila articulated these key components, "I think an antiracist counselor...I mean, I just go back to again, having the awareness, knowledge, skills, and actions." Rylie, too, summarized all three components (i.e., awareness, knowledge, action) as "recognizing, critiquing, and then, working to dismantle racism

both within myself, and then, outside of myself, whether it's in interpersonal interactions or organizations, or more systemic and institutional.”

Participants spoke about awareness of self as foundational to antiracism. An antiracist counselor must understand themselves to better understand others. For example, Michael described a level of awareness of one's own identity and asked, “What does it mean to be White?” Michael reflected on awareness and knowledge of others' racialized experiences, “How aware are you of the issues outside of your sphere or your familiar world?” Lila described her antiracist awareness and knowledge as a “critical consciousness” or “an ability to see systems of oppression or these dynamics of privilege and oppression.” A full explanation of these components was provided in previous discussions on *Critical Race-Consciousness*.

Action emerged as a key to redressing racism in counseling and beyond. Participants defined action as engaging in antiracist action using skills and strategies learned over time. Elizabeth referenced the saliency of action in her personal definition, “I think it probably changes every day, so if you were to ask me yesterday or tomorrow it might be different but today...Lately I'm just focused on action. I think anyone could call themselves antiracist.” Participants described both interpersonal actions or healing work with clients, personal work, as well as professional actions which Michael defined as “action outside of your everyday life, action outside of your work in your office, or in your personal relationships, or your little bubble that you can build.” Alex shared her personal definition of antiracist counseling identity which was reflective of varying types of action:

For me, antiracism is not just not being overtly racist. It is, in part, correcting racist ideation that we might have, just because of how we were raised and how we were socialized. It is taking active steps for us to check those biases that we have and do work

that we may need to do to challenge them, to better serve clients who come from marginalized and oppressed backgrounds. And also, it is being willing to speak up and stand up when racist practices are happening. It's not letting silence as a means of continued oppression, can continue to occur. And it is, yeah, ultimately, a little bit more of an activist, active type of role.

Prioritizing Change within Systems. According to four participants, the definition of an antiracist counseling identity prioritizes change within systems. When reflecting on themes from the first interview, Elizabeth observed the alignment between the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) and the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018) and defining antiracist counseling by awareness, knowledge, and action. She said, “I was just thinking this awareness and action piece, how clearly that aligns with the multicultural competencies...the MSJCC...the knowledge, awareness, and skills piece...They kind of overlay.” Michael observed a change in professional language with “the shift in the multicultural social justice counseling competencies, where the competencies are attitudes, values, beliefs, knowledge, skills, but now *action*.”

Personal definitions of an antiracist counseling identity incorporated the spirit of these multicultural and advocacy models to include client empowerment and change action at all levels including interpersonal, organizational, community, and public policy levels. Michael explained, “So, I really see that my antiracist identity grounded into advocacy models where you have the windows of empowerment for the individual client, but then what are you doing at the community level? And what are you doing at the public policy level of change? So, it's really that idea that we need to think beyond just the interpersonal. We need to think about the systemic piece.”

Michael highlighted the importance of working to redress racism through systems level change.

He said,

Antiracist work is really going on and challenging the systems that created the trauma that brought the person in to see me in the first place... There's actions that I can take to lessen the distress, lessen the intensity of the harm that's being done by making these changes.

Similarly, Lila discussed the role of advocacy in her definition of antiracist counseling. She added,

Then, the other thing I would add is advocacy. When you have critical consciousness, you're seeing systems, you're analyzing who it works for and who it doesn't work as well for. Then, you're actively, again, that part of critical consciousness working against those systems. You are actively advocating. You are an agent of change. I think that has to be an important part, too.

In summary, personal definitions of antiracist counseling identity included awareness, knowledge, and action. Definitions were closely aligned with both the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) and the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018), prioritizing change within systems. Each participants' definition varied, and some included qualifiers to draw attention to the aspirational and ongoing nature of becoming antiracist. These definitional challenges are described below.

Definitional Challenges. While some participants ($n = 4$) explicitly described discomfort labeling themselves as antiracist, all participants in this study described antiracist counseling development as aspirational in that they are continually striving to act in ways that uphold their commitment to antiracism. For example, Jane expressed discomfort using the label for herself

while recognizing the importance of having language to describe her efforts. She shared, “I don’t feel like I’m necessarily there...I don’t know if I’d put that kind of stamp on myself.” Rylie, too, noted these challenges. She shared about a recent conversation with a friend:

It's like challenging to like self-identify as antiracist and talk about that because that, I guess that doubt comes in as like, am I antiracist? So, like what, what does that mean? And we were just talking about how, you know, your behaviors are racist or antiracist and they kind of fluctuate. And really this is about kind of a commitment to that work and following through with some action.

Similarly, June reported, “It’s a tricky thing to like own an antiracist identity...like that’s a sense of accountability...like in any moment, I might act out of my racism and not out of my commitment to antiracism, you know?” Due to the recursive nature of the model and the focus on lifelong learning and continuous development, most participants defined this identity as a process of becoming, a commitment, and an active stance that requires intentionality. For example, Mickey acknowledged that the starting point is an understanding that antiracist counseling is lifelong work. She shared, “I still have a lot to learn.” These statements illustrate how participants observed that they might lapse into racist action or inaction, necessitating recurrent movement through the phases of the cycle to address that lapse. For example, participants were cognizant that at times they might act from a racist stance and need to re-cycle through the process of Awareness, Identity Integration, and Manifestation: Antiracist Action over and over.

Intentionality to Change

After integrating and defining their antiracist counseling identities, all participants expressed an intentionality to change. They committed to taking antiracist action in both their personal and professional lives. For example, Merrit shared about the process of changing as being an intentional and deliberate one. She said, “You have to work at it. You're not just ‘not racist’ everybody.” This intentionality to change was a twofold process. First, participants recognized that as professional counselors and healers they could not be oppressors. Second, participants recognized that living and acting with integrity required intentional change and antiracist action.

Healers Cannot Be Oppressors. Seven participants explicitly expressed a core belief that healers cannot be oppressors. For example, June articulated healing as an integral aspect of her antiracist counseling identity, “I think if I’m going to say that I’m about healing and I don’t look at the ways that I’m invested in even unknowingly invested in harm, then it’s incomplete.” At this phase of antiracist counseling development, participants indicated a responsibility to act as healers and not oppressors. Rylie shared about antiracist counseling as an imperative:

I think it's one path towards healing, towards justice, towards making a connection, and those things are very important to me. And I also think it's important to reckon with the racial pain I have caused, that my family before me has caused, and that White people in general have caused. And to do something to repair that, to the extent possible...And so as a professional, whose job is about helping and healing, I just can't ignore that harm.

June shared that the most influential part of her identity development at this phase was the recognition of her personal and professional responsibility as a healer:

If I'm gonna be a healer, I've got to pay attention to and care about and interrogate and do the healing work around not only where I've been targeted and harmed but also where I've been, if I'm going to use that language, like the agent of harm.

She later added that her responsibility to act is about "integrity as a therapist, healer."

Living and Acting with Integrity. Participants like Merrit, Rylie, and Elizabeth also believed that living and acting with integrity meant intentionally taking antiracist action. It was no longer an option to not act. They could not live with themselves if they silently observed racism as bystanders. Such inaction was incongruent with their integrated and reconstructed identities. Merrit described living and acting with integrity as an antiracist counselor. She viewed such intentionality to act as a form of self-respect, "I would not be able to respect myself if I was not doing this work." Similarly, Rylie spoke about not having a choice. She shared that she could not retreat into the "safety of denial" as she would be negligent if not doing the work. She said,

I'm just not okay with doing harm anymore. And so that keeps me going. This idea that if I retreat into the safety of denial, that I'm doing harm and I'm unaware of it, I don't want to be that. That is painful for me, but it's just not, it doesn't align with how I want to live my life. I don't want to live my life in denial.

Participants viewed antiracist counseling as ethical best practice. They described feeling called to act and to live and work with integrity. Elizabeth articulated this line in the sand, "So, at some point it becomes a question of just integrity." She shared, "Like for me, it really is about right and wrong...Not upholding human rights is wrong."

Manifestation: Antiracist Action

The fourth phase of the cycle of antiracist counseling identity development is **Manifestation: Antiracist Action**. The three main categories of experiences that emerged within

this phase of development were 1) *Taking Action* inclusive of both personal and professional action, 2) *Inherent Challenges*, and 3) *Accountability*. Participants described how successful integration of their White identity and professional counseling identity to form an antiracist counseling identity during the Identity Integration phase impacted their behavior, specifically the intentional changes they made to act from an antiracist stance and engage in antiracist personal and professional acts. For example, Mickey shared about making conscious choices to put awareness into action and to not retreat into inaction and the comfort of privilege. She stated, “This is my responsibility.” Participants described a process of speaking, up, speaking out, and speaking against racism in multiple roles. Mickey articulated, “I’m going to speak up consciously in my personal relationships, in my professional relationships.” Figure 7 and Table 7 illustrate the components of the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase.

Figure 7

Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase within Model

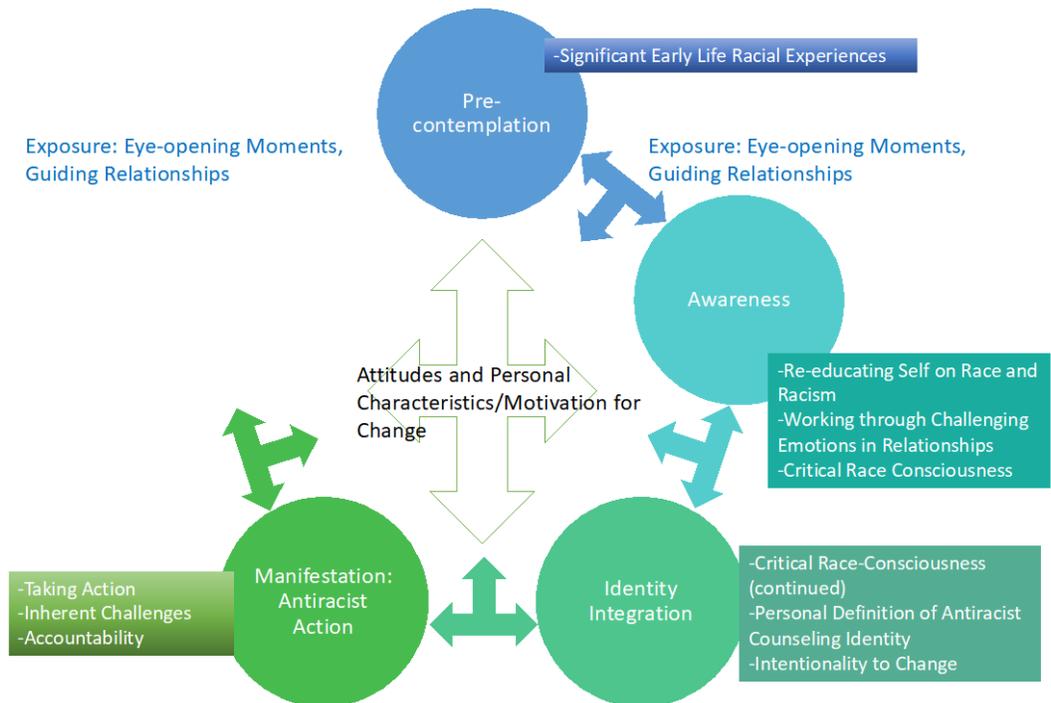


Table 7

Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Taking Action</i>	Personal Action
	Professional Action
<i>Inherent Challenges</i>	Own Racism
	Conflict in Relationships
	Use of Confrontation
	Lack of Accessible Antiracist Training and Models
<i>Accountability</i>	Accountability to BIPOC

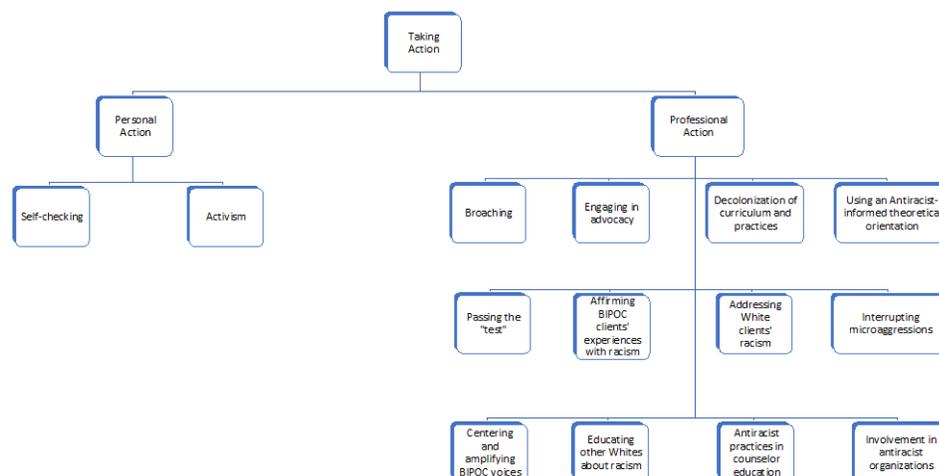
Taking Action

During the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase of the cycle, all participants in this study described how their antiracist counseling identities manifested and affected their counseling practices through taking action. A significant aspect of this process was intentionality and a responsibility to act which led to making antiracist choices, alignment of personal and professional lives, engaging in antiracist practices, and becoming more skillful and strategic through application of antiracist learning. Participants described taking action in both their personal and professional lives and described action within three domains: personal, interpersonal, and systems or organizational level. Action was defined as using antiracist skills that have developed through exposure to new ideas, training, mentorship and other significant

guiding relationships, and ongoing learning. Figure 8 illustrates the types of antiracist actions described by participants.

Figure 8

Taking Action: Supporting Themes and Sub-themes



Personal Action. During the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase, participants identified *Personal action* as a supporting theme. Personal action was defined as individual self-work during which they continuously checked their own biases and privilege and engaged in critical analysis and reflection as well as personal acts like activism and community involvement. This personal work is a first and necessary step towards taking more effective interpersonal and systems level action within the counseling realm.

Self-checking. All participants in this study reported that a White antiracist counselor cannot be an effective change agent without ongoing self-checking of racist beliefs and attitudes activated by racial dissonance. Several participants noted that they cannot erase previous racist socialization and therefore must continually engage in a process of self-checking. Alex

articulated the importance of resolving racial dissonance by taking internal action and engaging in self-checking to remain vigilant. She said,

As much as I would love to either take an eraser or just going with the record analogy, just smash the record and toss it, I'm aware that brains are not that pliable as much as we would like them to be, where we can't always get rid of messages that we've received.

Alex went on to describe the self-checking she does as “just picking a mirror and looking at oneself and recognizing how our own biases and reactions and privileges impact us in the therapy room with our clients.” Self-checking involves addressing racial biases and internalized messages or scripts. Alex described the process of self-checking as an intentional action, “Some of that action is actively challenging those scripts because they don't go away...I think if I were to like use a word or everything as a whole, I would say intentionality, that's been a big shift.” As an example of “self-checking,” Hope described a time when she engaged in checking her racial biases. She shared about a conversation with her father-in-law's girlfriend. Hope explained,

She was talking about a situation where she was at a restaurant and a gentleman was being pretty belligerent with her and she was wanting to leave. And he wouldn't move so that she could leave. And I just thought like call the cops. And I caught myself before I said it. And I was like is there any reason why she may not have wanted to call the police? And how that experience would have been different for her [as a Black woman]?

This example demonstrated the importance of vigilance in questioning one's internalized biases.

Activism. Another type of personal action was engaging in activism (e.g., political causes, volunteer work). Although this type of action was not the focus of this study, four participants alluded to the need to extend their antiracist counseling work beyond the professional domain. They actively engaged in activist efforts outside of their professional lives.

For example, Mickey articulated a connection between the personal and professional aspects of her antiracism work. She stated, “I’m going to be politically and socially active in the ways that I can,” recalling her participation in the Commitment March to support the BLM movement in Washington, D.C. in August 2020. Merrit, too, discussed protesting and joining in White solidarity marches. She shared about her participation in BLM, “I’ve spent time in the witness box.” Participants viewed these efforts as an extension of their antiracist counseling practice.

Similarly, Michael described how antiracism is “beyond just doing the books and watching the documentaries and talking to people.” Antiracism involves personal activism. He shared, “I mean, I’ve gotten very politically involved. I mean, so I’ve contributed to Fair Fight. Send them money. I contributed to candidates that I thought were the right candidates.” He elaborated, “I’m waiting to be trained as a democracy warrior for Fair Fight.” He also described political activism beyond the state level:

I signed petitions. I said that my younger daughter, she's my mentor, she gets me involved in Change.org and shoots me things. I send her things...I probably take a lot more political action. I've taken upon myself to be more in communication with my elected officials.

Professional Action. During the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase, all participants in this study identified *Professional action* as a supporting theme. Professional action occurred within and beyond the counseling space and was viewed as an essential component of an antiracist counseling identity. Based on participant descriptions of antiracism, a counselor cannot identify as an antiracist without taking antiracist action at both the interpersonal and organizational/systems levels. Participants noted how these professional actions are enabled by the deeply reflective personal self-checking and action they take on a regular basis to better

understand themselves as racial beings and noted the importance of acquired antiracist knowledge and awareness to be more skilled and strategic at engaging in professional antiracist action.

Several common sub-themes of antiracist actions emerged within this theme of professional action including: (a) *Broaching*, (b) *Engaging in advocacy*, (c) *Decolonization of curriculum and practices*, (d) *Using an antiracist-informed theoretical orientation*, (e) *Passing the “test” with BIPOC clients*, (f) *Affirming BIPOC clients’ experiences of racism*, (g) *Addressing White clients’ racism*, (h) *Interrupting microaggressions*, (i) *Centering and amplifying BIPOC voices*, (j) *Educating other Whites about racism*, (k) *Antiracist practices in counselor education*, and (l) *Involvement in antiracist organizations*. These sub-themes illustrate how an antiracist counseling identity manifests in practice. Further, these sub-themes constitute a template or model for antiracist counseling practice.

Broaching. Each participant ($n = 12$) described broaching issues related to race and racial dynamics. Hence, broaching was seen as an essential antiracist interpersonal counseling intervention, skill, and professional action. Broaching behaviors were defined by participants as ways that they intentionally discussed issues related to race and racism with clients. Participants described asking questions aimed to encourage their clients to tell their own stories. All participants described how their antiracist counseling identity impacted their use of broaching as an antiracist counseling skill. For example, Rylie shared, “If you're going to be an antiracist counselor, you have to be willing to point out the perceived racial difference in the room and bring that to the surface of the conversation.” As a relational therapist, Rylie believed an omission of race-based discussions was harmful and stated, “I am excluding something that’s potentially critical in that relationship as it develops and facilitates healing.”

Participants described broaching as a means to initiate discussions about power, privilege, and oppression with both White and BIPOC clients. As Rylie explained, the purpose of broaching is to “bring that to the surface of the conversation.” June, too, spoke about making antiracism a meaningful part of counseling work by focusing on issues related to race to “help my clients of color and White clients to grow in their own sense of knowing what it means for them in their positionality, their racial identity, learning to resist and also grow in resilience.”

Participants shared specific examples of broaching behavior. Rylie asserted, “Yes, I will talk about my Whiteness.” She also shared about not excluding racial dimensions of the relationship as key to normalizing racial dialogue. By talking about her Whiteness, Rylie observed that BIPOC clients received a message that “you can talk about it [racial experiences].” Emma, too, shared specific examples of broaching behavior. She spoke about how her antiracist counseling identity motivated her to broach racial differences when meeting new potential clients in shelters to build rapport and trust. She shared,

I’m just kind of getting a feel for whether they want to connect. Sometimes, I’ll mention, I’ll bring in race and say, “As a White woman, do you think we could have a connection, would you feel comfortable sharing with me?” So, I’ll sort of check-in around that.

Most participants articulated how their antiracist counseling identity translates into open, frank discussions on race in the counseling space. Hope and Alex both described how they build rapport and affirm BIPOC clients’ experiences with racism by initiating race-based discussions. Alex shared, “So, in my intakes, I very much name the fact that it’s oftentimes systemic oppression that brings people to counseling and contributes to reasons why people have mental health issues.” Participants discussed naming their race at the onset of the therapeutic

relationship and beginning sessions and by providing space for clients to share about their reactions to working with a White counselor. Hope explained this aspect of broaching:

And talking about like, “How do you feel about talking with a White therapist about this?” “What is that like for you?” “What concerns do you have about talking about your experiences with me?” “What has your experience been with other White therapists if you've had previous experiences?”

Broaching behavior as antiracist action was not a one size fits all approach. Participants described the need for flexibility in taking a nuanced approach to meet the needs of the client and situation. Elizabeth discussed this balance, “For some people, it’s just not a thing that they think about, or maybe think about it but it’s not therapeutically relevant or something.” Lila stated that even when she is not talking about race, she is always thinking about race. She explained, “My conceptualization is how does race potentially play into whatever problem they’re bringing up? Then, making choices about when and if to bring it up.”

Lila stated that her intention in engaging in broaching as an antiracist action is “opening the door” to talk about how race or other intersectional identities may be impacting their experiences with the goal to “create an environment where the client feels safe to bring their whole self.” She shared about the nuances of broaching and refining her technique to accomplish these goals:

For example, I may not have to say, “Hey, you're Black. I'm White. Well, how do you feel about that?” But if they're having problem at their work, at their job, I may say, “Well, what is it like for you there? What is it like for you as a Black person? What is it like for you as a gay person? What is it like for you as a gay Black man to be there? Are

there other people like you who supports you there? Who do you feel like doesn't kind of get you there?"

A nuanced approach also means acknowledging how difficult it is for clients of color to work with a White counselor due to past traumas with White people. Merrit discussed her style of broaching and "if we got more in depth with discussing it, I would certainly say that I appreciated that they would even come to a session with a White person."

As antiracist counselors, all participants engaged in broaching behavior. However, they also observed that training in broaching and the nuances of broaching may be limited. Often counselors learn how to broach on their own and through trial and error. This is particularly troublesome as broaching was viewed by participants as a fundamental skill and duty as an antiracist counselor. Several participants articulated the importance of broaching and how counselors are not usually well trained to broach. For example, Elizabeth reflected on her skill-level and some of the challenges she had experienced using broaching. She shared about "realizing that opening doors without centering myself is not something I was really trained to do, and it's a hard balance to strike. And by opening doors, I mean opening discussions about dynamics and things like that." Further, she mused about lower retention rates for BIPOC clients and identified lack of broaching as a potential cause:

I am thinking of one [BIPOC client] in particular from a few years back where I was doing everything kind of like therapeutically sound and relevant and within the scope of what this client needed and kind of by the book. It would be really easy for me to chalk it up to client resistance. I could tell myself that's what it is if I want to sleep well at night. But in hindsight, I don't think that's what it was. I think I should have broached the topic of race in our therapeutic dynamic.

In summary, broaching was viewed by all participants as an antiracist counseling skill necessary for building rapport and validation of clients' race-related experiences. Further, broaching behavior is nuanced and varied based on the identified needs.

Engaging in Advocacy. All participants ($n = 12$) described advocacy as another antiracist professional action. Advocacy was viewed as a way to extend antiracism work beyond the counseling space. Rylie asserted, "the work extends beyond the office." Participants explored advocacy action across multiple levels (e.g., client, systems). For example, several participants described advocating for policy changes within their agencies or institutional settings (e.g., university). As such, advocacy was integrated within participants' professional identities as antiracist counselors. Rylie explained that advocacy was "an essential part of my practice and identity as an antiracist counselor."

Participants in this study discussed the ways in which an antiracist identity informed their practice both inside and outside of the counseling space. Emma noted,

It might involve going outside some of the bounds of the traditional counseling framework or box and acknowledging that there's these larger systems that are oppressing people and being willing to jump through some hoops...I feel like there's an inviting in the larger world and all the layers of oppression that exist in trying to be an advocate, trying to help combat the impacts of those.

Participants described how their antiracist counseling identities informed engaging in micro-level advocacy within agency or other counseling settings. Alex discussed recognizing the need for updated racial identity signifiers on intake forms as the current versions offered only "African American as an option" and advocating for additional identities to "make it more inclusive" as her agency serves Black clients (e.g., African, Jamaican) who might not self-identify as African

American. Rylie spoke about advocating for policy changes at the organizational or agency level. She reported that she would often “bring up” policies in meetings and send emails to address specific policies that created barriers to treatment or “policies that make our services less accessible” like restrictive childcare and attendance policies. She also shared that she would speak up at staff meetings when supervisors “completely ignore current events” and bring into conversation the current events that impact clients’ lives like the Insurrection of the Capitol on January 6, 2021. Rylie explored the importance of this advocacy action:

The silence is really deafening, and that sort of sidestepping the role of racism in client well-being does transfer over beyond just staff meetings. It really impacts our work with clients, and we’re doing trauma work. So, how can you do trauma work without acknowledging racial trauma?

Similarly, Elizabeth, June, Emma, and Grace spoke about advocating for systemic change within their respective organizations by highlighting unjust or non-representative hiring procedures and promoting more equitable hiring practices. June discussed organizational level advocacy and diversifying the non-profit’s therapeutic team so that their BIPOC clients had “more access to therapists of color.” Additionally, Grace spoke about advocating for agency-level change to promote antiracist practices. As an example, Grace shared about “being involved on a national level” with a trauma-focused organization and being “instrumental in getting a team to participate” in the organization’s antiracist summit which “helped to drive some of the work we’re doing” at her center. Mickey, too, highlighted her role in advocating for systemic change within her university and counseling department. She spoke by using her voice of age and experience to move her department forward, “I think I do have a certain amount of voice that is valued and listened to.”

A cornerstone of antiracist action is targeting systemic racism through institutional change. Participants discussed how their antiracist counseling identities informed engaging in larger-level systemic change through antiracist advocacy. Participants described institutional level advocacy acts, within the counseling profession and legislative advocacy. For example, Michael spoke about advocating for systemic change within the counseling profession. He highlighted the importance of becoming involved in organizations and shared about his experience holding various leadership roles in professional organizations like AMCD and serving on a state level counseling association board to support the creation of an antiracist taskforce. Lila, too, shared about the role of public-policy and legislative advocacy:

But I would say in terms of larger systems, I sort of started to get more interested in that over the summer because seeing how all these institutions kind of put out statements, but I felt like they needed to be called to action. They weren't necessarily called to action. I wrote a letter to my university president, started writing letters to my lawmakers.

Through advocacy actions, Lila observed positive changes within her university system. She shared about the ways the university president responded to the call for action to redress systemic racism, “He put together this coalition and really has invested not only people power but money, time, energy, into making changes.” Similarly, Hope shared about her experiences with legislative advocacy efforts within her state. She said,

I personally engaged in some social justice activities through our legislative days that come up in February and March every year here...And then I typically will take notice of the issues that my clients of color and other oppressed groups raise in therapy, and I write postcards to my legislators. And I say, without using the client's name, like “Hey, like this is happening. And this is not okay. This is the effects that it's having on your

constituents. Like do something. Here's some ideas that you can do something about that.”

Hope also explored how her antiracist counseling identity impacts her practice outside of the counseling space and the importance of professional advocacy. She identified several ways she and her practice members engage in advocacy efforts by facilitating antiracist workshops and equitable hiring practices and hiring therapists of color. She shared,

Part of our practice also is offering continuing education credits for workshops and things for other professionals in the field. And so, every workshop that we have addresses race in some way or another. It addresses intersectional identities in one way or another.

All participants spoke about antiracist advocacy as a necessary step towards redressing systemic racism. Further, antiracist counselors need to educate themselves on advocacy actions that they can take. They must be informed and inform others in their circles. Michael referred to this need to know what to do as “when you know actions without having to ask people what it is that you should be doing.” He asserted, “You can’t just be relying on your clients to educate you. And you can’t rely just on people of color to educate you.”

Decolonization of Curriculum and Practices. Another professional action identified by four participants as essential to an antiracist counseling identity was decolonizing curriculum and counseling practices. Emma captured the essence of this action during the first interview,

Antiracist counseling identity to me is creating space for each individual to determine their own terms for healing, their own goals. A lot of it is an absence of, it’s not using a White supremacist structure or way of thinking.

Later in the first interview, Emma elaborated on decolonizing her counseling practice to focus on her clients’ goals for healing. She shared,

Yeah, I guess going into the whole relationship and experience without even assuming that my concept of counseling is going to be helpful. I guess really asking someone to create their own picture of what healing looks like, accessing either some of their own story, their own models. Calling in influences from their life. Less of the sort of introducing skills or offering techniques or strategies, and more working with someone to reassemble or create their own path through the time that they were going through. I think that it was really different than how our notes and treatment plans are automatically set up in the system that I'm working in, where we ask a question and then fill in the blank. Lila, too, spoke about being “trained in colonized ways of thinking” and colonized counseling practices and the need to be intentional in seeking out and using more culturally responsive practices. Decolonized practices center clients’ experiences and ways of making meaning from those experiences including their strengths and challenges as well as their connection to communities and other supports in order “to develop a context that fits for them, instead of maybe a context that fits for me.”

Participants noted that traditional counseling models are deficit-based. As such, a decolonized and antiracist counseling approach focuses on strengths. Grace expressed the importance of highlighting communities of color’s cultural wealth. She stated, “The cultural wealth that communities have is so undervalued and not acknowledged. And that's what I bring into my counseling.” When asked how she helps clients see their own cultural wealth, Grace responded:

Well, just highlighting the positives, and that's built into a lot of models, but highlighting the positives in a cultural way. So, having them tell me about their experiences and then pointing out the positives that have to do with their culture... Whether the culture is just

their family culture or their extended family, or then, even their religious culture, that's all broad and that can expand. But having some of those conversations and obviously not assuming that I'm coming in there fixing things, but that they have the power within...It's not only power, but that they already have so much.

Here, Grace articulated that decolonized counseling practice is not White saviorhood. She recognized that antiracist counseling is not about centering White traditional modes of healing which aim to fix but rather facilitating BIPOC clients' understanding of their cultural strengths and leveraging those cultural strengths.

Participants also discussed decolonizing curriculum and teaching practices in counselor education. Restructuring educational and training practices was viewed as another form of antiracist professional action. For example, Michael spoke about recent efforts towards “revamping our curriculum.” He shared,

One of the actions I took, in a collaborative way, is to get our program to rethink the textbooks we're using, rethink the learning objectives so that this is not just taught in the multicultural course. That these topics are across the curriculum. That we're just not talking about White theorists. That we're talking about theorists that are presenting models that are more current and more applicable. So, we created a multicultural statement for our department, clearly stating where we stand on current issues with COVID, with the racial reckoning and the murder of George Floyd, and also with the White supremacy insurrection on January the 6th. We're clearly stating, “This is the program.”

Hence, decolonization of curriculum and practices was viewed by participants as a professional antiracist action taken towards redressing institutional racism within higher education and the counseling profession.

Using an Antiracist-Informed Theoretical Orientation. All participants in this study described their counseling approaches in similar ways. Each described operating from what I will refer to as an antiracist-informed theoretical orientation and counseling approach, incorporating in varying degrees, aspects of strength-based, multicultural, trauma-informed, and feminist models.

Michael spoke about the shift in the counseling profession towards a focus on strengths as well as challenges. He noted, “We have shifted where we want to not just talk about the trauma around identities, but then what are the strengths within these identities.” Participants viewed fostering resiliency as imperative to racial healing. Merrit emphasized resiliency in sessions by leveraging clients’ “inner core strength” and discussing “what strength that they had to have made it through whatever that was.” Merrit shared an example of how she incorporates strengths into her practice. She spoke about the helpfulness of framing strengths for BIPOC college students:

“You're here in college and that says a lot about who you are.” So, then I would turn it around and talk about how resilient they were and what strength that they had to have made it through whatever that was.

Others emphasized that their theoretical orientation was directly connected to their antiracist counseling identity. For example, June described how she begins each therapeutic relationship with a discussion about her antiracist informed theoretical orientation. She stated,

I address it early. In the very first session, I will say, “I’m a psychodynamic feminist therapist. And what feminist means to me is, I’m thinking about the social systems that we live in and who we are within that system, operates, what we have access to, what we don’t have access to. How is that meaningful to our lives? How does that create the conditions of our lives? How does that create how we feel in our life? That means our gender, that means our race. I am a White person that sets me up in a particular way as a therapist.”

Rylie, too, explored the ways in which her theoretical orientation is directly connected to her antiracist counseling identity. She explained how her approach is informed by relational-cultural theory which centralizes the counseling relationship noting, “If you are honoring the role of the counseling relationship, then you have to be attending to power within it and privilege within it as well as harm within it.” Both Rylie and Grace also emphasized a focus on trauma when engaging in antiracist counseling. Rylie shared one must “integrate trauma-informed principles and other trauma specific theories.” Grace explained the sensitivity of trauma work, “You can’t just say to somebody, ‘Oh yeah, I’m an antiracist so you can trust me,’ obviously.” Participants recognized that their counseling approach set the stage for later trust-building work. Using an antiracist-informed theoretical approach was described by participants as a starting point for antiracist counseling practice. Further, operating from this type of theoretical approach was seen as an impactful professional action to facilitate healing.

Passing the “Test” with BIPOC Clients. Enough participants in this study ($n = 7$) described passing the “test” with BIPOC clients to establish trust and create a context for safety in sessions that this action warrants separate review. Passing the “test” to establish trust and create a context for safety in sessions was seen as another critical antiracist interpersonal

counseling intervention, skill, and professional action. Participants recognized that BIPOC clients may demonstrate a mistrust of White mental health counselors based on past traumatic experiences with Whites.

For example, Emma described the test:

I try to be really patient and not take things personally, I try to be curious. I have someone I work with, who's been someone I felt I learned a lot from, who was a young Black man in his 20s and had come out of prison from the time he was very young. And he came into my office and kind of knocked things off the desk at first...I tried to really, really be curious and be there, and invite the feelings. And it didn't last very long. By the end of that session, he was sort of like, "Why have you been nice to me?" He kind of acknowledged that it was sort of a test.

Hope described how she tries to "pass that test" by maintaining a not-knowing stance and asking exploratory questions about BIPOC clients' culture and racialized experiences and how they make sense of their experiences. She shared,

Yeah, and I like talking about like, "What does your culture mean to you? What's it like for you being Black in America? Being a Black man in America? Working within your field? Like being in education, what's that like?" There's a lot of broken aspects of injustice. Especially racial injustice within our education system. So, there's bringing it up so that they know it's a safe topic, a safe place to show them my reactions are going to be...To like allow them, please test me. I will try my best to pass that test.

Rylie also spoke about having awareness that BIPOC clients "are very cautious about sharing certain experiences, and they're not sure how a White counselor will respond to that" based on previous experiences of racism and negative interactions with White professionals. Rylie

explained how she uses direct language to acknowledge BIPOC clients' experiences of racism. She shared, "I will be very clear and explicit with my language" and that she will say

The word racism, or the word racist encounter, just to show that I'm understanding it as that, and that we can use those words here and I affirm your experience of it, as it was, and not in the way that's most palatable to my Whiteness.

Jane and Merrit both acknowledged the need to remain non-defensive when BIPOC clients did not view them as antiracist. Merrit recalled being non-defensive and depersonalizing the situation in order to facilitate a sense of emotional and physical safety for BIPOC clients. She stated the importance of recognizing the impact of institutional power differences and the long history of racist experiences with White people and counterbalancing those experiences by showing full support. Merrit shared an example from her counseling work with a previous BIPOC college student, "Look, I know I'm an old White lady, and you may think, 'I don't know how this old White lady is going to help me,' but I am here 100% to try and figure out how I can help you." Jane, too, shared that she remains genuine and authentic during difficult cross-racial discussions and intentionally addresses "the elephant in the room" (e.g., racial dynamics, differences) with BIPOC clients in the hopes of "providing safety for them" to share about difficult experiences with a White therapist. In order to pass the "test," participants described use of affirming practices which will be detailed in the following section.

Affirming BIPOC Clients' Experiences with Racism. All participants ($n = 12$) engaged in listening, acknowledging, and affirming BIPOC clients' experiences with racism. Several described this type of behavior as acting as a "container" to create a safe space for clients of color to share about their experiences with racism. For example, Merrit and others described validating and affirming racial microaggressions as one specific type of behavior. This behavior

was viewed as a critical act for antiracist counselors in practice. Not affirming BIPOC clients' experiences with racism was viewed as harmful and unethical behavior, a breach of trust, and antithetical to antiracism. Alex elaborated on acting as a "container,"

A lot of it is just holding their space and being willing to listen and take that in and acknowledge that particularly when that racism has come from White people, that that is going to bring up anger, and that anger will be directed at me inevitably, and in a way accept it for them, for the fact that they just/do need to express it. And so, in a way, it's a little bit of being a container for the client in their space, and not adding any of my own guilt or any of my own feelings to that space.

In order to engage in affirmational practice, participants recognized the need to educate themselves on race-related issues and racism in the U.S. Although most participants described how they "learn" from their clients, they also highlighted the importance of doing their own work to better understand the impact of race and racism on clients' lives and not placing the burden to educate on clients. Hope shared that her antiracist counseling development includes taking a supportive and affirming approach which is reflective of an open learner stance and making fewer assumptions. She shared about her work with BIPOC clients who have been incarcerated and/or mandated to attend treatment,

I just think that I have become less, assuming a lot less. And allowing for more conversations in a much more like affirming, supportive manner. Making sure that clients feel heard and understood. That they don't have to teach me about racism. That they don't have to teach me about oppression. That I see it, too. I mean that goes so far with building rapport. Especially with my mandated clients. As soon as I recognize that our criminal justice system [systemic racism], like you see some of the wall break down with

them...Like this was an injustice that happened to them...Talking about this burden that they're carrying with the systemic racism and how can we help you heal and carry that burden more successfully until we have equity? And I think that that goes a long way.

Similarly, Emma described her work with BIPOC clients who had been incarcerated. She shared an experience working with a Black male client who had been incarcerated from an early age. She explained the importance of validating racial trauma and recognizing institutional racism “to communicate that that person isn't alone in it” below:

Validating his experience and standing with him. Even if this was an institution that had power, that was telling him, that was punishing him or telling him that he was wrong. Validating his view of it as the problem. Kind of flipping the script and just letting him know that I was with him, that I believe him. And that there's a possibility to find camaraderie and support in this from White people, within a system of White supremacy. So very much just sharing an outrage.

Some participants described modeling for other counselors how to be a “container” for BIPOC clients’ racial pain. Michael shared that he tries to model for students how to “create that space” using a “welcoming and affirming” approach. He shared about the importance of “not replicating oppression” below:

I talk about even how, you know, practitioner, you know, context, how powerful it can be for a person of color to fully express the emotions that they're having to me. And that I can, I can be that container and not be what their typical reaction would be from a White person...The person can be emotional...The person could be sad, and I can just be present. How powerful is that? That I'm not replicating oppression.

Addressing White Clients' Racism. Another professional action identified by all participants as a vital, yet challenging manifestation of their antiracist counseling identity was addressing White clients' racism. Emma pointed out that addressing White clients' racism is a struggle to "keep that story going" or find consistency with "an opportunity to challenge it." When able to address racism in sessions with White clients, Emma described an approach centered on values exploration and clarification. She shared,

It sometimes depends on where we're at or where they're at, but I guess what I would generally go into that interaction with would be a desire to clarify their values and check in with them about how what they're saying aligns or doesn't align with their values...ask about contrast in how the statement and their values align or don't.

Similarly, Hope provided insight into how she addresses White clients' expressed racist ideology in sessions through values clarification. She shared the following poignant example of her work with a client who sought counseling for anger management issues:

But it boiled down to that his daughter was trying to date a Black man. And he was not going to allow that. That was not allowed. And just talking about...How is that impacting his relationship with his daughter? Where do some of those beliefs come from for him? And how do those align with some of his values? Like he was very close with his daughter. And "Is it possible that this belief is actually violating one of your values? Like, how are we going to reconcile that?" And so just going back, I think, for me, between like beliefs and values. So, it's like, "If you value kindness and compassion, then how can you also endorse beliefs that support hate? And so those don't...They clash. So, how are we going to reconcile that?"

Some participants discussed using an approach that fits their client's needs and developmental level. Rylie noted her nuanced approach to addressing White clients' use of racial slurs or overtly racist statements during session. She shared that she tries to "intervene in the moment" to set a boundary stating, "That's just not ok, in our relationship," and then explores the feelings and beliefs behind the statement. She also shared that she provides psychoeducation on how the slur or statement is offensive, connects the conversation to the presenting issue (e.g., trauma), and perhaps intervenes towards growth. Like Rylie, June reported that her White clients do not typically seek counseling for overt racist behavior; therefore, she focuses on the subtle ways in which White clients are socialized into racism. She described being explicit in her antiracist counseling approach with White clients to address the impact of White supremacy in their lives as she noted that, "Everyone's harmed." June shared about providing some education on White supremacy culture to "expose and mirror and problematize" racism. She explained her use of an article by Tema Okum in sessions:

It's more White supremacy culture and how they're just soaked in it. It's like perfectionism and sense of urgency and worship of the written word and all these things that help concretize how White supremacy shows up. And then, it also provides antidotes of how to develop our imagination and our behavior otherwise. As a therapist, I will often times, especially working with a lot of White women and women of color, perfectionism is a tool of capitalism, but also White supremacy. If that's showing up, that's partly White supremacy. I try to help make those connections, almost like psychoeducation.

Participants described the need to adapt their approach, using both psychoeducation and values exploration and clarification to address White clients' expressed racism.

Other participants shared about their challenges in addressing White students' and clients' racism. They noted the tension and conflict between addressing White clients' racism and the imposition of values/beliefs. Some framed the confrontation and avoidance dilemma as being due to the counseling profession's emphasis on not imposing values. Elizabeth reported, "I always have a question of how to maneuver that" as counselors are taught to "just meet someone where they are." An ongoing dilemma with White clients who need service is that addressing racism may not be the work they came to do. Rylie noted a concern of "pushing somebody away from mental health services." Rylie, too, articulated how addressing White clients' racism is a struggle and "one of the more challenging parts being an antiracist counselor." Like others, she described not having a model for how to engage in this type of antiracist professional action as counselors are not routinely trained on best practices in this domain. Rylie stated, "I have no idea what's the right way to do it."

Interrupting Microaggressions. Most participants in this study ($n = 10$) described intervening during negative racial interactions and speaking up, out, and against racial microaggressions. As such, interrupting microaggressions was viewed as another critical antiracist interpersonal counseling intervention, skill, and professional action.

The ways in which participants framed their interventions varied. Grace spoke about how she addressed colleagues' harmful practices as a process of "calling in" versus "calling out." Emma, too, attempted to invite colleagues into dialogue about racial microaggressions. She provided an example of calling in when supervising a counselor on site who felt an urgency to ask BIPOC clients who were formerly incarcerated "what they had done." Emma attempted to "[try] to soften his agenda" and encouraged him to be present for clients to "let the story come out at a pace that they were more comfortable with" in order to build trust. Lila spoke about

using an intervention with students, colleagues, family, and friends called, “Oops, Ouch, Educate.” She shared,

I used it with my friend last night, something he said...I won't even get into it, but I definitely was like, “Ouch, that hurts my ears to hear that. If there was someone of color sitting in this group with us, I think that would really hurt them and I don't know that you would have said it, so I don't think you should really be saying it.”...When I say something and I hear it and I realize it could be hurtful, I can say, “Oops, I'm really sorry. That's not what I meant to say.” Or, “I'm sorry that I said that. This would have been a better way to say it.” Ouch is I think an empathic way to call someone out.

At times, participants intervened with disappointing results. Alex shared about an experience when she attempted to intervene after a White male colleague committed a racial microaggressions at work. She explained that her colleague said, “that he can't be racist because he has dated a Black woman in the past, and just calling him out on that. Yeah. He was not particularly receptive to what it means to be not racist.” Participants noted that despite good intentions they were not always able to successfully intervene; however, they noted the importance of speaking up when safe and prudent to so, regardless of outcome.

Centering and Amplifying BIPOC Voices. As White counselors committed to antiracist action, participants explored the balance between stepping up and speaking up and stepping back to center and amplify BIPOC voices. Nine participants expressed the importance of centering BIPOC voices as key stakeholders. These participants recognized the inherent challenges of a White lens and worldview and that good intentions do not always lead to best practices. Alex described the professional action of “letting other voices be lifted up” and stepping back as a “strong component” of antiracist counseling. She shared,

And I think that, particularly with action, the part of that is also using our privilege to hold a space and offer the ability for people who experience systemic racism and systemic oppression to be able to speak up, too, and actually offer their input. So, that way it's not just, "Hey, this is a racist practice that we have in place, that needs to change, and this is how we should change it." But it's also letting the people that are being oppressed speak up and voice out to change, too, because from our White perspective of what that change might look like, it might come from very good intention, but still can contribute to more oppression and racism.

Hope articulated her more recent awareness of the need for the "balancing act" below:

I'm not this White savior that's going to come through and save, correct racism. But I want to uplift voices that haven't been heard. And if I can use my privilege in that way, like I will point my privilege wherever I can to do that. And that's probably been a more recent development now that I think about it. Because it was before like I'm going to shout from the rooftops and I'm going to change things. And it was like but then I'm drowning out all of the other voices that really should be heard.

Hope described learning how to balance speaking up with stepping back and "uplift[ing]" BIPOC voices.

Lila provided a recent example of the balancing act during her tenure as a CSJ leader and "being asked to do a lot of things." She reflected on how the privilege of being asked might be partly related to being a White leader and she began to ask herself the question, "Hmm, was I asked to do this because I had expertise in this area or was I asked to do this because I'm White? Or is it a combination of both?" She noted the importance of this critical analysis to help her mitigate her impulse to act without all stakeholders at the table. She exclaimed, "I think more

often what I did was I would bring people in and bring Black leaders in CSJ together to do the work.” Similarly, Michael described amplifying voices of color within counselor education and shared about the importance of not speaking for others:

I have my little individual stories of mistreatment, but I don't experience mistreatment on an everyday basis. And so, I think that that's the reason why I bring in guest speakers or bring in resources that people hear other voices besides mine. So, I'm very mindful that what we're reading or watching or who's coming to class are, are different voices and different faces. And I'm not gonna speak on behalf of anybody.

Centering and amplifying BIPOC voices was also experienced as critical to antiracist counseling with clients. Alex described how her antiracist counseling identity impacted her view of the counseling space. She reminds herself that the therapy room is a space for BIPOC clients' voices and that her role as counselor is to listen, affirm, validate and “to amplify it, and if needed, point to different resources or help encourage advocacy, but mostly that is their space there. That's their stage.”

June described her leadership within a feminist organization and how sometimes leadership is “stepping back” and creating space for BIPOC leaders and those with better developed antiracist skills. She shared, “There are leaders, White people and people of color who have been doing this for years. They have developed a skill set around it.” As she began to step back and amplify BIPOC leaders' voices she realized,

It's very meaningful to build something that's beyond you, beyond me, you know? And, so to feel that release, and actually, it was I think it's part of antiracist work to say, “It's not all up to me. I don't have to do it all.”

Hope explained the nature of this action as honoring the work of BIPOC antiracists, “I'd rather build the platform for the person of color to say it louder. So, I think that that's kind of the challenge that I'm in right now is like, I want, I want to do things, but I don't want it to come back. Like I don't want it to be about me.”

Educating Other Whites about Racism. Another common professional action was educating other Whites about racism. Five participants described a sense of responsibility to take action to educate other White people on White supremacy, White culture, WRID, racism, and antiracism. Mickey expressed hopefulness that these acts create “ripple effects” leading to long-lasting and far-reaching changes.

Participants engaged in educating other Whites within their personal and professional spheres. For example, Mickey spoke about reaching out to other Whites in her professional “bubble,” including other therapists and counselor educators. June described training White counselors with “awareness of White supremacy” to work with other White people. Similarly, Merrit described a professional responsibility to educate other Whites as she has observed in her work that many White counselors lack multicultural competency and ignore race-related issues due to discomfort, denial, and/or resistance. Merrit articulated that her experience as a White person means that “I can say things to White people that Black people can't say, or it wouldn't be taken the right way.” Merrit added that she can relate to and understand White people's challenges in “wrapping your mind around privilege” and that she attempts “to walk them through my own experience” as a vehicle for understanding. Participants described their antiracist counseling role as a way to help White people understand their personal responsibility in redressing racism and making society more equitable. Further, Merrit shared a goal is to

illuminate for Whites how racism harms all including “the harm that they do themselves” (e.g., voting against their own self-interests) and that antiracism is “better for them, also.”

Several participants described professional action within personal spheres of influence. Each shared about educating White friends and family. For example, Jane explained how she uses her privileged position and own learning to educate White friends and family. She said, “I’m able to use my voice, especially with my friends who had the same experience I had growing up, like who were in my bubble and be able to have that voice.” Jane expressed a responsibility towards “passing along that knowledge to family and friends that lived in my bubble and talking to them about what I’m learning.” Similarly, Grace described how she shares her knowledge with family members, “I bring it to other family members...who don’t have the same commitment that I do” and “talk to my kids about it.” She noted how her antiracist counseling identity impacts her personal life, “I mean, it’s not just professional.”

Antiracist Practices in Counselor Education. Not all participants worked as counselor educators; however, many participants ($n = 8$) identified engagement in antiracist practices within counselor education as being an important extension of their antiracist counseling identity. These participants described professional action within counselor education, noting antiracist teaching, supervision, mentorship, research, and leadership acts.

Participants who worked as counselor educators indicated the need to engage in antiracist teaching practices aimed at teaching students *how* to be antiracist, emphasizing the difference between competence and antiracism. Antiracist counseling is not just learning and knowing but doing. Mickey spoke about teaching about antiracist counseling and advocacy as a professional responsibility and obligation and not a choice. She expressed a need to be a constant reminder of this mandate “always poking at it...Hey, don’t forget. Don’t forget.” Participants attempted to

facilitate White students' antiracist development by helping students see the work begins with self-awareness, specifically understanding their own experience or lack of experience of marginalization. According to Mickey, some of her White students have "never had to think much about marginalization." Similarly, Michael spoke about "seed planting" and helping students learn about racism "in a way to have them sort of discover it themselves by offering multiple perspectives, by offering them models, just to look at themselves first, to understand themselves first." He described using literature, video, and documentaries to encourage dialogues.

Grace also shared about using varied instructional strategies like readings, experiential exercises, self-reflection, discussions, and supportive feedback to foster "light bulb moments" among her White students. However, at times, White students require more than supportive feedback. Grace spoke about directly addressing White students' expressed racism using probing questions like, "Let's talk about this a little bit more. What do you really mean?" Another technique is using psychoeducation to develop more awareness. Grace shared, "Like if they're talking specifically about a pretty racist thing, 'That hasn't been my experience, but let's talk about your experience.' So, I will try to bring a little bit of education in and around that."

In addition to using antiracist teaching strategies, participants also discussed how they act as role models and use their own journey towards becoming antiracist. Michael shared about helping students see conflict as part of the learning process. He said,

"We can struggle with what you agree or disagree with about it. That's fine. But, let's stay in dialogue."...So, trying to make it real to them that you're going to have conflict. You're going to have conflict within yourself. You're going to have conflict with each other or with me. Lean into it. Don't pull back.

Merrit, too, discussed being explicit in teaching Whites how to be antiracist and using herself as a model. She stated, “As a White person, I can talk to the White people for real.” Like Michael, her teaching style was individualized and discovery-oriented; her goal was to help White students process their dissonance in a supportive environment. She shared about her experience as a teacher’s assistant for the master’s level multicultural course. Merrit said,

But a lot of times in their writings that I would grade, I would see the denial or the resistance. And so, I would address it that way individually with them instead of a group format, which I thought was very helpful.

Similarly, Lila described being able to relate to White students’ dissonance and use that as an entry point for exploration of racist attitudes and beliefs to “help them move along.” She stated,

I think I can use myself as an example too, because that feeling I was describing before of kind of having the rug pulled out from under you, when you kind of wake up to the way the world really is and multiple perspectives...Having that understanding, I think, does help me to work with my White students, too.

Other areas of antiracist counselor education included supervision, mentorship, research, and leadership. Hope provided a specific example of using a conceptualization exercise with supervisees as part of antiracist supervision practice. She shared,

How would that be different if they were Cuban? How would that be different if they were Nigerian?...So, we do this what if game and adding some of these intersectional components...I want them to be thinking [in] that direction so that when they are independent, that they have the ability to do that on their own.

Michael spoke about his observations of the multiracial literature, “We noticed that there was this really seriously flawed research out there,” which prompted engaging in research and writing

and publication with his wife to dispel myths and address the pathologizing of mixed race people in the counseling profession. Grace also talked about antiracist research as an essential part of her work (e.g., using Critical Race Theory and cultural wealth theory in a recent journal article) and “working to make research have a more equitable lens.” Lastly, Lila described her role as mentor as her “most satisfying role in terms of antiracism.” She discussed her mentorship of BIPOC students at her institution, “I’m helping them to learn the academy and learn how to navigate it,” and support their growth and leadership development (e.g., access to opportunities).

In these ways, participants viewed their role as an antiracist counselor educator and use of antiracist practices (e.g., teaching, supervision, research) as a critical manifestation of their antiracist counseling identity. They described the importance of helping White students think critically about beliefs (e.g., taught by family), explore incongruence between those beliefs and what they are learning, and work through dissonance towards antiracist growth.

Involvement in Antiracist Organizations. All participants ($n = 12$) identified as members of professional organizations dedicated to multiculturalism, social justice, and advocacy. Michael discussed his involvement in professional organizations like AMCD and CSJ and holding various leadership roles. Michael identified important questions for antiracist counselors about how to engage in antiracist action like, “Where do I want to take those actions?” and “What do I want to join?” He expressed that an antiracist counseling identity includes both membership and active involvement in social justice-oriented organizations:

Historically people join AMCD, but nobody does anything. They don't attend anything at AMCD; they don't participate. They just joined the division so it looks right on a CV. But are you putting yourself out into those trainings? Are you putting yourself into those communities and into those dialogues with people?

Michael highlighted the importance of advocacy work with collective voices to redress systemic issues impacting clients:

How am I collaborating with other organizations and within the profession to have a group voice? Because that's how you change systems. There are cases where individuals have made significant change but for the most part, it's organizations and groups that shift and change systems. So, that's for me, I think is the underpinning of that identity.

Inherent Challenges

Each participant in this study described multiple inherent challenges in manifesting their antiracist counseling identity and taking effective antiracist action. These challenges emerged as four themes: 1) *Own Racism*, 2) *Conflict in Relationships*, 3) *Use of Confrontation*, and 4) *Lack of Accessible Antiracist Training and Models*.

Own Racism. All participants ($n = 12$) described challenges due to their own racism such as their White lens and worldview, immediacy, getting out of their White bubble, and retreating into privilege. Lila captured the essence of her own racism as an inherent challenge. When asked about challenges in her antiracist counseling development, she asserted, “But I would say my biggest challenge at this point is probably just myself and the fact that I'm a White woman, born, raised, living in a racist society.”

White Lens and Worldview. All participants explored the impact of their White lens and worldview on their antiracist counseling development and ability to engage in effective antiracist action. A White lens and worldview limits understanding. Lila discussed her White worldview as an impediment to her antiracist counseling development. She explained,

The experience of living in Black skin and more generally being a person of color, I will never understand completely. I will do my best. I will listen. I will educate myself, but I

will never understand completely. So, I'm always going to have to continue learning and continue listening.

Alex, too, described her ongoing worry that her White lens “puts a shield up and either, yes, I miss something that I should be attending to or I'm not attending to it in a perfectly culturally responsive manner.”

Engaging in antiracist action requires awareness of one's embeddedness in racist systems. Rylie pointed out that it is “impossible to disentangle the commitment to antiracism, and then being involved in racist systems, and a lot of times, being racist yourself.” She went on to say that an antidote to this problem is realizing ways in which “I've been complicit” (e.g., previously held views like conservative economic policy) and challenging herself to see how Whiteness continually shapes her reality and to question that reality. Merrit, too, understood that a White worldview is a lens that distorts information and limits understanding, “You don't know what you don't know. And so it's easy to miss things from your worldview that's so embedded.”

Participants described the ways they make adjustments to accommodate the limitations of their White lens and worldview. For example, Merrit shared that she attempts to address the limitations of her White lens by seeking out other antiracist counselors to connect with in private practice with whom she can consult. She said, “I want to make sure I'm addressing this correctly and I'm not having any blind spots in this.” Similarly, Elizabeth shared about correcting for blind spots of a White lens:

I think the first challenge was just like, not being able to see past my Whiteness, not realizing that every opinion I have about racism or antiracism or any of it is through a lens of Whiteness. Like if you, if you're inside of it, then you can't see the lens, you know, it's like you have to step outside of yourself to look back through the lens. So, I did

things like try to read some Black literature just as a starting point, but just felt so dumb.

Like where do I even start? And I would poke around and prod around, like trying to see if anybody I knew was interested in discussing it.

Lila articulated an inherent struggle for Whites who commit to antiracism is that you can never erase the socialization into White supremacist culture. This recognition leads to important questions like:

Am I out of step? Am I blind? Am I understanding this issue correctly? I still have a lot of questions. This is, I would say maybe not an obstacle, I would say challenge because it's part of the work and this is why it's a continuous process. Because this isn't something you get right. This is something that you do, and you do the work continuously.

Although it is not possible to avoid all blind spots and misunderstandings due to racial socialization into White supremacy, participants acknowledged the importance of continuously thinking about the challenges of their own Whiteness and own racism.

Immediacy. Another inherent challenge identified by some participants was immediacy. Immediacy was recognized as an aspect of White supremacy that negatively impacts antiracist efforts. Five participants described immediacy as an urgency to act or speak. They explored the impact of this White cultural norm on their antiracist counseling development and ability to engage in effective antiracist action. For example, Grace expressed her struggle with feeling “frustrated a lot, too, at the slowness of things.” She aspired to reconcile this sense of urgency and mitigate the “tendency to just plow through, not care about the process” by slowing down and doing the appropriate work to consult and hear all the stakeholders’ voices before taking action. Participants described balancing an urgency to act with appropriate discussion and

research. Grace articulated the “tug of war about how to do this work in a timely manner.”

Similarly, Hope shared about her sense of urgency which is like a form of entitlement. She said,

I think that in some ways my Whiteness gets in the way, because as a White person, I have this mindset that I can do whatever I want. So, I think, well, I'm going to speak up, you know, and I'm going to, I'm going to change people's minds, and I'm going to run out there and do stuff about it...you know...the White hero, White saviorhood.

Hope recognized the insidiousness of feeling entitled to act and saw managing immediacy as the antidote to harmful practice.

Additionally, June articulated her challenge with immediacy and urgency as an impediment to skillful action. She shared about her antiracist counseling development, “It used to be driven by a sense of urgency...We gotta do this...Not necessarily very strategic or skillful.” Over time, she became more aware of the impact of urgency on her development and began to step back, “Hopefully, I’m more skillful. It’s coming from a more grounded and integrated place.” Other participants shared the concern about urgency and paralleled June’s journey from urgent and partially uninformed to cautious, researched, and informed skillful antiracist action. Lila, too, asserted that managing the sense of urgency is imperative to being an effective White antiracist counselor:

You can't just throw a DEI [diversity, equity, and inclusion] training or an antiracism training together and expect that it's going to make real lasting change. So, this is something that I see too, that I think we need to be really cautious about...I think a lot of times, too, it's very, well-intentioned people want to really make an impact, but they don't know exactly how to and again, and their White privilege might say, think of themselves as experts.

Lila viewed the antidote to urgency as doing research and evaluating the best course of action to avoid hasty, misinformed or partially informed action.

Getting out of your “White Bubble.” Three participants identified getting out of their “White bubble” as another inherent challenge in taking effective antiracist action. Participants described their everyday lives as being encapsulated in White homogenous sociocultural contexts or bubbles. The bubble acted as a block to racial awareness. Hence, participants recognized the White bubble as a challenge to effective antiracist action. Merritt described why it is important to continue to challenge oneself to keep putting yourself in new spaces and intentionally move out of the comfort of a White bubble:

If you live in a White bubble, it's easy to get comfortable again and you lose that deep awareness of how somebody else's life is different or their upbringing has been different from yours. So, I think it's really important to keep putting yourself in spaces that make you uncomfortable and get you outside of your comfort zone so that you don't go. “Yeah. Yeah. I have it.”

“Retreating into your Privilege.” Although the sub-theme of retreating into privilege was not widely discussed across participants ($n = 2$), it is important to note as an inherent challenge of manifesting an antiracist counseling identity and engaging in ongoing antiracist action. Given the nature of Whiteness and the relative ease with which White individuals move through the world as racial beings who are afforded many privileges, it can be easy to lapse into inaction and retreat into the privilege of oblivion. Participants described this phenomenon as another layer of privilege. Lila captured the essence of retreating into privilege. She shared,

One of the things that came up is retreating into your privilege. I think that that's something, especially over the summer with everything going on and people just being

ready to go, there was so much work to do. There was just this moment that felt so important. Then, there were times when I would kind of back off and rest. I remember kind of grappling with myself, “Am I retreating in my privilege or am I resting because this is the time to rest, and I need to rest?”

Conflict in Relationships. In addition to their own racism, several participants in this study discussed how their antiracist counseling identity and actions created conflict in some of their relationships. Three participants reflected on the challenges of managing conflicts in relationships. Two types of conflict were identified: loss of relationships with Whites and rejection by BIPOC. One relational cost of antiracism was a distancing within some relationships with other Whites who do not want to think about racism. Merrit captured this conflict below:

And let me just assure you that my White friends did not want to hear about it. They did not want to hear about any of my antiracism stuff, my thoughts on that. When I would point things out that were just so obviously racist, the way it was said, or the way it was meant or whatever, they just did not want to hear it. And I know that they're turning away from that discomfort.

Loss of relationships due to ideological differences was another conflict. Elizabeth shared,

I have definitely had a few people in my life push back to the point where we don't have a relationship anymore. Because I'm not really willing to compromise human rights just to maintain a relationship with someone who's actively harmful in my opinion.

A second relational challenge of antiracism work was rejection by BIPOC individuals. Grace noted that it takes time to build trust with BIPOC clients who have experienced discrimination within mental health systems. She shared, “Building trust as a White clinician, sometimes that's a lot easier than others, but it's frustrating sometimes because I want clients to

know, “Listen, I hear you, and I’m for you and want to work with you and value [you].” Grace articulated that rejection by BIPOC clients was something she expected and that she recognized that it takes time to build trust. Merrit also described her challenges in attempting to build lasting relationships with BIPOC individuals. She shared about her limited success, “I have a very White group of friends...I don’t have as many people of color as friends as I would like to have.” She recognized that some people of color are “not interested in being friends with White people, which I totally 100% get” and that as a White person she has to earn trust and “kind of try to develop those relationships because I know it’s beneficial for me, and I would want to be a beneficial friend to other people.”

Use of Confrontation. Another inherent challenge in antiracist practice is the use of confrontation. Four participants described a balance between being too nice and being too confrontational when responding to White colleagues, students, clients, and family members’ expression of racism. Some described a higher tolerance for being disliked. For example, Merrit reported, “I’m okay not being adored. I’m not a people pleaser,” and that she “will speak the truth instead of making people feel comfortable.”

Others described a process of working through their own emotional reactions to avoid being too confrontational and shaming other Whites, an approach that they felt was less effective. Lila described moderating her response below:

I think that’s another challenge, too, is that not judging when people do express things that are, I’m going to say, covertly racist or unintentionally racist, not...I can feel almost my blood boil. I can feel myself having a reaction. That’s a challenge, too, of being able to, okay, take a deep breath, respond, explore, probe. Don’t sort of shame or vomit

information on someone because I just don't think that's effective. Not that I don't want to do it, but I don't think it's going to have the impact that I want to have.

Another challenge is how to use confrontation effectively. Some participants explored how to challenge other White people during conversations on race to increase receptivity. Alex discussed needing to mitigate her own “forceful” presence and confrontational style which has been described by some as “intimidating.” She said,

And so, I know that that can decrease receptivity from people and also can just make the way that I talk about things come off wrong and different to people that I'm trying to have antiracist conversations about, particularly other White coworkers.

Lack of Accessible Antiracist Training and Models. Several participants in this study referenced a lack of accessible antiracist training and models as one of the biggest barriers in developing an antiracist identity and engaging in effective antiracist action. When asked about why they were interested in participating in the study, Lila, Michael, and June described a desire to provide more accessible models on how to become an antiracist counselor. Lila shared, “I think it's important work because I do think there are a lot of White counselors, counselor educators, just people in the profession who aren't sure what to do.” She described a theory to practice gap, “When I saw the study, I was immediately interested because I feel like there's really a gap in terms of really understanding White professional counselors' journey.” June, too, recognized the need to provide models for White counselors to engage in antiracism work and the need for more White antiracist counselors:

I don't think that there's enough or maybe we're out there, but we're not connected, where White clinicians are able to interrupt White supremacy within the counseling setting. I knew that was a problem long before I really understood what to do about it. I

think that's probably true for a lot of us just trying to fumble our way through this work inside of ourselves and also with our clients to do less harm.

Similarly, Michael shared that antiracism is "something I have been working on for the last 30 years" and that he still sees other Whites "struggling." He viewed the study as a call to action and "an opportunity maybe to be of help to the profession." Michael articulated the need for a model that presents a more realistic view of antiracism as a lifelong journey requiring sustained efforts and making/recovering from mistakes. He stated,

There's no destination to this. So, it's just learning and acknowledging that you're going to make mistakes, you're going to...you say things and do things that then you step back and you're, "How did that happen?" And it's more important about being okay with that and then learning how to recover from the mistakes. And it's also learning how to live with the discomfort. And then instead of pulling back, learning to lean in. So, I'm hoping that sending a message out to people that this isn't...something on a pedestal, but it's something that we all can do on an everyday basis.

Accountability

Participants ($n = 9$) described accountability as an important aspect of manifesting an antiracist counseling identity and as a facilitative developmental factor for effective antiracist action. Accountability was seen as having people of color to whom you have a responsibility to continue to engage in cross-racial dialogue and explore your own personal biases and White racial privilege and reflect upon the ways in which you are and are not taking interpersonal and systems-level action. Accountability was identified as another factor that helps White counselors refine their antiracist skills.

Accountability to BIPOC. Accountability is reflective of the ways in which participants described being accountable to BIPOC individuals during conversations on race and taking follow-up action. For example, Mickey described listening to students after the murder of George Floyd. She shared how the department's inaction and lack of attention during a summer program prompted much needed "push back" from students, primarily students of color. She reflected on her accountability process as listening and hearing the call to do better:

And, we had a couple of students speak up and say, because it was right about the time George Floyd was killed and some of us, me and maybe two or three others, integrated that, talked about it, but very few others did, didn't even talk about it. And, so students, yeah...We're getting pushed back from students.

Other participants described soliciting feedback from BIPOC colleagues, clients, and students as a form of accountability. June spoke at length about her relationship with a colleague and "friend of color" with whom she frequently engaged in difficult dialogues about her antiracism missteps at work. Grace, too, discussed the importance of seeking out and listening to feedback from BIPOC colleagues. She described being able to have meaningful conversations with her close friend, a Black female therapist and colleague, "We can pretty much say with each other, 'Hey, how did that sound? Check me.' And we do, and that I have other spaces and people I can do that with, too. That's a key thing." Grace articulated the need for having multiple relationships for accountability checks.

Others like Lila noted the importance of cross-racial relationships as a White leader and ensuring that all stakeholders have a voice in decision making. Lila spoke about accountability within relationships using an example from her tenure as a leader within CSJ. She shared about a recent dilemma when a self-identified White member began "spouting a lot of what I think are

racist ideas” during a video training at his university. Colleagues of color questioned her initial response and recommended “removal” as he was “in a sense, encouraging violence against people of color.” She explained her need for accountability as a White antiracist person:

But I think in my Whiteness, I, I had this desire to want to try to reason with this person, you know, maybe not understanding, cause maybe I can never completely understand what it is to be a person of color who would feel very threatened by this person. That to me was just another example of why it's so important for me in doing this work to be, to have colleagues of color, who I am blessed and honored enough to work with because their perspective is important. Otherwise, I may miss the mark completely.

A common theme in each of these scenarios is what Mickey referred to as “being able to own that” and be accountable for missteps and mistakes. Participants viewed listening to feedback about their own racism as a critical part of their commitment to lifelong learning and growth and being able to engage in effective antiracist action. As such, accountability through relationships with BIPOC friends, students, and colleagues extended into the Maintenance phase of development which is detailed below.

Maintenance

The fifth phase of the cycle of antiracist counseling identity development is Maintenance. The three main categories of experiences that emerged within this phase of development were: 1) *Lifelong Development*, 2) *Antiracist Community of Support*, and 3) *Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Work*. All participants in this study described how they maintained their antiracist counseling identity and actions over time. Rylie illustrated the need for lifelong maintenance when she stated, “Really this is about kind of a commitment to that work and following through with some action.” Figure 9 and Table 8 illustrate the components of the Maintenance phase.

Figure 9

Maintenance Phase within Model

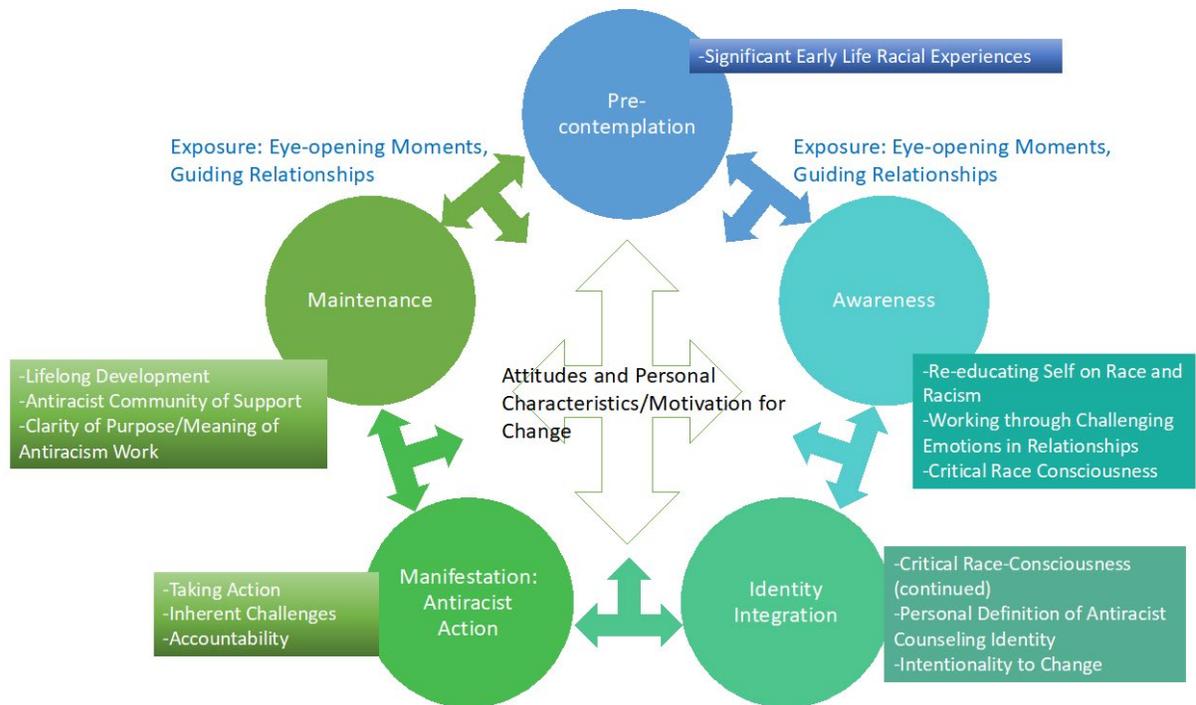


Table 8

Maintenance Phase Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Lifelong Development</i>	Change over Time Lifelong Commitment Lifelong Learning Making and Recovering from Mistakes
<i>Antiracist Community of Support</i>	Sustainability through Ongoing Connections
<i>Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Antiracist Work</i>	Personal and Professional Values

Lifelong Development

All participants in this study described their antiracist counseling identity development as a process that is ongoing with no endpoint. This lifelong development emerged as four supporting themes which are reflective of four distinct processes: 1) *Change over time*, 2) *Lifelong commitment*, 3) *Lifelong learning*, and 4) *Making and recovering from mistakes*.

Change over Time. All twelve participants explored how their antiracist counseling identities changed over time. *Change over time* was described as a process of (a) their identities becoming more complicated and nuanced and (b) they themselves becoming braver and more comfortable.

More Complicated and Nuanced. All participants including Rylie, Elizabeth, and Merrit described their development over time as becoming more complicated and nuanced. Rylie shared that her antiracist counseling identity had become “more complicated.” Now that Rylie has a foundational understanding of antiracism, she shared that she is better able to grasp the nuances of antiracism, and she provided examples about her changing understanding of tone policing and critiques of White feminism. Rylie understood this change in her identity as “starting to contend with these more nuanced realities, because I feel I get the basics now, if that makes sense.” Similarly, Elizabeth recognized her progression from “kind of by the book” counseling to nuanced and contextualized antiracist practices. Merrit also described her identity’s change over time as a shift toward using a more nuanced antiracist approach in sessions.

In the beginning...I didn't have all my other counseling skills like polished up and ready to go, you know? So, I was just trying to go, you know, how do I remember what everybody's saying without taking notes the whole time and what do I need to ask next?

You know, all of that was in my way. So, once I got comfortable with that, then I could work on the more nuanced parts of that.

Merrit described the change as becoming more skilled and proficient over time, “I’ve gotten more comfortable discussing race in session and bringing it up and just making clients aware that I’m aware of that.”

Braver and More Comfortable. Six participants also described becoming braver and more comfortable. During the second interview, Elizabeth described feeling more comfortable in her antiracist identity and that it had become a part of her. She said,

And now I think I just feel more capable, and I don't mean like, “Cool, I’ve got my anti racist suit on. I’m good to go.” I mean, I realized that stumbling is part of the process and I’m okay with that. And I think, you know, now that I’ve had some difficult conversations, I’m not as afraid to have difficult conversations or to let someone else down or to piss someone else off because it feels authentic. It feels like a part of me instead of something I’m just trying to do.

Some participants described feeling more comfortable taking risks. Grace shared that her antiracist counseling identity has become more developed over time as she has been working “in the counseling profession for a long time.” She shared that she recognizes how her age and experience leads to more “confidence in my abilities” and feeling more comfortable “just being brave in spaces.” She shared,

I’ve gotten more active, especially in our, in our center. I’ve gotten bolder with saying things, and I still have a long way to go, but I’ve been able to support as well as, bring up things to senior management.

Jane described the change in her antiracist counseling identity like a fluency in conversation and shared, “I’ve gotten more comfortable with the uncomfortable conversations” on race and racism. Similarly, Mickey identified a major change over time as being “less afraid” to say things more directly. She said,

And I think one of the things that I'm doing differently and better is that I am really hitting much harder than I once did in the multicultural class with it is your obligation as a future counselor to commit to social justice advocacy. It is an obligation. It's a professional responsibility.

Participants appeared to make meaning out of their antiracist journey which impacted their change over time. Lila shared that seeing “how unaware White people largely are of it has definitely impacted the way that I approach these things.” She reported, “I think I've become a lot more brave in speaking out. That comes from just seeing again how insidious it [racism] is.”

Lifelong Commitment. All participants ($n = 12$) expressed that their antiracist counseling identity requires a lifelong commitment. This lifelong commitment is reflective of a process of development which: (a) is ongoing and (b) requires vigilance.

Ongoing. All participants in this study described their antiracist counseling development as an ongoing process and journey, with no endpoint. Mickey shared that her antiracism commitment is lifelong and that her development is an ongoing process. She said, “I certainly don’t believe that any of us ever arrive in this work. It’s really a journey of trying to do better as we know better.” Similarly, Merrit spoke about her antiracist development as an ongoing process with no endpoint; one cannot say “Yeah. Yeah. I have it. Like a box that you checked.” Jane, too, identified the lifelong nature of her antiracist commitment when she said, “And I think it's a lifelong goal. I don't I think that even when I'm 60 years old, and if I'm still practicing, I don't

think I can ever put that stamp on and say antiracist.” Michael summarized the ongoing nature of his lifelong antiracist commitment below:

I cannot erase the first 18 years of my life being raised in the White, middle-class, suburban mid-20th century world. I can't. There was plenty of information planted inside of me that I had no way of defending...I'm never going to be racist-free. I mean, I'm not going to be sexist-free. I'm not going to be classist-free. I can keep moving things to consciousness and keep moving forward and keep working, but there's not an end point to this. But I have to keep engaging so that I don't become complacent.

As Michael mentioned in the previous quote, antiracist counseling development is ongoing and requires a lifelong commitment. This lifelong work is active and intentional and requires a vigilance to avoid the complacent upholding of the racial status quo of White supremacy.

Requires Vigilance. Most participants ($n = 7$) described their antiracist counseling commitment as requiring vigilance or an alertness to avoid lapsing into complacency. Grace recognized that her White experience could lead to inaction:

I have the luxury of, say, calling it work as opposed to calling it lived experience and my life. So, I know the privilege of being able to walk away when it gets too hard, which I remind myself that that's not acceptable, really.

Mickey, too, described how her privilege makes it easy to lapse into unconscious complacency. She explained,

I just think that, trying to make more conscious choices to put my awareness of my commitment, or my inner practice is where I am, trying to be more conscious, not just falling back into my comfortable privilege...That's where I need to do the most work. I

think is just reminding myself of how important it is and whatever small ways I can act upon and speak out for, then I need, and I want to do that.

Further, Michael articulated the danger of forgetting that antiracism work is a lifelong commitment:

The minute you think you got it; you know you're in trouble. You're never going to get this. I mean, you're never going to be like, "Woo, done." No, this is not what this is about. And that can be hard for some people who'd like to just be done with something, and it's not.

Lifelong Learning. All participants in this study explored how the maintenance of their antiracist counseling identity requires lifelong learning. *Lifelong learning* was described as a process involving: (a) *Actively exposing self to new ideas*, (b) *Continued change and future growth*, (c) *Learning from missed opportunities*, and (d) *Pivotal and transformative moments*. Participants recognized that White antiracism work is a lifelong commitment that requires continued learning and growth. For example, Hope alluded to "staying open to continuing to learn and never feeling like you've totally arrived. That you are now this poster picture of antiracist identity" as an essential awareness during the Maintenance phase.

Actively Exposing Self to New Ideas. Lifelong learning was described as a deliberate process which requires actively exposing self to new ideas. Participants spoke about the ways in which they sought out learning opportunities and discovered new ideas. For example, Mickey shared about choosing books that challenge her to expand her understanding of race and racism in the U.S. She said, "I am just reading completely different books than I was reading even five years ago. She commented on the impact of reading *Caste*, "It's not that I didn't know it, but it was just... There was a place when she started talking about the lynchings and just the reality."

This reality prompted Mickey to re-evaluate some of her teaching and training practices and to share her learning with others:

Just even us in our bubble, talking about that, that does have ripple effects for the things I talk about in my classes, the things that are said in my supervision sessions...integrating antiracism in my supervision and practicum classes and internship classes and making sure that we're talking about those things in every conversation. And that's an evolution for me, too.

Participants were aware that they were responsible for seeking out these learning opportunities. For example, Elizabeth shared that her "growth and development has to be ongoing" and that she is responsible for her own learning.

Continued Change and Future Growth. All twelve participants recognized the value of lifelong learning, specifically that new learning leads to new awareness, growth, continued change, and future growth. As participants encountered new opportunities for learning, they cycled through the phases of antiracist counseling identity development again. Exposure to new ideas and learning led to new awareness, which was integrated into their antiracist counseling identity, prompting change, growth, and taking new actions. For example, while in the Maintenance phase of development, Grace described how new learning led to change. She shared about reading *Caste* in her current book club, "I mean, it's pretty powerful. So, each, like, I, I keep getting new layers and, and again, not just with the reading, but I, I, I just keep seeing more and understanding more." Similarly, Michael articulated how new learning led to naming his next step, "I could always be doing more. When I share all of that and then I go, but I have to be doing more." Michael shared about the impact of new learning:

I'm also doing a lot of self-education this past year by attending a lot of different events to reflect on and then think about. That's where I think I am right now. What do I want to do with all this new information?

Later in the second interview, Michael described this part of his development as a period of growth or "another transition period." He said, "So, I'm at a pivotal moment about what do I want to do with my antiracist work," and explained how every ten years he experiences a transformation and a change in his career (e.g., counseling, community trainer, directorship). New learning leads to new action which Michael articulated, "What is the context do I want to apply all that I have learned up to this point?" He identified cycling through the Awareness and Identity Integration phases to take new action. He described his shift into the Manifestation phase to maintain a new professional role as antiracist mentor:

How can I mentor other people? So, maybe that's part of it, part of my antiracist work is how do I mentor others? How do I support others in their work? It doesn't have to be about me. It's, "What can I use?" or, "How can I help you do..." So, when called upon, or if I see that I can be of service, I will step in.

Other participants identified areas for future growth while in the Maintenance phase. For example, Hope identified legislative advocacy or "how to appropriately appeal to people in power" including legislators and community leaders as an area for continued growth. Lila, too, identified policy work as an area for growth and described the ways in which she is challenging herself to develop that skill set. She shared,

When George Floyd was murdered, I probably did more work around policy than I've ever done. That's definitely an area of growth for me. I have a colleague right now who he teaches an advocacy and leadership course, too, and I'm going to get with him and

learn from him hopefully. He's willing to help me to learn how to engage my students more in policy change.

Lila elaborated on the recursive process of antiracist development below:

I thought I was getting pretty good at mentoring and helping people, at least in developing some culturally centered counseling practices and even supervision. Then, I have a colleague who is doing advocacy, like policy work. And I'm like, oh my gosh, I don't even know how to do that. Now, I want to learn and share that with my students. So, there's definitely a continuous process that again, never ends, and I don't want it to end.

Learning from “Missed Opportunities.” In addition to seeking out learning opportunities, four participants believed lifelong learning involved learning from missed opportunities. Emma explained, “There’s been, you know, a lot of opportunities to maybe be more, to take a stronger stance” as well as “many missed opportunities.” Participants described missed opportunities and rethinking past practices as antecedents for re-cycling through the phases of antiracist counseling development.

For example, Emma described the recursive nature of the cycle and shared about her growth following a missed opportunity:

I didn't really use my position at that time as like a channel for engaging with other people. I missed a lot of the point. Going through that experience allowed me to receive a lot of feedback from people. That was quite an experience. I got taken for a journey where I could see where I had failed.

Elizabeth, too, discussed learning from a missed opportunity, specifically recognizing the need to initiate discussions on race with a Black female client. She shared, “So that was a moment for

me of recognizing I should have broached this. I didn't but now that she has, I need to create a space.”

Others noted the importance of rethinking past practices. Lila shared a poignant anecdote from her earlier teaching days when she was the instructor for the master's level multicultural course. She sought the advice of her lifelong mentor, a Black female faculty member, after an exchange with a White student who was expressing racist attitudes. Lila shared about her learning process,

My first reaction was to be self-righteous and be on my soap box and really shame him. But I knew I didn't act right. I knew I was not really being effective, and I was acting more from my own reaction than really listening to him and really responding to him. I actually took it to my mentor, and I think I showed her some of these email correspondences that we had. She was like, “Lila, you're not really listening to him. If you really read through this, you would hear that he's questioning these ideas that he has swallowed from his family. Read through this one more time with that lens and tell me what you think.” When I read through it, I could really see that I think he was using sort of this inflammatory language and he was expressing these things to me because I think in a way, he thought I was a safe person, who he could explore maybe this incongruence or this really dissonance he was having between the things he was learning and things he was taught by his family.

Participants recognized the importance of metacognition and reflecting on their own past thinking. They described a process of revisiting past experiences and critically analyzing their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors including action and inaction in order to develop new insights and more effective action in the present. Most reflected on the difficulty of engaging in antiracist

practice due to a lack of training. Merrit exclaimed that much of her learning was through “trial and error” and continuous learning.

Pivotal and Transformative Moments. Five participants identified pivotal and transformative moments in their ongoing antiracist counseling development, especially events from the summer of 2020. Mickey, Grace, and Lila all spoke about the impact of witnessing the murder of George Floyd. Grace explained a collective experience,

When the country saw George Floyd be murdered, I think because of the state of COVID and people at home, and I mean, this is nothing new, but I think so many more people were in the position of seeing that and seeing how just inhumane that was.

Lila observed how these horrific events prompted a hard look at counseling programs and curriculums and reflected on the movement to decolonize counseling. She shared,

That’s also been part of my journey especially now I think because of what happened last year. I want to say the murder of George Floyd, but of course, that was just for whatever reason, the tipping point. We know that there were lots of Black Americans who were murdered before that. But, when that happened, I think it created a tipping point where people were more open to looking at what we’re doing and how it’s not working for everyone. That’s been a journey. We started this process of decolonizing our curriculum and the counseling program.

For many participants, their antiracist journey has been marked by numerous pivotal and transformative moments, but the recent events of 2020 prompted a different level of questioning and re-evaluation of previous work. Michael articulated, “Now, what has happened in 2020 has had all of us who've been involved in this re-evaluating...Well, what have we been doing for the

last 30 years?" He observed a shift in the counseling profession towards antiracist personal and professional action and advocacy.

Action. Action outside of your everyday life. Action outside of your work in your office, or in your personal relationships, or your little bubble that you can build. It's thinking beyond yourself and it's actually taking actions. Either on an individual or supporting organizations that align with what you feel needs to be changed systemically. So, you can't do...That's something I tell my students, "No one's asking you to do everything. So, where's your focus? Where do you begin? Where do you have the energy to find that beginning point?"

Like Michael, Mickey recognized the need for revised action following George Floyd's murder and the current U.S. racial reckoning. She described her sense of resolve as a counselor educator. She observed that just being "the nice person" is not enough:

Because I've always tried to be the nice person, I am a relatively nice person most of the time, but I know that through the years, particularly as it relates to my teaching role, but also as a counselor, I try to meet people where they are.

As a result of this new awareness, Mickey explained that she has taken a stronger antiracist teaching stance.

I said in my initial lecture, and I said it in a nice way, but it was like, "You cannot be a racist. If you're going to be a counselor, you must be committed to being an antiracist. Not just tolerant. And if you're at a place in your life where you're not ready, willing, or able to look at your own privilege, then counseling may not be the field for you."

Making and Recovering from Mistakes. In addition to learning from missed opportunities, lifelong learning involved making and recovering from mistakes. Seven

participants described lapsing into a racist stance and not acting from an antiracist stance as a common mistake. Of utmost importance was the process of recovery. Participants articulated a process of making a mistake and recovering from the mistake by redirecting their learning to the area of ignorance or obliviousness. Making and recovering from mistakes was also viewed as an antecedent for re-cycling through the phases of antiracist counseling development.

Hope described making mistakes and learning from mistakes as essential to developing and maintaining her antiracist counseling identity:

It's always an active, intentional, ongoing process, you know, and that, you know, I feel like I've come so far in the last, you know, since, since 2009, the last 12 years, 10 years but I, I, I just, I think that there's still a very far way to go and that, you know, we all still make mistakes, then say stupid things and those are great learning experiences.

Unintentional harm was a type of mistake noted by several participants. June expressed, "I had no idea the complexity of being a White woman doing this work, doing antiracist work across racially or in multiracial spaces, the harm that it is to not name racism." Later, she described her role and responsibility to recover from such unintentional mistakes and shared that the repair is to "keep showing up" to do the work. Merrit, too, shared about unintentional harm in the form of microaggressions and noted that part of lifelong learning is being self-reflective and open to learning from mistakes and "not beating myself up, instead 'Where did that come from?' and 'Why did I do that?'" Hope echoed the need for openness to learning when she shared:

A lot of times we get afraid of saying the wrong things. We don't say anything, and I'd rather say the wrong thing and keep trying, you know, and correct me and I'll learn from it and then we'll keep going.

Others noted the fear of making mistakes as an impediment to learning. Elizabeth explored this phenomenon below:

Something that kept me from pushing forward with engaging in antiracist work for a long time was embarrassment that I just didn't know enough or that I would say the wrong thing. And I think that's such a huge part of this development process.

A key learning moment was having someone model how to make and recover from mistakes. Michael described how he attempts to model this behavior for his students. He shared about telling his students, "No, I'm going to make mistakes, too. I'm not mistake-free." Like Michael, Mickey noted the importance of modeling how to recover from a mistake. She provided a recent example and shared about one of her course announcements which included a "GIF" that a student of color identified as "racist." She shared about her process of reconciling her fragility and feeling "ashamed" at first and then using it as a teachable moment to model "How do we recover?" by inviting discussion about the incident in class.

Antiracist Community of Support

All participants ($n = 12$) described the importance of an antiracist community of support to sustain their commitment to and engagement in antiracism work across their lifetime. Further, these communities encouraged participants to continue to learn and grow through new learning and exposure to new experiences.

Sustainability through Ongoing Connections. Participants described a process of finding and building an antiracist community of support including *Interpersonal relationships* and *Organizational supports*. This antiracist community of support helped participants sustain their commitment to antiracism during the Maintenance phase of development. Grace asserted the need for "having support people" as "this work is really relational" with a need for "building

more networks of people doing this work.” Similarly, Hope’s advice to other White counselors was, “Don’t do it alone...Bring somebody along with you.” Merrit, too, identified the significance of having a White antiracist support system “feeling known inside that group, it’s been incredibly sustaining.” Michael discussed why finding and building a cross-racial community of support is important, especially for White people whose lived experience is homogeneity:

I live in...it’s 76% White. I could walk around...my whole life and not have to talk to a person of color...that’s the purpose of professional organizations: networking and relationships and bridging between people and then grow from there back out to your community.

Interpersonal Relationships. During the Maintenance phase of development, all participants articulated the need for supportive interpersonal relationships. They spoke about supportive interpersonal relationships with BIPOC individuals and other Whites who identify as antiracist and whose development is at the same level as theirs and those whose have a more developed antiracist identity. Merrit articulated the need for community, “It’s the White people...we don’t have a support system.” She shared examples of finding her people through connections within her local Whites for Black Lives group and an antiracist monthly book club. Learning along other White antiracists was critical at this point of development as it fostered a sense of solidarity. Merrit illustrated this need during a discussion of the significance of her White antiracist mentor who connected her to the book club, “There’s not a whole lot here and that was really beneficial to meet some other people. And be able to be connected in that way with more like-minded people.” These like-minded White antiracists were able to challenge participants to continue to grow in new ways.

Like Merrit, Elizabeth emphasized the relational support within a White antiracist peer group (e.g., friends in book club, best friend from doctoral program, parents) as a “soft landing spot for some of these hard conversations.” She described a significant relationship with her best friend “who’s a White woman and who has been on this antiracist journey a lot longer than I have” and who has “kind of quietly like frustratedly pushing me to get on the train.” Elizabeth recognized the relationship as a source of “energy is a word that comes to mind, like where do I get my energy” to sustain her antiracist commitment over time.

Participants leaned on their antiracist community for both informational and emotional support over the course of their professional lifetime. Lila spoke about her community which is comprised of cross-racial supports like her Black colleagues as well as White antiracist peer support networks including two friends who are on “parallel journeys” who have shared values and who challenge her to think and act differently:

I think, I feel lucky that I have Black colleagues and my mentor who I can go to and who I know I can go to and they're a safe place. I have friends now in my life, too, who I can go to and say, “I said this thing.” or, “I did this thing.” or, “Should I say this thing or do this thing?” They will be honest with me and open with me.

Similarly, Alex described a significant “symbiotic relationship” with a female colleague of color who is “a very great antiracist sounding board for me” while Alex acts as an LGBTQ sounding board for her colleague. Alex noted the importance of “openness” and being able to ask questions of each other like, “Is this an inappropriate thing to even say or do or acknowledge?” While many participants identified cross-racial relationships as supports, they also recognized the emotional labor for BIPOC friends and colleagues engaged in antiracist work. Elizabeth

expressed a mindfulness to not overburden BIPOC friends and colleagues with her antiracist learning needs.

It's just a conversation that I crave and I'm thirsty for. I'm constantly wondering how to have it in appropriate ways because I don't just want to reach out to my colleagues of color to put more on them to have these conversations with me.

Organizational Supports. Three participants noted the importance of having organizational supports like AMCD and CSJ to sustain their antiracist commitment and challenge them towards future growth. Elizabeth spoke about finding professional homes or “places where you can have those difficult conversations or just have some like-minded interactions” over the course of a professional lifetime. During the second interview, Lila shared this advice with counselors for their antiracist journey:

There are experts homegrown in our field. There's AMCD. There's CSJ so we don't have to go it alone. There are good resources out there. So, I would say, you know, lean on the experts and you know and do it. It can be reading a book. It can be having a conversation with someone. It can be joining one of these divisions and doing our webinars. It could be an antiracism discussion and action group, but I think that to do it, to do the work and to do it with experts, with people who know what they're doing would be my, the most important advice that I see.

Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Antiracism Work

During the Maintenance Phase, all participants ($n = 12$) gained a clarity of purpose based on the personal meaning and importance of antiracism work in their lives. Participants described a set of personal and professional values that facilitated this meaning making process. A clarity

of purpose helped participants remain focused and committed to lifelong learning, growth, and ongoing antiracist action.

Personal and Professional Values. All participants in this study articulated a personal and professional values system that provided a clear purpose towards antiracism work. Some participants described a moral and ethical obligation to take action. Grace shared, “Once you know it and see it, the discrimination and the racism, you can’t not see it.” Emma, too, discussed feeling an ethical and moral duty to “counterbalance” systems of oppression from which she benefits. She explained,

Given that I'm earning my living by counseling, I'm stepping into these systems that are oppressive and benefiting from them. So, I have a responsibility just ethically, morally, to try to right them a little bit. To counterbalance some of the impact historically, some of the present day, kind of change the system a bit.

Other participants described their personal and professional value systems as based on core values of equity and justice. Rylie noted that her antiracism work is “one path towards healing, towards justice, towards making a connection, and those things are very important to me.” She added that she strives to “be part of creating systems and organizations and interactions that are healing.” Lila, too, spoke about her value system being about the “intersection between social justice and spirituality, and social justice and humanity.” Fundamentally, Lila understood antiracism work to be about the interconnectedness of humanity which necessitates healing from racism. She asserted,

We're all interdependent. We're all connected. At the end of the day, going back to that quote, my liberation is bound up in your liberation. None of us are free until we're all free. It is probably the most important value in my life at this point.

Influences throughout Cycle of Development

Antiracist counseling identity development was facilitated by several factors that influenced progression through the cycle of development. These key influences were identified by participants as *Attitudes and Personal Characteristics* and *Motivation for Change*. Figure 10 and Table 9 illustrate these main influences throughout the cycle of development.

Figure 10

Influences throughout Cycle of Development within Model

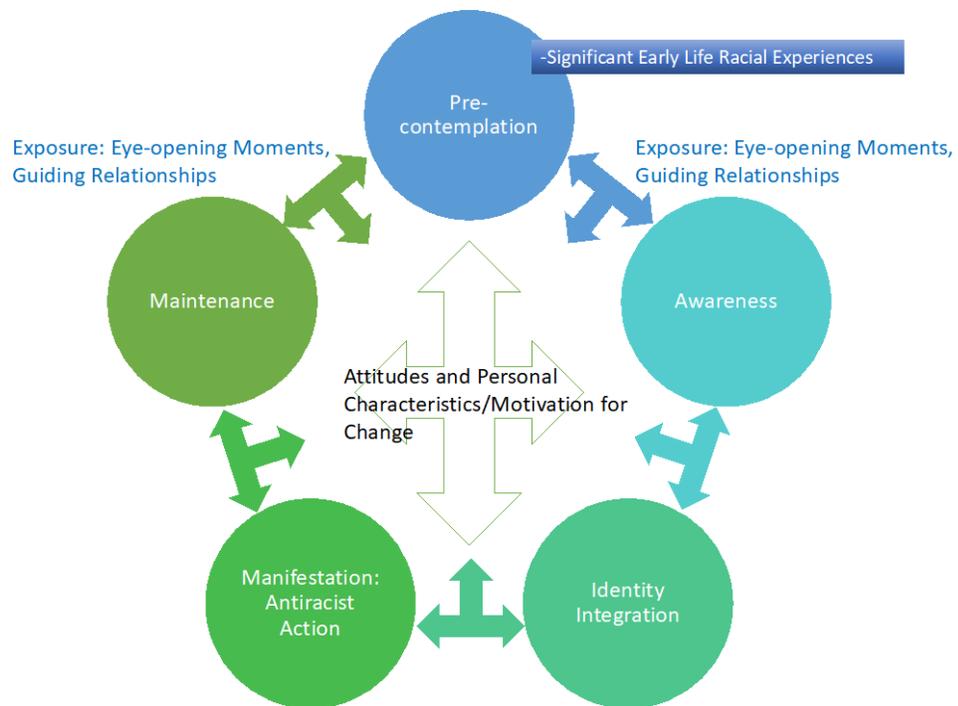


Table 9

Influences throughout Cycle of Development Categories and Supporting Themes

<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Attitudes and Personal Characteristics</i>	Open, Interested, Non-defensive Stance Humility Fortitude

Motivation for Change

Increased Empathy
 Upholding Human Rights
 Personal and Professional Responsibility

Attitudes and Personal Characteristics

All participants in this study named several attitudes and personal characteristics which facilitated their growth. These included openness, interest, non-defensiveness, humility, and fortitude. Each was considered an essential antiracist quality and recognized as a salient influential factor in development.

Open, Interested, Non-defensive Stance. The primary set of attitudes and personal characteristics named by participants is indicative of an open, interested, non-defensive stance. This stance was viewed as an essential characteristic that impacted participants' ability to change and develop over time.

Alex summarized the significance of her interest and curiosity "not only about other people's experiences, but, also myself." She viewed this attitude as "a very good thing that I think serves me well, in terms of my antiracist practices." In addition to interest, Merrit referred to the importance of having "very high openness to experience" which she explained "allows people to take in new information and learn from that and change their perceptions. So, they're open to new learning. And so, I feel like I've always been open to new learning." She later explained why this attitude is essential to antiracist development as there are some White people "that may have had the same experiences like mine that didn't take it in because they weren't so open-minded" and didn't have "a mindset where I'm okay changing my mind when I get new information." Merrit described her openness to experience as "the most impactful thing, that I

was able to allow those experiences that I had to change me and to open my eyes, become aware.” Like Merrit, Rylie believed her openness to feedback and the ability “to take that in” was a critical characteristic that fostered change. She described this quality as:

Being non-defensiveness, being willing to be changed by new information, and just having this stance of not being so threatened by criticism. And if that person does feel threatened, being able to recognize that, and then, work with it to make the change that needs to be made.

Alex provided an example of how she works through her defensiveness when clients of color share about their experiences with racism. She noted that,

Like sometimes, I find myself wanting to be like, “Oh, my God. I would never do that.” But obviously that’s not something I’m ever actually going to say...There’s totally an aspect of me that wants to take a defensive stance.

As Rylie suggested, the key to remaining non-defensive is to make the changes that need to be made in the moment which Alex described as processing her own emotions like guilt and defensiveness by “being mindful” and engaging in her own “tuning.” The impact of maintaining this stance is substantial; therefore, participants cultivated their openness, interest, and non-defensiveness.

Humility. Humility was a common theme in how participants described themselves. Humility was expressed as a quality and attitude. For example, Merrit emphasized “being humble and open and interested and respectful” as an essential antiracist quality. Later in the first interview, she defined her antiracist counseling identity with cultural humility at the core. She stated,

It is for me as a White counselor, it starts with being aware of my own privilege and my worldview that comes from that privilege. And knowing that I don't know everything when I have a client of color. I don't know what their experiences were. I like, cultural humility is a nice way to say that. And so just being humble and open and interested and respectful.

Hope, too, recognized the importance of remaining humble in antiracism work. Her humility was expressed as an awareness of the limits to her understanding as a White person. She understood that her development was ongoing and required a sense of humility. Hope said,

I think that that's part of the challenge of antiracism is that like you're never fully arrived. So, at what point can you say, "Here is how to do this?" And, so it's much more of like, from I guess from my Christian upbringing, is this discipleship. Like learn along with me rather than let me teach you what it looks like.

Fortitude. Participants in this study described their antiracist counseling identity as requiring a strength of character to persist despite obstacles. For example, June discussed the perseverance and endurance needed to sustain a commitment to antiracism across a professional lifespan. She shared,

Most White people won't do this work because it requires them to, at the core, it unearths all the things...It's also like the air we breathe, which is not my fault, but then it is my work, but it's not my fault, but it's now my responsibility. How do we hold all that and just develop the resilience and the muscle to be able to stay in it? It has taken deep loving relationships.

Similarly, Elizabeth described the challenge of staying engaged and working through mistakes to continue to learn and grow. She posed an important question about what helps some Whites stay and engaged while others turn away.

Like those moments of like, “Oh God, I totally missed that.” It's so uncomfortable, and I just want to like climb under a rock and hide. And I think about this a lot from the perspective of counselor education of at that crossroads of feeling uncomfortable, what causes some people to react with a need to learn from that and do better, and some people instead to, for instance, commit to only taking White clients from now on. I do think that tends to be a dividing moment. And I asked myself what has allowed me to stay open when I would rather just put my head down and let it be easier. Like not have to encounter these difficult moments.

Although Elizabeth was uncertain of the answer to the question she posed, others like Alex provided an answer and identified fortitude as a necessary quality for “becoming more comfortable with the discomfort that comes with assessing things related to racial oppression, systemic oppression.” As such, fortitude is an influential factor in antiracist counseling identity development which enabled participants to stay the course.

Motivation for Change

All participants in this study identified several factors which facilitated their antiracist counseling identity development. These factors served as catalysts for change and included increased empathy, upholding human rights, and professional and personal responsibility.

Increased Empathy. All participants in this study articulated increased empathy for the experiences of BIPOC individuals in the U.S. As discussed in earlier sections, this increased empathy was gained through salient early life racial experiences, exposure to new experiences,

and guiding relationships. While it is not necessary to re-iterate all of those earlier experiences here, it is important to note that increased empathy occurred throughout the cycle(s) of development. To illustrate the powerful nature of empathy as a motivational factor, Michael shared about his commitment to antiracism being motivated by his increased empathy:

Because I see the pain that my wife experiences every day. And I see the pain that my mother-in-law experienced in her lifetime. And I see the challenges that my daughters have. And I know that they're just, again it's all connected. We're not in these isolation, we're not in these silos. This is all connected. And I know from the literature about teaching and development, all of the impact that the isms have, in this case, racism has on people's mental health, their physical health, their wellbeing, their opportunities, their access to resources.

Upholding Human Rights. As previously discussed in the Manifestation phase, participants were driven by a clarity of purpose and clear sense of the meaning of antiracism work in their lives. Throughout all the phases of development, participants also spoke about being motivated to change by a shared set of humanistic values which included a belief in human rights and a sense of responsibility to uphold human rights. Grace shared about her commitment to antiracism as rooted in the belief that freedom from racism is “a general condition of humanity” and that people have a right to “live their fullest life feeling safe and happy.” Mickey spoke about the recent passing of the Equality Act and echoed Grace’s belief in intrinsic human value and being committed to upholding basic human rights. She said, “People should be valued for just being a human being. You have the value as a person, as a human.” During the first interview, Elizabeth also alluded to her motivation being connected to a desire to uphold human rights, “All people should have basic rights and access to a good way of life.” She elaborated,

I want to work in a world and live in a world where everybody has their needs met. I'm such a humanist at heart, so it always comes down to that for me. It's like everybody needs to have their needs met. And many of those needs are experiential and emotional, not just access to housing and food, but those are, and medical care, those are also hugely on the table for racial disparities in our country right now.

Professional and Personal Responsibility. Like upholding human rights, a professional and personal responsibility to justice, equity, healing, and wellness was a powerful motivating force throughout participants' development. Michael captured the essence of this motivator:

I can't live in a world where some people have all of it, some of it, and other people have none of it. I just can't live in a world, and I don't want people to live in a world like that. So, I just think it's a responsibility to make that difference...And knowing that I'm just one drop in a journey that I may never see the outcome of the efforts I'm making, but while I'm here I will consciously make my efforts and order that down, and another time that just world will exist.

When I asked participants to share a message with the profession, many commented on responsibility. Mickey asserted, "There is no more fence sitting. We cannot, as White people, continue to use our privilege to sit on the fence." Similarly, Michael's message to the counseling profession was to embrace their professional responsibility and "start following the Advocacy Competencies." He shared a call to action:

We need to put just as much energy in our curriculum, our research, our trainings in prevention work, as we put into the healing work, and we need to not just be as a profession quiet bystanders, but have to be standing, standing right at the front line with everybody else, locked arms with all the other organizations.

Many participants shared about living through a historical moment in time. As such, they felt motivated by their personal and professional responsibility to act and do the work. June described this work as “the work of our time.” She asserted,

I think given the historical moment that we're living in with Floyd and all the racial trauma, that's been ongoing, I mean, it's historical. And, then it's also like our story, our racialized story, like happening, like this is the work of our time. Like what we do now matters like within ourselves, with our clients, how we engage within the organizations that we work within, within, you know, how we advocate politically...the more of us that are tilling the soil and doing the work that like systemic change maybe is possible.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the findings from this dissertation study. I discussed the grounded theory of White antiracist counseling identity development including the five phases of the cycle: (a) Pre-contemplation, (b) Awareness, (c) Identity Integration, (d) Manifestation: Antiracist Action, and (e) Maintenance; contributing factors like Exposure, Attitudes and Personal Characteristics, and Motivation for Change which all impact development throughout the cycle; as well as the overarching categories and themes that emerged through constructivist grounded theory data analysis. I also selected quotations from participants' interviews to illustrate the model and corresponding categories and themes. In Chapter V, I will provide a comprehensive discussion of the significance of the findings in relation to existing literature and theory, the strengths and limitations of this study, and implications for the counseling profession: practice, education, training, supervision, and future research.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, I presented the findings from this constructivist grounded theory study which sought to explore the developmental experiences and antiracist practices of White mental health counselors who identify as antiracist counselors. I provided excerpts from participants' interviews and discussed the emerging model of White antiracist counseling identity development including major categories and supporting themes. In this chapter, I will summarize the findings that were delineated in Chapter IV and provide a discussion and interpretation of the findings in relation to existing literature. Following this interpretation of the findings, I will discuss implications for the counseling profession, including counseling theory, counseling practice, and counselor education and supervision. Lastly, I will examine the strengths and limitations of the study and offer recommendations for future research.

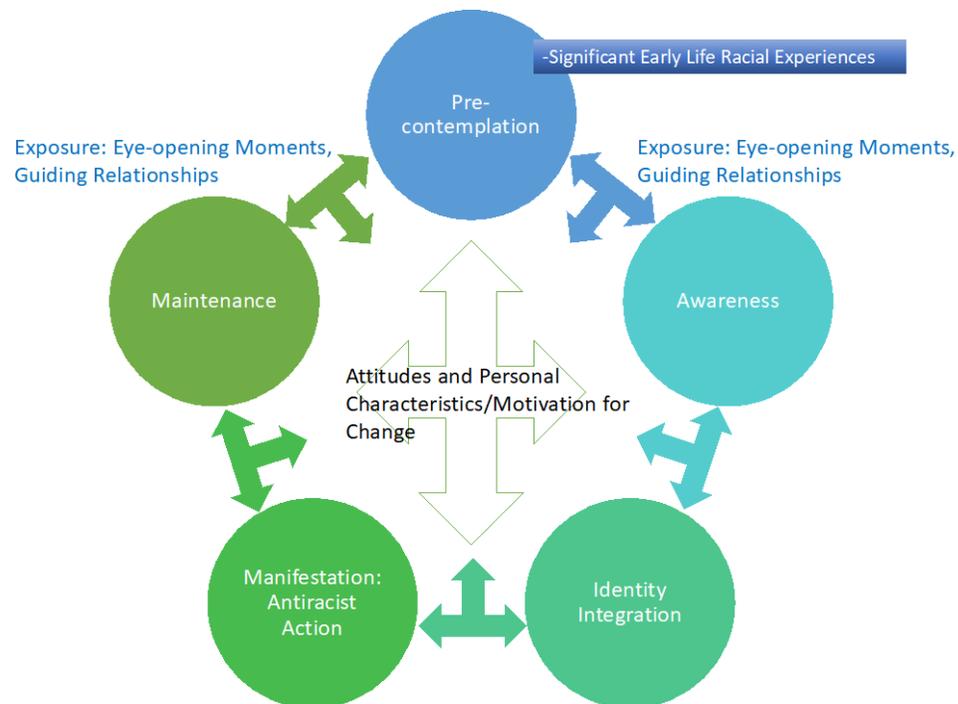
Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore how White mental health counselors described their experience of developing an antiracist counseling identity and how that identity affects their counseling practice. Over the course of several months and 28 interview hours across 12 participants, a grounded theory model emerged with five phases comprised of categories and supporting themes. The essential qualities, factors, experiences, and dynamics involved in the developmental process by which White mental health counselors become committed to antiracism in counseling emerged and a resultant theoretical model was constructed. The emerging model of White antiracist counseling identity development is reflective of a dynamic lifelong developmental process with five phases: (a) Pre-contemplation, (b) Awareness, (c) Identity Integration, (d) Manifestation: Antiracist Action, and (e) Maintenance. Furthermore, the model is comprised of contributing and necessary factors like Exposure (i.e., *Eye-opening*

Moments, Guiding Relationships), Attitudes and Personal Characteristics (i.e., *Open, Interested, Non-Defensive Stance, Humility, Fortitude*) and Motivation (i.e., *Increased Empathy, Upholding Human Rights, Personal and Professional Responsibility*) which all impact movement through the cycle and re-cycling process. Throughout the cycle, participants engaged in critical reflection, meaning-making, and resolving dissonance which facilitated growth and development, as evidenced by participants' described movement through and within the phases of the model. The theoretical model of participants' experiences of antiracist counseling identity development is illustrated in Figure 1.2, as presented in Chapter IV, Figure 1.

Figure 1.2

Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development



The emerging theoretical model of White antiracist counseling identity development is well aligned with previous research on antiracism, multicultural counseling competency and social justice training models, and White racial identity development (WRID) models (Helms,

1990, 1995; Rowe et al., 1994) including aspects of White fragility (DiAngelo, 2018) and White privilege (McIntosh, 1992), as well as behavior change models (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983). Although the emerging model does not constitute a metatheory in and of itself, it is metatheoretical in nature as it integrates aspects of existing models, supports previous findings, and parallels multiple existing frameworks. The following section provides an in-depth discussion of this study's findings, including a comparative analysis of the abovementioned theories, models, and existing relevant literature.

Impact of White Supremacy and White Cultural Values on Model

As a White researcher, my White lens and internalization of White supremacist values (Katz, 1985) such as linear thinking and cause and effect relationships may have affected my interpretation of the data to reflect more of a linear pattern of growth and development. Further, my participants also self-identify as White and as White people who have been socialized into Whiteness. Hence, they, too, may tend to be linear in the way that they approached their development or described their development and that could be another reason why the emerging model has both a linearity and circularity.

Given the goals of this antiracist study, it is important to consider the impact of my White values on the research process. In order to disarm, disrupt, and dismantle the insidiousness of White supremacy in the counseling field, I must carefully reflect on the impact of my White lens within all levels of this research process, including my analysis, interpretation, and description of this model. As such, my initial interpretation of this dynamic process of development is a starting point for discussion and reflection. I am still in the process of discovering the many layers of complexity within antiracist counseling identity development, and I complete this study with more questions than answers. This model is a starting point for understanding White antiracist

counseling identity development and antiracist counseling practices. More research is needed to explore the full range of developmental trajectories among White counselors.

White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development: Application of Theory

The findings of this study contribute to the construction of a model and theoretical understanding of the development of antiracist counseling identity and antiracist practices for White mental health counselors. This section will compare, contrast, and contextualize the antiracist counseling development model in relation to current literature and theory.

Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) Stages of Change Model

This study's model of White antiracist counseling identity development which represents a cycle of development has parallels to Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) Stages of Change model, also known as the Transtheoretical Model (TTM). Therefore, I will apply Prochaska and DiClemente's model as a framework for discussing significant findings from this study. The TTM/Stages of Change model was developed after examining the experiences of individuals who quit smoking in the 1970s. A key factor in the change process was intentionality as Prochaska and DiClemente found that individuals did not engage in behavior change until ready to do so. As such, Prochaska and DiClemente's model outlines five stages towards change including: (a) precontemplation or the stage in which there is no intention to change; (b) contemplation which is the stage when awareness of a problem develops; (c) preparation which is the stage when a commitment to change is made and an individual begins to work towards positive behavior changes; (d) action or the stage when behavior is dramatically modified; and (e) maintenance which is the stage characterized by actively working towards maintaining positive changes and preventing relapse. The model accounts for relapse; if a person relapses into past unhealthy behavior, they begin the process again. Lastly, Prochaska and DiClemente's

model ends with termination, a period when the behavior change is sustained over a sufficient amount of time.

In contrast to Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) progressive stage model which posits exit at the maintenance stage after successful behavior change, the emerging model of White antiracist counseling identity development is a phase-based model, involving fluid movement through a re-occurring cycle of phases, with no endpoint. Furthermore, the phases of this model are intended to be viewed as a collection of interactive processes that facilitate antiracist growth. They are not meant to be treated as distinct stages. For example, it is possible that some White counselors who develop an antiracist counseling identity will demonstrate characteristics and behaviors reflective of more than one phase simultaneously or move back and forth between phases before progressing forward. Moreover, during the re-cycling process, all phases do not need to be met. Individuals may move randomly throughout the phases. Lastly, although participants in this study did not report a 'dormant' phase; it is possible that one may exist. Despite this key difference in the construction of this emerging theoretical model (i.e., phase versus stage), it is fitting for the discussion of this study's findings to be framed in the context of Prochaska and DiClemente's stages of change for three key reasons. First, antiracist counseling identity development is a developmental process that unfolds over time. Second, antiracist counseling identity development requires intentionality to change. Third, antiracist counseling identity development involves substantial cognitive, affective, and behavior changes which are seen throughout the findings of this study.

Like Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) Stages of Change model, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development is a process that unfolds over time. Like the stages of change, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development begins with Pre-

contemplation, a phase during which an individual lacks awareness of the need to change or engage in antiracism. Next, an individual begins to recognize a need to change through a form of preparation which the model calls Exposure. Exposure through *Eye-opening Moments* and *Guiding Relationships* related to White racial identity developmental experiences leads to cognitive and affective changes which facilitate the development of *Critical Race Consciousness* during the Awareness phase. Participants described a process of gaining exposure through a variety of social and cultural experiences with race, diversity, privilege, and oppression. They developed increased racial awareness and integrated this awareness and antiracism into both their White racial identity and professional counseling identity which prompted intentional antiracist actions. Unlike the stages of change, the emergent model includes a phase called Identity Integration, a time during which individuals integrate their awareness and reconstruct their White identity and professional counseling identity to include antiracism which prompts an intentionality to change their behavior, including their counseling practices. This phase could facilitate Manifestation or taking antiracist action towards change which parallels Prochaska and DiClemente's action stage. Finally, the individual enters Maintenance, a period when they actively work on maintaining their identities and resultant changes over a lifetime. Unlike the stages of change which posit that individuals with no desire to return to previous behaviors will terminate at the maintenance stage, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development does not have an endpoint and instead represents *Lifelong Development* or an ongoing process of continued growth and development which is articulated below.

A key difference between the model of White antiracist counseling identity development and Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) Stages of Change model is that this study's emerging model is also recursive and cyclical in nature. As participants engaged in antiracist practices

during the Maintenance phase, they continued to encounter race-based experiences that promoted new learning and recognition. This new exposure prompted re-cycling through each phase of development. Participants described this ongoing process as one in which they encountered new race-based experiences, developed new racial awareness, integrated this new racial awareness into their antiracist counseling identity, and moved towards antiracist action and maintenance of changes.

White Antiracism Studies

As I expected, the emerging grounded theory model of White antiracist counseling identity development represents a cyclical process which supports previous research on antiracist development as nonlinear (Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1995; Linder, 2015). Participants in this study described their development as antiracist counselors as a process of becoming antiracist, a process requiring a lifelong commitment, ongoing development, and continuous growth. Hence, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development is cyclical and recursive in nature, confirming findings from previous literature on White antiracism (Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1995; Linder, 2015).

Existing antiracism research has shown that White antiracism is a complex developmental experience marked by cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). These changes will be detailed and analyzed using related literature. Furthermore, antiracism and WRID scholarship (Helms, 1990, 1995; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019) has demonstrated a pattern of WRID from unawareness of racial issues to integration of new racial awareness to commitment to antiracist action. As I expected, this pattern was substantiated by this study's participants' narratives and illustrated in this study's emerging grounded theory model. A thorough discussion of each

component of this study's model of White antiracist counseling identity development in relation to the literature follows.

Pre-contemplation Phase

Several racial identity development frameworks are useful in understanding the Pre-contemplation phase of the model of White antiracist counseling identity development. Helms's (1990, 1995) model of WRID identified Contact as the first stage or status that Whites occupy which is reflective of either obliviousness or denial of the impact of race and racism on people's experiences. Rowe et al.'s (1994) White Racial Consciousness (WRC) model described Whites who occupy the unachieved status as lacking exploration of personal racial attitudes and acceptance of White norms and values. Like Helms's Contact status and Rowe et al.'s unachieved status, participants in this study identified the beginning of their antiracist counseling identity development as a state of obliviousness. They described this obliviousness as a lack of awareness of the personal, professional, and sociopolitical implications of their own racial group membership and the racial experiences of others, as well as a lack of understanding of Whiteness as a social construction indicative of power and privilege. As such, the first phase of the model of White antiracist counseling identity development is reflective of participants' recall of *Significant Early Life Racial Experiences* which were viewed as precursors to their antiracist identities. These experiences, occurring during childhood and adolescence, were comprised of several supporting themes: (a) *Lack of exposure* to racial diversity, (b) *Color-blindness*, (c) *Missed connections* with BIPOC people in their lives, and (d) *Family Influence*, which included modeling of activism and expressions of racism and antiracism. These abovementioned family influences mirror findings from previous social justice identity studies (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Dollarhide et al., 2016) which also identified family of origin values regarding social justice to

be contributing factors or precursors to later social justice awareness. Taken as a whole, these themes add to the existing literature, a more nuanced understanding of WRID as it relates to White antiracist counseling identity development. Additionally, these findings indicate a need to provide opportunities for White counselors to make meaning and reflect upon the significance of these early life racial experiences and the impact on their antiracist counseling identity development. These opportunities are particularly important for White counselors who, prior to graduate training, may have had limited exposure, encounters, and contact with race-based information and cross-racial experiences which differs in comparison to BIPOC students' exposure to race which typically occurs much earlier in life and in a traumatic manner (Tatum, 2003). In these cases, master's and doctoral level counseling programs may be the only vehicle to provide initial opportunities for these exposing experiences to facilitate antiracist growth among White counselors in training. Therefore, it behooves counselor educators to recognize the novice level of antiracist professional identity development among some White counselors in training as many are just beginning this journey when they enter graduate school. Facilitating antiracist identity development among White master's level students requires a multifaceted approach which will be detailed in the Implications for Counselor Education and Supervision section of this chapter.

Exposure

Participants in this study discussed being exposed to new race-based experiences as a key developmental factor that facilitated awareness of self and others. Exposure prompted further learning about race and racism and occurred through *Eye-opening Moments* and *Guiding Relationships*. *Eye-opening Moments* as a category of experiences included supporting themes reflective of moments like *Witnessing racial oppression*, *Intersectional experiences*,

Multicultural coursework and training experiences, and Immersion experiences. This category is reflective of the cognitive-emotional information processing suggested by Helms's (1990, 1995) work on racial identity development for both Whites and people of color. Helms discussed the ways in which individuals encounter new racial material or events in their environment, process or perceive the racial information, and the subsequent impact on their racial understandings. As such, exposure to racial material and events is a maturing experience in White antiracist development. Similarly, Smith and Redington's (2010) findings from a study on White antiracist activists also noted the importance of exposure through developmental experiences and turning points like race-based educational and training experiences and witnessing acts of racism for increased likelihood of antiracist behavior. Previous related research on social justice identity also found that exposure to injustice was a critical incident (Caldwell and Vera, 2010; Dollarhide et al., 2016). Further, this study's findings on the significance of *Eye-opening Moments* are consistent with Feenstra's (2017) personal narrative of antiracist identity development. Feenstra articulated a turning point in graduate school when she began to recognize her racial privileges after previously ascribing to a racially color-blind worldview which clouded her view of her Whiteness, impeding antiracist development. Similarly, the participants in this study agreed that master's level multicultural counseling coursework and antiracist training experiences were critical to their antiracist counseling identity development. Specifically, almost all participants noted the significance of the multicultural counseling course for (a) prompting initial reflection on Whiteness and White values, (b) stimulating critical analysis of previously held beliefs about race and racial issues, and (c) facilitating constructive dialogue on issues related to power, privilege, and racial oppression and its impact on the counseling relationship. One of the most cited barriers to equitable mental healthcare among communities of color is racism within the

mental health profession and ongoing racial trauma (Carter, 2007, 2017; Sue et al., 2007). The harmful effects of racial microaggressions within the counseling relationship are well documented (Hook et al., 2016; Owen et al., 2011; Sue et al., 2007; Sue et al., 2008). Further, racial microaggressions in counseling have been linked to lower rates of client retention (Fortuna et al., 2010) and poorer mental health outcomes (Nadal et al., 2014). This study provides evidence that master's and doctoral level antiracist and multicultural counseling training is influential in facilitating cultural humility and cultural responsiveness among White counselors in training which may decrease the frequency of unaddressed racial microaggressions in counseling. However, more research in this area is needed to fully understand the impact of antiracist training.

This study's findings on intersectional experiences with oppression as one salient type of *Eye-opening Moments* also validate Croteau's (1999) description of the impact of intersectional experiences on antiracist development. Like participants in this study, Croteau (1999) suggested that attention to marginalized group memberships (e.g., female, gay) facilitated increased awareness of power, privilege, and oppression for Whites whose Whiteness might otherwise have remained invisible to them. Much like early life racial experiences, these findings suggest a need to provide White counselors with the opportunity to synthesize and integrate these exposing experiences to facilitate antiracist counseling identity development. One such way is through supportive relationships like the *Guiding Relationships* that participants identified as key developmental supports.

Mentorship has been shown to have a positive impact on counselor's multicultural training (Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Dollarhide et al., 2016). In a related study on social justice orientation development, Caldwell and Vera (2010) found that 64% of participants ($n = 23$)

identified a mentor or advocacy model as a critical incident in their development. Hence, an important finding from this study that adds to the literature on White antiracism is the significance of *Guiding Relationships*. These guiding relationships included BIPOC and White antiracist mentors and models as well as significant cross-racial relationships with antiracist BIPOC people in participants' lives who supported, challenged, and modeled antiracist attitudes, beliefs, and actions. These relationships provided participants opportunities for observational and interpersonal learning. An important and unexpected finding of this study was that none of the participants in this study identified their clinical supervisors as significant sources of support along their antiracist journeys. Moreover, the lack of attention to issues related to race within the supervisory relationship was noted by 11 out of 12 participants which indicates a serious ethical issue that the field of counseling must address. Implications of this finding will be addressed later in this chapter.

Awareness Phase

Taken as a whole, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development provides further supporting evidence for Helms's model of WRID (1990, 1995) and mechanisms for antiracist growth. This study's model validates the importance of significant early life racial experiences or lack of them and increased contact with BIPOC individuals and communities as well as exposing experiences to new information on race and racism like those described by Helms (1990, 1995) in *Disintegration*. Further, this study's model illustrates that it is not only the "eye-opening" experiences that are essential to WRID and antiracist growth, but the awareness and knowledge gained from those experiences. Hence, increased racial awareness (e.g., White privilege) is a focal point of the model of White antiracist counseling identity development,

where the participants in this study expressed the intrinsic value of new racial awareness as well as the facilitative properties of awareness towards antiracist growth.

Participants in this study noted the importance of gaining racial awareness and developing *Critical Race Consciousness* which was viewed as a key developmental task marked by cognitive changes. Aligned with Helms's WRID model (1990, 1995) and the Immersion/Emersion statuses which are reflective of deep cognitive shifts in understanding racism, racial issues and personal meaning making, Critical Race Consciousness develops within the Awareness phase of the model of White antiracist counseling identity development and continues throughout successive cycles of growth. Singh (2019) described consciousness-raising as "the expansion, growth, and evolution of our awareness" (p. 83). As part of expanding race consciousness, participants engaged in an identity development process reflected in the supporting theme of *Deconstructing/reconstructing Whiteness to include antiracism*. This identity construction was viewed as an identity transformation akin to Helms's (1990, 1995) description of WRID in that participants in this study noted their White identities shifted from an oblivious, privileged, and superior stance to an antiracist stance which was defined as having awareness of privilege and a responsibility to use that privilege towards antiracist action and change. This identity transformation was facilitated by a process of *Re-educating Self on Race and Racism* through several key actions captured by the following supporting themes: (a) *Disrupting cycle of socialization*; (b) *Learning from books, articles, workshops, and conversations*; and (c) *"Let this matter" critical analysis and assimilation*.

As suggested by previous antiracism studies (DiAngelo, 2018; Malott et al., 2015; Singh, 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010), undoing previous racial socialization requires an intentional process of re-educating the self. Participants described seeking out new and varying sources of

information on race-related issues through books, articles, films, workshops, coursework, and conversations. These actions reflect the findings of existing research by Smith and Redington (2010) that found that White antiracist activists identified “turning points” in their awareness via transformative professional experiences like speakers, books, and trainings (p. 545). An interesting finding from this study was the significance of *Disrupting cycle of socialization* which has not been well-documented in previous literature. Participants in this study emphasized the need to actively seek out information that challenges previously held viewpoints.

Furthermore, participants understood that re-education involved more than just seeking out and consuming new and varied sources of race-based information. Hence, for information to matter, White counselors committed to antiracist growth need to engage in deep reflection, critical analysis, and finally assimilation of new race-based information to enhance their awareness and race consciousness. This complex cognitive process is evident in the “*Let this matter*” *critical analysis and assimilation* supporting theme, a theme that highlights the importance of “this” as described by June as new race-based information and learning, which is a significant addition to the body of antiracist literature.

Furthermore, this study’s findings extend the existing body of literature on multicultural counseling training by detailing the cognitive and affective changes that raise race consciousness. The cognitive changes within the category *Critical Race Consciousness* are supportive of the foundations of multicultural counseling theory (MCT; Sue et al., 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999) which was operationalized in the Multicultural Counseling Competencies (MCC; Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1992; Sue et al., 2019) and the recently updated ACA Advocacy Competencies (Toporek & Daniels, 2018). Multicultural counseling competency training models like MCT and the MCC emphasize the development of counselor knowledge,

awareness, and skills. Further, these training models recognize that enhanced multicultural knowledge and awareness are integral to providing culturally competent services and increased engagement in advocacy behaviors (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1992; Sue et al., 1996; Toporek & Daniels, 2018). The tenets of MCT and the MCC posit that exploration of the self as a racial being increases awareness of personal values, biases, and assumptions that impact the counseling process (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1996). Specifically, recognition of one's privilege or marginalization aids in awareness of limitations in one's knowledge and experiences. This awareness provides a foundation on which to develop counseling skills for multicultural contexts, specifically the ability to choose and successfully implement culturally responsive practices when working with clients across a wide range of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Hence, the findings from this study validate MCT (Sue et al., 1996) and the MCC (Sue et al., 1992) as they support a conceptual model of culturally competent practice, predicated on counselor knowledge and awareness.

The model of antiracist counseling identity development is illustrative of enhanced multicultural knowledge and awareness and supports Helms's (1990, 1995) description of White people's maturation towards flexible analyses of racial information. Participants in this study shared numerous examples of cognitive changes including increased awareness of the self as a racial being and of their own Whiteness (e.g., values, beliefs, biases). They described increased understanding of their Whiteness in terms of: (a) White privilege (McIntosh, 1992) such as access to educational and professional opportunities which facilitated antiracist growth, (b) White fragility (DiAngelo, 2018) like awareness of affective responses such as guilt and denial, and (c) changes in their WRID (Helms, 1990, 1995) such as movement from racial color-blindness to more pluralistic understandings. In addition, they identified increased knowledge of

the history of racism in the U.S. and the cultural context of others including their BIPOC clients' experiences with racism. These findings are consistent with other studies on White antiracism which detailed cognitive changes in the conceptualization of race and racism among White antiracist activists, specifically knowledge and awareness of White racial identity, Whiteness as a social construction and form of oppression, and recognition of antiracism as a counterbalancing act to reconstruct a more positive White identity (Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Given the personal and professional nature of antiracist counseling development described by participants, the process of cognitive change was complex, evoking powerful emotional responses which are detailed next.

For participants in this study, developing an antiracist counseling identity involved powerful affective changes. In the U.S., White supremacy upholds a racial hierarchy in which Whiteness is considered normative; therefore, Whites do not have to think about their racial identity and Whiteness unless they choose to do so or are prompted by others in their lives (DiAngelo, 2018; McIntosh, 1992; Tatum, 2003). As such, participants in this study experienced discomfort when confronted by new racial awareness. Consistent with DiAngelo's (2018) reporting on White fragility in her seminal text, participants reported *Working through Challenging Emotions in Relationships* as a critical developmental task. White fragility is a "state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress in the habitus becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 103). DiAngelo described a range of emotions that Whites experience when engaging in dialogue on issues related to race and racism; when unchecked, these emotions uphold White racial dominance. As suggested by DiAngelo's work on White antiracist development and White fragility, Whites in this study experienced affective responses captured within the *Reconciling White fragility* supporting theme. As

participants restructured their thinking about race and racism, they engaged in affective change processes by confronting and reconciling challenging emotions like guilt, shame, defensiveness, and anger. Participants understood these emotional responses as indicative of deep, long-lasting change. Given these findings, Whites who aspire to become antiracist must recognize that failure to work through these challenging emotions could result in harmful blocks along their antiracist journey, further perpetuating White supremacy. These findings also support Linder's (2015) research on antiracist identity development which found that unresolved guilt, shame, and fear of appearing racist were impediments to White antiracist development. Hence, it is important for White antiracist counselors to recognize the emotions associated with White fragility as a flag or marker, indicating an area for growth. The process of reconciliation of White fragility is not one which ever fully ends as each new racial encounter may activate emotions like guilt or denial that must be addressed. Singh (2019) likened the emotional experience of learning about racism to Kübler-Ross and Kessler's (2014) five stages of grief and suggested that antiracists must "sort out" these challenging emotions towards racial healing (p. 78). Furthermore, for participants in this study, the process of affective change required the support of antiracist relationships or *Guiding Relationships* which is consistent with findings from other antiracism studies (Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010) regarding the importance of "sustained relationships with people of color, in their personal lives as well as in collaborating for antiracist work" (Malott et al., 2019, p. 72) and with other White antiracists and networks like White ally groups for coping with the challenges of antiracism work. The findings from this study differ and extend the findings from Malott et al.'s (2019) study to include *Guiding Relationships* as a specific coping mechanism for managing challenging emotions associated with White fragility. One key difference between Malott et al.'s (2019) work and this study's findings is the intentionality in

seeking out both White and BIPOC guides as participants in this study were cognizant of the emotional labor and cost of antiracism work for people of color and made attempts to not overburden the people of color in their lives with their emotional caretaking. Hence, there is a need for White antiracists to have other White mentors and supports like White affinity groups rather than to solely rely on BIPOC friends and colleagues to guide White counselors in their antiracist journey. During Exposure and the Awareness phase, participants referenced the importance of ongoing support of *Guiding Relationships*. This finding means that White antiracist counselors benefit from other antiracist guides who can serve as models on how to tolerate powerful dissonance and move forward in their development as opposed to becoming entrenched and immobilized by their racial fragility or use their racial fragility as an excuse to avoid challenging cross-racial conversations. Given the lifelong nature of becoming antiracist for White counselors, relapses into White supremacist thinking, racist action, and racist inactions are inevitable and can be viewed as moments that direct future learning. Participants' antiracist mentors and significant cross-racial relationships were generally cited as key factors in helping them mitigate these relapses and progress in their WRID and antiracist growth. Thus, *Guiding Relationships* may serve as a protective factor against recurrent, long-term, or permanent relapses into White supremacist thinking and denial of racism during pivotal points in their antiracist identity development.

One of the noticeable differences in the findings of this study, as compared to existing literature on WRID and White antiracism (Helms, 1990, 1995; Linder, 2015), was the lack of evidence suggesting participants operated from Helms's (1995) Pseudo Independence status described by Tatum (2003) as "the 'guilty White liberal' persona" (p. 106). According to Helms (2017), Pseudo Independence manifests as a dichotomized way of viewing racism and

subsequent separation of Whites into two categories: “good” nonracist Whites and “bad” racist Whites. Helms (2017) described one consequence of this type of thinking as moral Whiteness. Moral Whiteness, or the internalization of a moral superiority, is observable in Whites who view themselves as racially enlightened and seek to prove that they are “good” White people who can fix the problems of BIPOC communities (Helms, 2107). DiAngelo (2021) referred to this subtle type of systemic racism as “nice racism” and cautioned that well-intentioned progressive White people who believe in racial justice oftentimes enact the most harm to people of color through their belief that they are enlightened and outside the problem of racism. While participants in this study referenced feeling guilt and shame during eye-opening moments, they did not describe their racial identity developmental experiences with examples of Pseudo Independent attitudes, thoughts, or behaviors indicative of White saviorhood. Participants in this study generally acknowledged an awareness of the harmfulness of operating from a Pseudo-independent stance reflective of White saviorhood; they did not view themselves as “good” Whites. While they did experience racial fragility at times, they also recognized it as an ongoing challenge in their antiracist efforts to address. Moreover, they made attempts to minimize the impact of their internalized White supremacy and values within their interpersonal interactions and their counseling practice as evidenced by descriptions of behavioral change in the Manifestation phase which will be described later in this chapter. Hence, a critique of this study’s model is that it does not capture the full range of developmental experiences of White counselors who engage in antiracism work as this study selected only participants who identified strongly or very strongly as antiracist and whose antiracism work was verifiable (see Chapter III for full participant criteria). Perhaps, White counselors with less developed antiracist identities could further articulate the Disintegration and Pseudo Independence statuses and corresponding cognitive and

affective experiences noted by Helms (1990, 1995). More research is needed to better understand other developmental trajectories towards White antiracist counseling.

Identity Integration Phase

Identity Integration, the third phase of the cycle of White antiracist counseling identity development, functions as an intermediary phase that aided participants in translating their awareness into action through the crystallization of their identities as antiracist counselors. This phase of development consists of three main categories of experiences: 1) *Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)*, 2) *Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity*, and 3) *Intentionality to Change*. In an earlier White antiracism study by Smith and Redington (2010), White antiracist activists identified a personal, both ethical and moral, sense of responsibility for antiracist learning and action. Further, Smith and Redington found that participants in their study directed their learning through intentional efforts and analysis. Intentional changes in beliefs and awareness through critical analysis and reflection as a path to antiracist action was also substantiated by participants in this study. Throughout the interview process, many of the antiracist counselors spoke about the impact of their heightened levels of *Critical Race-Consciousness* which fostered an alignment of the personal and professional domains of their identities, resulting in a personalized definition of an antiracist counseling identity and intentionality to change their behavior and counseling practices.

The field of professional counseling counts multiculturalism and social justice advocacy as core professional values and tenets of competent practice. Hence, counselors are committed to being trained as both multiculturally competent counselors and effective change agents to address the needs of an increasingly diverse population in the U.S. (Arredondo & Toporek, 2004; Ratts, 2011, 2017; Ratts et al., 2010). The category *Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling*

Identity is well aligned with these aspirational competencies. Throughout the interview process, the participants in this study narrated their viewpoints on what constitutes an antiracist counseling identity. There is limited literature in the counseling field that explores antiracism in relation to professional counseling identity; therefore, this study adds new valuable information to the body of existing research on White antiracism.

In a previous study by Malott et al. (2015), personal definitions of Whiteness were explored among White antiracists. Malott and colleagues' (2015) participants viewed Whiteness as oppressive and actively worked to reconstruct White identity to reflect more positive aspects of self. As part of this reconstructive process, their participants viewed antiracism as “an antidote to the negative (e.g., oppressive) aspects of Whiteness” and essential to a positive White identity, with one participant stating that her antiracist identity “gives me a positive way of being White in the world” (Malott et al., 2015, p.337). Similarly, for the participants in this study, integrating antiracism into their personal and professional sense of self was a critical development task for antiracist counseling development, which enabled them to engage in more positive, effective antiracist action during the Manifestation phase of development. Furthermore, the integration of antiracism into their professional counseling identity solidified a personal definition of antiracist counseling that reflects a prioritization of multicultural counseling knowledge, awareness, and action, including advocacy interventions. This personal definition is in alignment with the MCC (Sue et al., 1992), the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015), and the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018). Moreover, definitional alignment with the profession's competencies (a) highlights the importance of self-awareness and multicultural knowledge for culturally responsive practice, and (b) validates the role of advocacy in multicultural counseling including antiracist efforts to redress racism through both individual

and systems level change. Lastly, some participants in this study recognized the challenges in identifying as an antiracist counselor. Specifically, participants viewed an antiracist counseling identity as a commitment to *becoming* antiracist; they did not consider their antiracist identities to be achieved. As such, they felt discomfort in using the label of antiracist and instead felt that their antiracist counseling identity was expressed through their intentional actions over time. This finding is significant as it challenges the idea of WRID as a linear process with a fixed endpoint of antiracism as the goal (Helms, 1990) and is supported by Helms's (1995) updated model of White racial identity which changed the stages to statuses in recognition of the fluidity of movement between statuses based on circumstances (e.g., level of comfort, familiarity, dissonance). For example, a White counselor with a more well-developed WRID and who holds a pluralistic, humanistic worldview may primarily operate from the Autonomy status and engage in antiracist action like making personal and professional choices in alignment with her antiracist commitment (e.g., attend a workshop on White supremacy culture in counselor education). When presented with new racial stimuli (i.e., race-based information) at this workshop, she may operate from an earlier and easily accessible status like Disintegration and feel intense guilt or discomfort, disengaging and retreating into her White privilege of avoidance and silence. This example highlights the need for White antiracist counselors to continue to engage in *Self-checking* (see Chapter IV; Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase) which participants defined as challenging their racial biases and attitudes, thoughts, feelings, and reactions to race-based information as relapse into White supremacist thinking is inevitable. Other antiracism studies also support this study's finding that antiracist identity is an aspirational identity requiring a commitment to ongoing action towards antiracism (Feenstra, 2017; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015). That is, White counselors committed to antiracism must recognize that an antiracist

identity requires intentional, vigilant, and sustained efforts. Helping White counselors understand antiracist counseling development as continuous is critical as this deeply personal and challenging work can be difficult for some Whites who may uphold White supremacist values like an action orientation or a related sense of urgency (Jones & Okun, 2001; Katz, 1985;). These White values may motivate them to seek quick fixes in lieu of long-lasting change which is a major obstacle to antiracist growth (Jones & Okun, 2001; Katz, 1985;).

Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase

A critical aspect of antiracist counseling identity development was *Taking Action*. Participants in this study viewed *Taking Action* as a critical component of their antiracist counseling development. These findings are in alignment with both Helms's (1990, 1995) Autonomy status reflective of an intentional commitment to antiracism, as well as previous studies on antiracism which found that White antiracists believed that antiracist awareness must be translated into antiracist action (Malott et al., 2015; Smith & Redington, 2010). For example, Smith and Redington (2010) reported that White antiracist activists viewed action as “an essential ingredient of antiracism itself” and understood that they had a responsibility to act on the new awareness that they had gained (p. 544). As part of the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase of the cycle, all participants discussed the manifestation of their antiracist counseling identities through ongoing personal and professional action. This finding also parallels Hoover and Morrow's (2016) model of social justice development which outlined the personal and professional actions of counselor trainees in a social justice-oriented practicum who engaged in personal self-examination work (e.g., bias discussions) as well as social justice interventions on campus and in the wider community. Such findings mean that antiracist counseling identity

development is action-oriented and requires White counselors to take initiative to engage in personal and professional antiracist activities and practices.

The Manifestation phase and its corresponding category of *Taking Action* is also consistent with the goals of multicultural counseling and social justice advocacy training models like MCT's utilization of culturally appropriate skills and interventions (Sue et al., 1996) as well as the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) and the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018) which emphasize counselor advocacy interventions. As such, incorporation of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems framework is useful in discussing participants' descriptions of their antiracist actions during the Manifestation phase. Bronfenbrenner proposed a conceptual framework for understanding the environmental contexts affecting individuals and identified four levels of ecological systems which are relevant to this study including: (a) the microsystem or immediate environment, (b) the mesosystem or interactions between two or more microsystems, (c) the exosystem or policies and procedures affecting both the microsystem and exosystem, and (d) the macrosystem or larger societal level influences like values, beliefs, policies, and laws. First, participants described taking personal and professional action within the microsystem. They shared about educating other Whites about racism and antiracism like parents, friends, peers, and colleagues as well as interrupting microaggressions within their personal and professional spheres of influence (e.g., counseling agency). Additionally, they described engaging in advocacy interventions within and across systems. For example, participants shared about involvement with antiracist organizations and legislative and public-policy initiatives as professional antiracist actions. Participants also described how their ability to engage effectively in antiracist action was influenced by their Whiteness which is indicative of Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem. Each participant described a

process of acknowledging the impact of White cultural values and beliefs (e.g., urgency) on their antiracist development. These findings represent an ecological view of antiracist counseling practices and the need for White antiracist counselors to consider multiple levels of systemic action as well as how each level of the ecological system may facilitate or impede their development. For example, White counselors working in behavioral health care systems may find themselves facing antiracism obstacles within managed care like the requirement for standardized treatment plans that may rely on culturally biased assessments and/or diagnoses (Hays, 2016). A deeper understanding of these systemic influences is needed for impactful antiracist counseling action.

While a comprehensive discussion of each antiracist action is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that the professional actions identified by participants in this study constitute a preliminary model for antiracist counseling practice. These actions include: (a) *Broaching*, (b) *Engaging in advocacy*, (c) *Decolonization of curriculum and practices*, (d) *Using an antiracist-informed theoretical orientation*, (e) *Passing the “test” with BIPOC clients*, (f) *Affirming BIPOC clients’ experiences of racism*, (g) *Addressing White clients’ racism*, (h) *Interrupting microaggressions*, (i) *Centering and amplifying BIPOC voices*, (j) *Educating other Whites about racism*, (k) *Antiracist practices in counselor education*, and (l) *Involvement in antiracist organizations*. These sub-themes illustrate the manifestation of an antiracist counseling identity in practice. As such, this study is the first to empirically demonstrate antiracist counseling practices. Furthermore, earlier studies on White antiracism indicate the importance of antiracist actions among activists, educators, and mental health professionals but none delineated specific counseling practices that antiracist counselors utilize (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Hence, these antiracist actions reflect a template for other

antiracist counselors to model in practice and can be further explored in future research. This preliminary model of antiracist counseling is a significant contribution to the existing literature on multicultural counseling, social justice advocacy, and antiracism as it provides a much-needed template for training antiracist counselors.

A recent and emerging body of literature focuses on the history of colonization and its impact on counseling theory and practices with a call to act to decolonize the counseling profession (Singh et al., 2020). As such, the finding *Decolonization of curriculum and practices* adds to this growing body of research; specifically, this sub-theme offers a potential model for ways to decolonize counseling theory, training, and practice. To decolonize counseling, participants spoke about critiquing counseling theories created by White men for White clients and utilizing strength-based approaches for BIPOC groups like Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth model. The community cultural wealth model highlights the multidimensional strengths of BIPOC individuals and communities like extended family support, not generally acknowledged by Whites. These strengths are categorized as six forms of cultural capital: aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, resistant, and navigational capital (Yosso, 2005). Yosso's (2005) model is further explained in the Implications for Counseling Theory section of this chapter. Those who worked in higher education also identified revamping counselor education curriculum to integrate multiculturalism and social justice throughout training programs and not just in the designated multicultural counseling course. Several other antiracist counseling skills could also be utilized to decolonize counseling practice. One such practice described by participants was *Passing the "test"* to establish trust and create a context for safety in sessions. Ultimately BIPOC clients determine if safety has been created; therefore, the charge for White counselors is to prevent harm and actively strive to create a context and environment that

facilitates physical and emotional safety. Creating a context for safety and establishing trust is especially important for BIPOC clients who may demonstrate a self-protective and adaptive mistrust of White mental health counselors based on past traumatic experiences with Whites (Mowbray et al., 2018). To pass the “test,” White antiracist counselors must affirm BIPOC clients’ experiences with racism. This means that White antiracist counselors must: (a) educate themselves on racism and not place that burden on their BIPOC clients or colleagues, (b) validate clients’ experiences with institutional racism, (c) recognize and address racial microaggressions that occur in and outside of sessions, and (d) act as a “container” for historical and ongoing racial trauma.

Another important finding in this study was that White antiracist counselors routinely address issues related to race with their White clients; specifically, they broach, they address racist comments, attitudes, and beliefs, and they engage in exploration and clarification of values to help clients reconcile conflicts, especially values conflicts that result in relational issues or are part of the client’s presenting issue. It is important to note that participants in this study (a) described this aspect of their antiracist counseling practice as challenging, and (b) recognized that models for addressing racism with White clients do not exist and that this gap in training must be addressed by counselor educators and supervisors. The negligent lack of a model for addressing White clients’ racism within counseling sessions is another perpetuation of White supremacy within the profession and an area in which disarming is necessary. Chapter IV provides a more comprehensive description of each professional action, and several key actions will be further discussed in the Implications section of this chapter.

Existing literature on social justice identity development has identified key influences for the manifestation of a social justice orientation like engagement in political discourse and

analysis of power and intersectionality issues (Hoover & Morrow, 2016; McMahon et al., 2010). Other research like Caldwell and Vera's (2010) study on social justice orientation development found that counseling psychology trainees and professionals, 55.6% of whom identified as White/European- American, did not emphasize political ideology or political interest as a key developmental factor. Due to the nature of antiracism work, I was surprised to find that the majority of participants in this study did not emphasize political ideology (although all self-identified as either feminist, left-leaning, progressive, liberal, or as an Independent or Democrat) as a critical developmental factor in their antiracist identity development nor political activism as a form of collective antiracist action. Due to the systemic nature of antiracism work, some level of political action appears necessary to redress structural and institutional racism within U.S. society as a form of client advocacy. While some participants shared about individual political acts (e.g., donating to campaigns) or their personal action within legislative spheres (e.g., writing letters to representatives about issues affecting clients in their communities), this type of antiracist action appeared to develop later in White counselors' antiracist identity developmental trajectories. Several participants in this study like Michael referenced the lack of training models [within the American Counseling Association and counselor education] for effective systems level advocacy acts like political organizing and/or legislative advocacy. This study's findings regarding the limited role of organized and collective political action in the counseling profession raises important questions about the counseling profession's commitment to social justice advocacy as a core professional value and warrants further study and discussion. Further, the absence of models for organized and collective political action regarding issues affecting clients may speak to a deficit in our counselor development and training.

Maintenance Phase

As noted in earlier White antiracism studies, antiracist identity development is a lifelong process (Feenstra, 2017; Linder, 2015; Smith & Redington, 2010). Hence, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development reflects a commitment to continuous growth and development in the Maintenance phase. Participants in this study discussed how they maintained their antiracist counseling identities and commitment to antiracist action over the course of a lifetime. Integral to this process are three categories of experiences: 1) *Lifelong Development*, 2) *Antiracist Community of Support*, and 3) *Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Work*.

A criticism of Helms's (1990, 1995) WRID model is that it does not provide enough information regarding the maintenance of an antiracist identity over the course of a lifetime (Linder, 2015). In a study on White antiracism, Linder (2015) interviewed six White female undergraduate students who identified as antiracist and found a complex interplay of factors that affected antiracist engagement like reoccurring and challenging emotions such as guilt, shame, and fear of appearing racist. Linder noted that WRID models do not provide enough explanation for how antiracist identity is maintained despite these inherent challenges. This study's emerging model of White antiracist counseling identity development expands upon Helms's (1990, 1995) model of WRID through interviews with White antiracist counselors across the lifespan who were able to articulate the experience of maintaining their antiracist commitments. As such, this model provides much needed information for understanding how to support White counselors through predictable and ongoing developmental challenges like White fragility.

Additionally, previous research on White antiracism suggested that White antiracists committed to lifelong development and learning despite ongoing developmental challenges (Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010). Similarly, White antiracist counselors in this

study embarked on *Lifelong Development*. They made a commitment to *Lifelong learning* and recognized that their identities would *Change over time*. Participants recognized and welcomed ongoing changes in their antiracist attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, awareness, skills, and behavior and understood that these substantial changes would require vigilant efforts and may take them on an unpredictable path. The findings from the current study regarding the nature of the developmental trajectory in the Maintenance phase also reflect the findings of Malott and colleagues' (2015) study that found White antiracists' development over a lifetime as nonlinear. Participants in the Malott et al. (2015) study maintained an expectation that they would "take one step back, then two more forward" (p. 338). Moreover, development was described by Malott and colleagues (2015) as "repetitive" or a "cycling through [to] go deeper and deeper" which supports the repetitive, recursive, and cyclical nature of this study's emerging model of White antiracist counseling identity development (p. 338). Further, this study's emerging model validates the previous findings from Malott et al. (2015) that suggested the White antiracist developmental trajectory is ongoing, necessitating a "continual struggle to improve his or her strategies" (p. 338). A developmental process of *Lifelong learning* which involved *Making and recovering from mistakes* was echoed by participants in this study who described having new exposing experiences that highlighted a failed attempt or missed opportunity to intervene, prompting a processing of this new information and assimilating this new information into their identities in order to redress their covert racist attitudes or beliefs and improve their antiracist counseling skills, practices, and actions. To deal with these developmental challenges in the Maintenance phase, participants described their reliance on supportive relationships from their *Antiracist Community of Support*. Building a community of support with other White antiracists may function as a coping mechanism to prevent burnout (Malott et al., 2019; Smith &

Redington, 2010). This finding means that in order for White antiracist counselors to maintain their lifelong commitment to antiracism work, they must form deep, long-lasting connections with other like-minded White and BIPOC antiracists and antiracist organizations to sustain their antiracist efforts.

Furthermore, Smith and Redington (2010) found that White antiracist activists continually strived for positive antiracist personal and professional development, as well as setting and refining goals to direct their developmental journeys. Findings from this study support Smith and Redington's reporting that White antiracists maintain a hopefulness for the future and a proactive stance towards directing their learning towards areas of continued growth. Lila noted this proactive stance towards areas for antiracist growth in her discussion of her goal of becoming more fluent in legislative advocacy. Lastly, participants in this study viewed their antiracist developmental trajectory as working toward racial justice and equity for all marginalized communities (e.g., LGBTQ, disability) which motivated them to continue learning and growing. Hope articulated the impact of her antiracist development on allyship to other communities and the need to engage as "an accomplice that is working toward more equity within our systems."

Integral to an antiracist counseling identity was the process of clarifying the purpose and meaning of antiracism work reflected in the category of *Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Antiracist Work*. Evident in the supporting theme *Personal and professional values*, participants articulated a personal and professional values system inclusive of beliefs in the interconnectedness of humanity, social justice, equity, and fairness that fueled ongoing antiracist efforts and provided a clear purpose towards antiracism work. Some participants described a moral and ethical obligation to take action. Similarly, Malott and colleagues (2019) reported that

values like equity, fairness, social justice, and love contributed significantly to participants' commitments to antiracism. Hence, identifying these values as core professional counseling values may facilitate White antiracist counseling development.

Influences throughout Cycle of Development

The process of developing an antiracist counseling identity was also influenced by factors like Attitudes and Personal Characteristics and Motivation for Change. As noted by Malott and colleagues (2019), antiracist development requires a sense of humility. Participants in this study also recognized the limitations of their Whiteness for engaging in antiracism work and continuously strived to learn from their mistakes, much like the antiracist activists in the Malott et al. (2019) study. Humility can be viewed as another essential aspect of antiracism described by participants in this study as one component of a larger set of characteristics evident in the supporting themes *Open, interested, non-defensive stance* and *Humility*.

Previous research demonstrated the significance of the construct of cultural humility within the counseling process. Cultural humility has been linked to higher levels of multicultural competency and is integral to culturally responsive psychotherapy (Hook et al., 2016). Antiracist counselors in this study exhibited cultural humility and maintained a position of openness and respect for others. They actively rejected White superiority and attempted to redress power imbalances within the client-counselor relationship. In Malott et al.'s (2019) study, White antiracists demonstrated humility and rejected White supremacist norms, acknowledged racism, affirmed cultural differences, and adopted a "not-knowing stance" (p. 93).

Additionally, participants in this study articulated a not previously studied antiracist characteristic defined by this researcher as *Fortitude*. For participants in this study, antiracist counseling identity development necessitated a strength of character to persist despite obstacles.

Some like June and Elizabeth described qualities such as perseverance and endurance to sustain a commitment to antiracism across a professional lifespan, including learning from mistakes and not retreating into privilege and complacency during the Maintenance phase. The identification of *Fortitude* distinguishes this study from previous antiracist literature as it establishes fortitude as a possible explanatory factor for why some White counselors commit to antiracism and others do not. Further research is required to fully understand this phenomenon.

The process of antiracist counseling identity development also involved a dynamic interaction of motivators reflected in the influential factor Motivation to Change. Participants identified feeling motivated to change their attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors by *Increased empathy* for BIPOC people in their lives after witnessing an act of oppression. Chung and Bemak (2002) described cultural empathy as a core condition for cross-cultural counseling. Cultural empathy was demonstrated by participants in this study as the ability to observe, understand, accept, and feel another's experience and communicate that understanding in a culturally sensitive way. Increased empathy as well as a sense of personal and professional responsibility to act and a desire to uphold human rights may be considered core conditions for antiracism as they facilitate White counselors' commitment to antiracism over time. These powerful motivating forces extend the existing literature on White antiracist development and could be further explored in future studies.

Implications for the Counseling Profession

This constructivist grounded theory study was the first to explore the development of an antiracist counseling identity among White mental health counselors. Additionally, this study is one of the first empirical studies to examine the antiracist counseling practices of mental health professionals. Previous research on antiracist identity development has yielded information

regarding White antiracism (Croteau, 1999; Feenstra, 2017; Helms, 1990, 1995; Linder, 2015; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010) but no study to date has centered the experiences of White mental health counselors in practice. Hence, the findings from this study have numerous important implications for counseling theory, counseling practice, and counselor education and supervision as well as future research.

Implications for Counseling Theory

The findings of this study contribute to the newly emerging theoretical literature on antiracist counseling. Participants in this study described using what I coined an antiracist-informed theoretical orientation. They described endorsement of antiracist counseling theory as a professional imperative. As such, participants noted the importance of decolonizing professional counseling by contextualizing and critiquing traditional theoretical models rooted in White cultural values and norms (e.g., asking questions like who created them, for whom were they created) and endorsing more culturally responsive and social-justice oriented theories (Singh et al., 2020). According to this study, a decolonized antiracist counseling theory included several components: (a) strength-based, (b) multicultural including intersectional analysis, (c) trauma-informed, and (d) feminist models like relational cultural therapy (Frey, 2013) which focused on the counseling relationship and power dynamics. Yosso's (2005) model of community cultural wealth makes attempts to remediate the historical use of deficit models in conceptualizing the experiences of BIPOC clients. Community cultural wealth recognizes, highlights, and leverages the multidimensional strengths that BIPOC communities and individuals possess that are not typically acknowledged by Whites (Yosso, 2005). These strengths include: (a) aspirational capital or hopes despite obstacles, (b) familial capital including kinship and extended family, (c) social capital like community networks and supports, and (d) resistant capital including lessons

learned from caregivers to challenge inequities and the status quo (Yosso, 2005). Other researchers have also noted the importance of trauma-informed, multiculturally centered, and strength-based approaches when working with clients of color, specifically to support them in their experiences with racism (Malott & Schaeffle, 2015). Further, this study's model of antiracist counseling identity and participants' descriptions of practice demonstrated how the use of an antiracist theoretical model and approach may be beneficial in supporting both BIPOC and White clients. Hence, it behooves practicing mental health counselors to utilize a decolonized and antiracist counseling approach. Further, counselor educators should introduce decolonization and antiracist counseling theory within training programs, specifically during the teaching of counseling theories and during clinical training when the experimentation and crystallization of personalized counseling theory is more likely to occur.

Implications for Counseling Practice

The purpose of this study was to explore White mental health counselors' antiracist counseling identity development. Specifically, I sought to explore what significant personal and professional experiences facilitated White counselors' antiracist counseling identity and how an antiracist counseling identity affects their counseling practice. The MCC (Sue et al., 1992), the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015), the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018), and the ACA Anti-Racism Statement (2020) expect White mental health counselors to move beyond multicultural awareness, towards anti-racist practices within and beyond the counseling relationship. Specifically, this study can inform race-based skills and antiracist counseling practices. Findings from this study have implications for (a) addressing BIPOC clients' experiences of racism; (b) responding to racism by White clients; (c)

facilitating advocacy behaviors with clients of color who experience racism; and (d) addressing racism in work settings including policies, procedures, and colleagues.

First, the study's findings suggest several antiracist counseling competencies for White counselors that can be used to update the MCC developed by Sue et al. in 1992 or to create a separate set of antiracist counseling competencies and benchmarks for responsive practice. These include: (a) Antiracist counselors possess knowledge of the history of racism in the U.S.; (b) Antiracist counselors are aware of their own Whiteness and the impact of their White worldviews on their personal and professional experiences (e.g., biases, assumptions, prejudices); (c) Antiracist counselors seek to understand the client's cultural background (e.g., race/ethnicity, intersectionality of identity, multiple levels of marginalization); (d) Antiracist counselors acknowledge the impact of power and privilege on the counseling relationship and on client mental health and well-being; (e) Antiracist counselors utilize decolonized counseling theories (see above section on Implications for Counseling Theory) and antiracist and multicultural counseling micro-skills (e.g., broaching) and advocacy interventions; and (f) Antiracist counselors actively cultivate an antiracist identity including antiracist attitudes, beliefs, and practices. The implications for two essential antiracist counseling practices will be discussed below.

Importance of Broaching

Broaching (Day-Vines et al., 2007; Day-Vines et al., 2018; Day-Vines et al., 2021) was described by participants in this study as an integral aspect of antiracist counseling practice and was used to openly discuss race-related issues with both BIPOC and White clients. First and foremost, it is essential for antiracist counselors to use broaching to acknowledge marginalized perspectives and validate BIPOC clients' experiences with racism. Many participants described a

type of “test” to pass in order to gain BIPOC clients’ trust. This study’s findings illustrate the need for intentional and explicit dialogue on race-based issues to build rapport and trust.

Participants described in great detail their extensive use of an integrated/congruent broaching style whereby they actively and openly addressed issues related to race, power, privilege, and oppression within the counseling relationship (Day-Vines et al., 2007; Day-Vines et al., 2018; Day-Vines et al., 2021). An important finding from this study is the intentional action of addressing racism with White clients. Participants noted the importance of exploring their White clients’ racial identity development and assisting White clients in clarifying and reconciling conflicts between their core values and their racist beliefs and ideology. However, participants also noted the lack of training and modeling for engaging in this type of counseling work and recognized that some of their antiracist counseling practices with White clients were acquired through trial and error. Further, participants in this study recognized that the responsibility to broach with both BIPOC and White clients rests with the counselor given the inherent power differentials in the relationship. Failure to broach might result in cultural issues remaining unexamined, thereby reinforcing counseling’s role in maintaining the status quo of institutional oppression (Day-Vines et al., 2007).

Importance of Advocacy Interventions

The emerging model of antiracist counseling identity development included a personal definition of an antiracist counseling identity that is closely aligned with multicultural and advocacy models like the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) and ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al., 2002; Toporek et al., 2009; Toporek & Daniels, 2018). These advocacy models focus on client empowerment and provide a framework for advocacy work at varying levels including interpersonal, organizational, community, and public policy levels (Ratts et al., 2010; Ratts et al.,

2016). Engaging in advocacy was described by participants as an essential professional action. As such, counselors are called upon to infuse these antiracist advocacy actions into their day-to-day practices. Participants provided examples of interventions that are necessary to replicate including advocating for policy changes within work settings, interrupting microaggressions and addressing colleagues' expressed racist attitudes or biases, and engaging in public-policy or legislative advocacy action. Several participants indicated that advocacy was not as well developed as other aspects of their antiracist counseling identities. Therefore, these findings illustrate the need for antiracist advocacy training within counselor education programs.

Implications for Counselor Education and Supervision

As described in Chapter II, counselor training must include a focus on multiculturalism and social justice advocacy (ACA, 2014; CACREP, 2015; Ratts et al., 2015). Therefore, counselor educators have an ethical and professional responsibility to prepare counselors to serve a racially and ethnically diverse U.S. population and engage in both culturally competent and responsive practices to address clients' needs. As such, counselor training programs are called upon to provide race-based and antiracist education, training, and supervision. The findings of this grounded theory study on antiracist counseling have numerous important implications for the field of counselor education and supervision. The model can be used to inform curriculum, teaching strategies, mentorship, and practicum/internship training and supervision, as well as post-graduate professional development opportunities to facilitate antiracist counseling identity development and promote the integration of antiracist counseling practices.

In the previous section on counseling practice, I stated that the findings of this grounded theory can be used to create a set of antiracist counseling competencies. Antiracist counseling competencies can be used to inform counseling practice as well as counselor education, training,

and supervision. Gatekeeping is an important evaluative function of counselor education and clinical supervision (Bernard & Goodyear, 2019). The aforementioned competencies can be used to assess aspects of counselor disposition and competency related to antiracism. Antiracist attitudes and characteristics identified by participants in this study included humility, openness to experiences, interest, and non-defensiveness as well as the capacity for higher-level cognitive skills like critical reflection and analysis. Early in training, assessments can be conducted to determine areas of strength and areas for growth that necessitate remediation within an antiracist framework. Developmental learning plans can be created with assessed educational needs, collaborative goals, and available training modalities (e.g., coursework, fieldwork placements, mentors) to meet identified cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of antiracist counseling. For example, direct instruction and modeling of cultural humility is a necessary step for facilitating cultural competency and antiracist development among counselors in training. Counselor educators also need to initiate conversations with students and trainees about antiracist training experiences including the benefits and inherent challenges (e.g., developing comfort with confrontation, managing fear of backlash) to empower trainees as they embark on their antiracist counseling developmental journeys. While this study focused on White antiracist counselors, conversations with all counselors in training about antiracism is necessary. Hence, considerations for BIPOC students' experiences of antiracist counseling identity development are also recommended.

As illustrated in this study's emergent grounded theory, exposure through multicultural coursework and training was considered a significant eye-opening experience that facilitated antiracist counseling development. Participants described significant coursework, fieldwork, and professional development experiences that aided them in developing the necessary awareness,

knowledge, and skills for effective antiracist practice. Infusion of antiracism in counselor education should begin early with students' orientation to the counseling profession, permeate the curriculum, and continue through students' coursework, training, and supervised fieldwork experiences.

Counselor education programs must integrate antiracism within all aspects of training to facilitate antiracist awareness, knowledge, and skill development. This study's findings suggest that antiracist counselor training requires ongoing assessment and program reviews to work towards building a decolonized antiracist program and curriculum. Such a large-scale systemic change in counselor education necessitates work at the individual faculty member level. Programs must recognize that not all faculty will support the integration of antiracism into departmental philosophy, policy, procedures, and curriculum. As such, counseling programs cannot begin antiracist integration without first prioritizing the personal and professional development of faculty through ongoing discussions, book clubs, task groups, and workshops related to understanding one's own racial identity and ethical and professional responsibility to antiracism. Then, counseling faculty can begin decolonizing the framework of the program itself: mission statement, program goals, and admissions process. Decolonizing the curriculum should be done through intentional reviews of counseling coursework: paradigms, theories, frameworks, pedagogy, and methodology for research. Programmatic reviews may necessitate seismic shifts in how a program is structured, what content is covered, and how instruction is delivered. For example, counseling programs should begin with a review of all counseling syllabi and identify areas of strength and weakness related to multiculturalism and antiracism. Next, programs can begin to infuse antiracist theories, historical foundations of antiracism, and culture-centered practices throughout all coursework and can encourage students to engage in critical reflections

of traditional counseling paradigms that are based on White cultural norms, values, and beliefs (Katz, 1985). As a counselor educator, Lila noted the importance of providing opportunities for “digesting knowledge from multiple [racial] perspectives.” Similarly, Michael noted that counselor educators should be talking about issues related to race and racism throughout the curriculum and not just in the multicultural counseling course. Infusion within the curriculum is especially important as the reliance on one multicultural course to provide antiracism training may not be enough for White counselors to interact with race-based educational experiences (Malott, 2010). One 15 week-long multicultural counseling course cannot redress 450 years of White supremacy; therefore, the integration and infusion of antiracism throughout the curriculum is a necessary antiracist action within all counseling programs.

Findings from this study’s model indicate the importance of critical race consciousness or increased awareness of the self as a White racial being, increased knowledge of others including the impact of culture and context, and increased understanding of the historical and sociopolitical aspects of racism. Participants continuously sought new opportunities for learning and actively made meaning from their past and present race-based experiences. They engaged in ongoing reflection and critical analysis of previously held beliefs throughout their antiracist development. Therefore, opportunities to engage in reflexivity and critical analysis must be provided in all coursework. For example, students would benefit from opportunities to make sense of early life racial experiences (e.g., lack of exposure, intersectional experiences, witnessing oppression) and ongoing race-based learning through self-reflection papers in foundational coursework like introductory courses to the profession as well as core courses on counseling theories, lifespan development, career counseling, group dynamics, multicultural counseling, and assessment and diagnosis. Another recommendation is the inclusion of guest lecturers to share professional

experiences related to race, racism, and antiracism and to provide accessible models for antiracist counseling development and antiracist counseling practices. Guest lecturers can model how to address experiences of racism with BIPOC clients as well as ways to address White clients' racism in session. Lastly, programs need to provide ongoing opportunities for students to engage in cross-racial dialogues through monthly or biweekly Conversations on Race (Sue, 2015). Participants described finding spaces to participate in meaningful racial dialogues as key to developing an antiracist counseling identity and maintaining their antiracist commitment over the course of a professional lifetime. In conclusion, antiracist education and training should focus on translating, analyzing, and synthesizing past and present race-based and intersectional experiences like attitudes, values, and beliefs as well as theoretical and conceptual professional knowledge into antiracist action and change.

In addition to the CACREP-required multicultural counseling course, counselor training programs can develop coursework that provides students the opportunity to complete a course focused on antiracism in counseling (Paone et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012). This elective course can include content on the historical, cultural, social, and systemic aspects of racism in the U.S. as well as the dynamic interplay of factors related to antiracism. As part of this course, students can engage in reflective and experiential exercises (e.g., cultural genogram, privilege walk) to develop awareness of their racial biases and prejudices within a supportive yet challenging environment among peers. Additionally, a separate lab-based course can provide hands-on and experiential training on antiracist counseling skills. This skill-based course can be offered as a pre-requisite for practicum and internship coursework, especially if there is an opportunity to create an antiracist fieldwork component. An antiracist-focused practicum/internship experience should require a commitment to serving marginalized

populations, specifically racially/ethnically diverse clients within a structured, supportive antiracist supervisory relationship. Students can also be assigned reflective journals to document and analyze changes in self-awareness as well as complete an advocacy project like writing letters to local or state government officials on an issue affecting their clients who experience racial oppression. If an antiracist-focused practicum/internship course is not feasible, training programs could incorporate antiracism within all practicum and internship courses to afford students ample opportunity to engage with antiracist counseling content, instruction, modeling and role-playing, mentorship and guidance, and antiracist-informed clinical supervision.

Clinical supervision to support antiracist development is a critical and oftentimes missing component. Participants in this study frequently identified the lack of an antiracist-lens within the supervisory relationship as problematic. Clinical supervisors must model cultural humility and infuse the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2015) into clinical supervision, centering experiences related to race and racism within the supervisory process. This study's findings support several antiracist supervisory practices. Clinical supervisors can model broaching behavior to facilitate counselor awareness. They can model reflexivity by naming and challenging potential racial biases that might negatively impact their work with BIPOC clients. Supervisors can also integrate antiracist counseling practices like an antiracist-informed theoretical approach into supervision through case reviews and conceptualizations that require reflection on systems of power, privilege, and oppression experienced by their clients while also encouraging supervisees to engage in the necessary personal work to promote self-awareness and knowledge of their identified race (Glosoff & Durham, 2010). Lastly, through collaborative discussions, supervisees can learn how to effectively engage in antiracist advocacy interventions at the client and institutional level. To accomplish these goals, it is recommended that clinical supervisors should receive training on

antiracism through advanced coursework so that they can effectively provide antiracist supervision to students and counselors in training. Too often, participants described supervisors who engaged in racially color-blind supervision, and participants had to seek out clinical support from other sources.

Another significant implication of this study is the need for guiding relationships and mentors to support antiracist counseling identity development. Participants in this study all identified guiding relationships that supported early learning and development as well as ongoing supports within established antiracist communities that helped maintain their antiracist commitments. Participants identified numerous inherent challenges in developing an antiracist counseling identity including their own racism, conflict in relationships, lack of accessible antiracist training and models, and definitional challenges. Hence, guiding relationships provided opportunities to reconcile dissonant thoughts and resolve challenging emotions. Participants' positive experiences within antiracist support systems is also corroborated by previous research on White antiracism; Malott et al. (2019) found that relational supports were a significant coping mechanism for Whites engaged in antiracism work. Therefore, relational support systems may be a critical factor that potentially explains why some White counselors engage in antiracism efforts over a lifetime and others do not. Counseling training programs can aim to establish both formal and informal opportunities for antiracist counseling mentorship. Formal mentorship can be structured as peer-to-peer or faculty-to-student programs. These mentorship programs can pair mentors and mentees within both cross-racial and same-racial dyads as both types of guiding relationships were viewed as instrumental in developing and maintaining participants' antiracist identities and practices. The goals of these formal mentorship programs should be to facilitate antiracist growth and development through (a) collaborating in shared learning experiences; (b)

modeling of risk taking and making mistakes; (c) reconciling aspects of racial fragility like denial, guilt, and anger; (d) tolerating dissonance; and (e) assisting in managing a sense of urgency or immediacy which were all potential impediments to growth described by participants as successfully resolved within these supportive guiding relationships. Informal mentorship may also be offered by faculty as well as by more advanced students who choose to meet with each other, beyond the multicultural counseling course. Programs could also offer opportunities for students to meet as part of antiracist development groups through coursework, membership in student organizations like Chi Sigma Iota, and/or mentorship opportunities offered by Counselors for Social Justice or the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development.

Strengths and Limitations

This study of White antiracist counseling identity development adds to the growing body of literature on antiracism in the counseling field. As such, there are several noteworthy strengths. First, this study is the first to explicitly examine the experiences of White antiracist counselors. While there has been previous research on antiracism (Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019; Smith & Redington, 2010), there is a paucity of empirical research on antiracist professional identity development and antiracist counseling practices within the counseling profession. Using a rigorous screening process detailed in Chapter III, great effort was made to recruit participants who possessed the requisite lived experiences (e.g., antiracist attitudes, awareness, knowledge, skills, training) to answer the research questions and who could articulate well the experience of antiracist counseling identity development. Next, this study was a qualitative, constructivist grounded theory exploration of the experiences of White antiracist counselors that prioritized an interactive and collaborative data collection process with multiple individual interviews per participant. These 60-90-minute-long interviews provided an extensive

amount of information. To ensure trustworthiness, I used triangulation or multiple sources of data (e.g., multiple participants, multiple interviews, multiple questions) to increase the validity of the findings. Third, I engaged in member checking during the second round of interviews which increased the likelihood of accurate representation of participants' experiences. Lastly, throughout the data collection and analysis process, I used journaling, memoing, and frequent peer debriefing through consultations with critical friends to limit the impact of researcher bias on the reporting of findings.

Despite this study's strengths, there are limitations to address. First, the small sample size ($n = 12$) limits generalizability of the findings. Recruitment of only 12 participants may have limited the variability in experiences and subsequently the categories and themes used to generate the emerging theory of White antiracist counseling identity development. Second, participants' varying number of years of clinical experience may have also affected their experiences of antiracist counseling development and practice. Although all participants met the minimum of one year required to participate in the study, the differences in time spent in clinical practice may have impacted the model's phases. For example, those with less clinical practice may not have been able to articulate the Manifestation: Antiracist Action phase as well as those with more clinical experience. However, those with more clinical experience and a more well-developed antiracist counseling identity may not have been able to recall as easily the significant details of early life and other developmental experiences. Additionally, the average age of participants in this study was 43 years and skewed towards middle adulthood. As such, participants' antiracist experiences reflect those of their generational cohort, including the conditions and context of the social-political experience of race in the U.S. Participants from earlier or later generations may reflect different developmental experiences. Therefore,

variability in age, developmental level of counselor (as compared to beginning students), and time spent in practice may have impacted the emerging theory of White antiracist identity development. Third, although attempts were made to recruit a diverse sample, participants were not actively recruited across a wide range of cultural identities (e.g., age, disability status, gender, social class, sexual orientation, religion) as this type of recruitment was beyond the scope of this study. For example, the sample was predominantly cisgender female ($n = 11$) limiting generalizability of findings across gender expressions. Additionally, only several participants identified as members of other marginalized groups. For example, several participants self-disclosed identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual ($n = 4$), Jewish, ($n = 1$), and having a disability ($n = 2$). Despite this limitation, the emerging model reflects the impact of these intersectional experiences on developing awareness of oppression and the need for antiracism. A more intentional recruitment across a wider range of salient cultural and social identities might have yielded a more thorough understanding of the impact of intersectionality on the personal and professional experiences that facilitate antiracist counseling identity development and antiracist counseling practices. Lastly, this study's design included the use of two semistructured virtual interviews per participant. While in-person interviews would have been ideal, due to the Covid-19 crisis, only virtual interviews were safe to conduct. Therefore, all interviews were conducted via video conference which limited observable non-verbal behavior. Additionally, a third interview could have provided more time for participants to provide feedback on the emerging model to further explicate the complexity of White antiracist counseling identity development. A third interview could have been used to ask participants about their unique experiences pertaining to progression through the phases of development to better understand the nature of their dynamic development as questions remain about the

circularity, linearity, and/or haphazard nature of the model. Lastly, it is important to note that the model needs to be validated but no measures exist to do so. Future research can replicate, extend, or challenge the findings from this study.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study provided foundational knowledge regarding antiracist counseling identity development and antiracist counseling practices, specific to White mental health counselors. As such, this study laid the groundwork for future research on antiracism in counseling. This study is a first step toward understanding the complexity of dynamic factors and processes that impact White antiracist counseling identity development and antiracist practice. Hence, the model of White antiracist counseling identity development is in its infancy of development. Future studies can replicate and/or extend the findings from this study as this study's findings illustrated the need for enhanced understanding of the dynamic interplay among factors and experiences that facilitated antiracist counseling development as well as the impact of antiracist practices on therapeutic and training outcomes. Additional research can refine antiracist counseling identity development theory and inform counseling theory, supervisory practices, counseling interventions, and andragogical and training practices within counselor education to support antiracist counseling development. Such studies should sample both White and counselors of color to fully explore antiracism within the counseling profession.

First, it is important to note that this study utilized purposeful recruitment strategies, and some attempts were made to recruit White participants across a range of social and cultural identities. However, given the demographics of the counseling field which skews towards female professionals, this study's sample also largely comprised cisgender female identifying counselors ($n = 11$). Additional qualitative studies could explore antiracist counseling identity development

among male, transgender, and gender non-conforming counselors to better understand the intersectional experiences of a wider range of gender expressions. While the purpose of this study was to explore antiracist counseling identity development among White identifying counselors, there is also a need to fully explore this developmental process among counselors who identify as racially mixed with White as one of their racial identifications.

Although this study included a purposeful sample of White self-identified antiracist counselors who had practiced for a minimum of one year at some point in their careers, the sample was not representative of a wide range of development. Most participants ($n = 12$) were experienced counselors, with an average of 12 years of experience within the counseling profession. As such, future studies can extend the study's findings by examining antiracist counseling identity among counselors at varying stages of professional development. For example, longitudinal studies could be conducted with various subtypes of practitioners like counselors-in-training, novice, and expert counselors to track their development of antiracist counseling identity. Additionally, participants were recruited who strongly and very strongly identified as antiracist counselors and whose work was verifiable via employment websites, curriculum vitae, and scholarly publications. Future studies could examine antiracist development among those who are both publicly recognized for their antiracism work as well as those who work more "behind the scenes" as those with varying work styles and orientations may have different developmental and practice experiences.

Previous research on multicultural competency and social justice advocacy development has shown the impact of intentional and explicit training practices on competency development among White counselors (Atkins et al., 2017, Caldwell & Vera, 2010; Collins et al., 2015; Cook et al., 2016; Paone et al., 2015; Pieterse, 2009; Rothman et al., 2012). Like the aforementioned

studies, participants in this study described the positive impact of multicultural coursework and training, professional mentorship, and other guiding relationships on their antiracist counseling identity development. Therefore, additional research examining the impact of these facilitative educational and professional experiences is warranted. For example, future longitudinal studies could track the impact of antiracism coursework, practicum/internship training, supervisory experiences, and mentorship on antiracist counseling identity development among more novice mental health counselors. There is a benefit in understanding the impact of early training experiences and guidance on the use of antiracist counseling practices over time.

This study also supported existing antiracism and social justice advocacy research that suggests challenges are inherent to both antiracism and social justice advocacy work (Dollarhide et al., 2016; Malott et al., 2015; Malott et al., 2019). Participants spoke about their antiracist counseling identity as a lifelong commitment. Future studies could examine the challenges that some counselors experience in their antiracist counseling development and further explore why some counselors commit to antiracism and others do not. There is also a need to examine why some White counselors do not identify as antiracist as this study does not provide any information on the experiences of White counselors who do not self-identify as antiracists. Therefore, it is still unknown how antiracism experiences would be described if a counselor is not committed to antiracism.

Lastly, while this grounded theory study provided much needed clarity on the developmental experiences of White antiracist counselors and their counseling practices, it did not shed light on the effects of antiracist counseling on the experiences of clients or students of antiracist counselors, from their respective perspectives. As such, there is a need to conduct qualitative studies using samples of clients, students, and trainees of antiracist counselors to

explore the experiences of all stakeholders. Quantitative studies are also needed to explore therapeutic outcomes among clients of antiracist counselors (e.g., progress towards goals, retention rates, microaggressions within counseling) and training outcomes for students, supervisees, and trainees of antiracist counselors/supervisors/counselor educators. Additionally, future studies can examine the efficacy of the model of antiracist counseling practice that emerged from this study, including the varied professional actions identified by participants.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented a summary of the findings of this dissertation study. I discussed the results in relation to relevant literature on antiracism and multicultural counseling theory. Then, I detailed the implications for this study for the counseling profession, including recommendations for counseling practice as well as counselor education, training, and supervision. Lastly, I presented the limitations of this study and closed the chapter with recommendations for future research.

In conclusion, this grounded theory study is a rigorous, in-depth examination of the developmental and practice experiences of White mental health counselors who identify as antiracist counselors. The study resulted in an emergent theory of White antiracist counseling identity development depicted as five phases of a lifelong cycle: (a) Pre-contemplation, (b) Awareness, (c) Identity Integration, (d) Manifestation: Antiracist Action, and (e) Maintenance and contributing factors like Exposure, Attitudes and Personal Characteristics, and Motivation to Change which all impact development throughout the cycle. Finally, as the first empirical study to date on antiracist counseling identity development and practice, the findings of this study have significant implications for the theory and practice of counselors, counselor educators, clinical supervisors, and researchers.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Flyer



College of Education and Human Services
Department of Counseling
Voice: 973-655-7216

Research Participants Wanted!



- Are you a **White mental health counselor** who has practiced for a minimum of 1 year?
- Do you identify as **antiracist**?
- Are you engaged in **antiracism work** (e.g., therapy with marginalized clients, conduct diversity trainings)?
- I am exploring the experiences of White mental health counselors who identify as antiracist and who are committed and engaged in antiracism work.
- This research study will involve a brief 10-15 minute telephone screening, a demographics questionnaire, and two audio/videorecorded interviews, approximately 60-90 minutes in duration.

Renee Shand-Lubbers, Doctoral Candidate in the Counseling Department is conducting this study. If you are interested in participating or have more questions, please click the following link [MSU White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Study](#) or contact Renee Shand-Lubbers at shandlubber1@montclair.edu

This study has been approved by the Montclair State University Institutional Review Board, MSU IRB-FY20-21-2036.

Appendix B

Recruitment Letter

Dear _____,

I am writing to let you know about an opportunity to participate in a research study about the experiences of White mental health counselors' development of an antiracist counseling identity. This study is being conducted by Renee Shand-Lubbers, doctoral candidate in the Counseling Department at Montclair State University. This study will involve a 10-15 minute brief telephone screening interview, a short demographics questionnaire, and two individual interviews that will be conducted and audio/videorecorded via Zoom. Each interview will take about 60-90 minutes of your time.

If you:

- Self-identify as White
- Self-identify as a professional counselor which includes those who work as mental health counselors, psychotherapists, counselor educators, and counseling psychologists
- Self-identify as an antiracist counselor which is defined as a counselor who is committed to antiracism and who actively works to eradicate racism through antiracist beliefs, policies, procedures, and practices aimed at reducing racial inequity (e.g., therapy with marginalized clients, conducted diversity trainings)
- Have practiced for a minimum of 1 year as a mental health counselor at some point in your career

Then, you may be eligible to participate.

You must be 22 years of age or older to participate.

If you are interested in participating, please click the following link [MSU White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Study](#) or email Renee Shand-Lubbers at shandlubber1@montclair.edu.

Thank you for considering participation in this study. This study has been approved by the Montclair State University Institutional Review Board, Study no. IRB-FY20-21-2036.

Sincerely,

Renee Shand-Lubbers, Doctoral Candidate
Department of Counseling
Montclair State University

Appendix C

Listserv Letter

Dear Colleagues,

My name is Renee Shand-Lubbers, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Department at Montclair State University, working under the supervision of Dr. Amanda Baden, a Professor in the Counseling Department at Montclair State University. I am writing to extend the invitation for you to participate in my research study. The purpose of this study is to explore White mental health counselors' antiracist counseling identity development, specifically significant experiences that facilitated their antiracist counseling identity and how an antiracist counseling identity affects their counseling practice.

To participate in this study, you must:

- Self-identify as White
- Self-identify as a professional counselor which includes those who work as mental health counselors, psychotherapists, counselor educators, and counseling psychologists
- Self-identify as an antiracist counselor which is defined as a counselor who is committed to antiracism and who actively works to eradicate racism through antiracist beliefs, policies, procedures, and practices aimed at reducing racial inequity (e.g., therapy with marginalized clients, conducted diversity trainings)
- Have practiced for a minimum of 1 year as a mental health counselor at some point in your career

If you do not qualify for this study, please consider forwarding this call to anyone you think may be interested.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will complete an informed consent document, a brief 10-15-minute telephone screening interview, a short demographics questionnaire, and two audio/videorecorded 60-90 minute individual interviews via a Zoom link that will be provided. During the interviews, you will be invited to share about your development as a White antiracist mental health counselor.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please click the following link [MSU White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Study](#) or email me at shandlubber1@montclair.edu.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to participate in this study! This study has been approved by the Montclair State University Institutional Review Board, Study no. IRB-FY20-21-2036.

Sincerely,

Renee Shand-Lubbers, Doctoral Candidate
Department of Counseling, Montclair State University

Appendix D

Initial Phone Screening Script

Hello, this is Renee Shand-Lubbers, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling Department at Montclair State University in New Jersey investigating the development of an antiracist counseling identity and antiracism practice among White mental health counselors. Thank you for agreeing to speak with me for a few minutes today.

I would like to tell you a little more about my research study and hope that you will be interested in participating. The purpose of this research is to better understand the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors.

I do not anticipate that there will be any unusual risks to you in completing this study. As part of our conversations; however, we may discuss things that bring up challenging feelings or that have caused you some distress in your personal or professional life. How do you feel about having these discussions?

If you decide to participate in this study, I will ask you to complete a demographics questionnaire. I will also ask to speak with you two times over the next three months. Each interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes. Everything we discuss will be kept confidential, outside of the research team which includes three faculty on my study committee and two peer debriefers. I will not share your name or information with anyone and will store the recordings of our conversations using a cloud-based storage system that is password protected and designed to protect information.

Is this a study that you think you may be interested in? _____

Do you have any questions before we proceed?

If you are interested in participating, I have a few additional questions for you today about your work to help me get to know you better and to ensure that you meet the study criteria. I think these questions should take a few minutes to complete. Would that be okay?

Proceed to ask the following questions and record answers.

1. Do you identify as White? _____
2. Do you identify as a professional counselor? _____
3. Do you identify as antiracist? _____

- a. If yes, how would you describe the extent to which you identify as an antiracist counselor? Answers: I do not identify, I somewhat identify, I strongly identify, I very strongly identify.
4. Have you practiced as a post-master's mental health counselor for a minimum of 1 year (at some point in your career) with marginalized populations including racially/ethnically diverse clients within an agency, clinic, non-profit, hospital, or other community-based counseling setting? _____
5. What credential do you currently hold (e.g. LPC, NCC, ACS, none, etc.)? _____

Thank you for your interest in my research study and for taking the time to speak with me today. I hope to have participants who are diverse in terms of roles, ages, education levels, professional experiences, etc. Therefore, I may not interview everyone who expresses interest in participating in the study. With this in mind, I still have some other potential participants to speak with before I finalize who will participate in the study. I will be back in touch with you in the next few weeks. Regardless of whether you end up participating in my study, I have enjoyed speaking with you today and appreciate the time that you took to do so. Thank you again!

Appendix E

ADULT CONSENT FORM

Please read below with care. You can ask questions at any time, now or later. You can talk to other people before you sign this form.

Title: A Grounded Theory of White Counselors' Antiracist Counseling Identity Development
Study Number: MSU IRB-FY20-21-2036

Why is this study being done? The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of White antiracist mental health counselors in order to understand the process of developing an antiracist counseling identity and how an antiracist counseling identity affects counseling practice. This study on an antiracist counseling identity can contribute meaningful insights towards the foundation of a developmental model of antiracist counseling identity, using the direct experiences of self-identified White antiracist counselors. The findings will be published to share knowledge with others about this topic.

What will happen while you are in the study? Prospective participants can expect to:

- Complete a short telephone screening interview, lasting approximately 10-15 minutes, to determine your eligibility for the study.
- Complete a 12-item questionnaire to collect basic demographic information. You must be at least 22 years old to be in this study.
- Schedule and participate in an initial interview. This first interview will be approximately 60-90 minutes in duration. During this first interview, you will be asked to share your experiences about developing an antiracist counseling identity. This interview will be conducted and audio/videorecorded using Zoom and later transcribed. All transcription data will be stored on a password protected computer.
- Receive a summary of themes from your first interview and be asked to review it for accuracy.
- Schedule and participate in a second and final interview. This interview will be approximately 60 minutes in duration. This interview will be conducted and audio/videorecorded using Zoom and later transcribed. All transcription data will be stored on a password protected computer.

Time: This study will take about 10-15 minutes for a short telephone screening interview, 10-15 minutes for a demographics questionnaire, 60-90 minutes for the first interview, and 60 minutes for the second and final interview. Scheduling is flexible and can include weekdays and weekends as well as daytime and evening hours.

Risks: I do not anticipate that there will be any unusual risks to you in completing this study. Our discussions will likely bring up personal and professional experiences related to multiculturalism, social justice advocacy, and racism/antiracism in counseling. You may feel uncomfortable, sad, or angry, depending on those memories. Should you need to discuss these

feelings further, this researcher can refer you to a counselor in your area. Since your story will be held in confidentiality and in secured locations, the risks on your employability or reputation will be minimized, as much as possible.

In order to maintain your privacy, please do not use real names of yourself, colleagues, employers, or clients.

Data will be collected using the Internet; we anticipate that your participation in this presents no greater risk than everyday use of the Internet. Please note that email communication is neither private nor secure. Though we are taking precautions to protect your privacy, you should be aware that information sent through email or internet could be read by a third party.

Benefits: You may benefit from this study by gaining a better understanding of your antiracist counseling identity, which may inform your future work as a counselor, supervisor, counselor educator, and/or counseling leader. Others may benefit from this study through the design of counselor education programs that support the development of an antiracist counseling identity.

Compensation: There is no monetary compensation related to your participation in this study.

Who will know that you are in this study? Your identity will not be linked to any presentations or publications related to this research. I will keep who you are confidential by linking each transcription and digital recording to you by a pseudonym that will be stored in one secured place on this researcher's password protected computer. Also, aliases or pseudonyms will be used in the final report and publications, and for presentations to protect your identity.

You should know that New Jersey requires that any person having reasonable cause to believe that a child has been subjected to child abuse or acts of child abuse shall report the same immediately to the Division of Child Protection and Permanency.

Do you have to be in the study? You do not have to be in this study. You are a volunteer! It is okay if you want to stop at any time and not be included in the study. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. You can leave the study at any time.

Do you have any questions about this study? Please contact me directly at shandlubber1@montclair.edu. You can also contact Dr. Amanda Baden at badena@montclair.edu.

Do you have any questions about your rights as a research participant? Phone or email the IRB Chair, Dr. Dana Levitt, at 973-655-2097 or reviewboard@montclair.edu.

Future Studies It is okay to use my data in other studies:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

As part of this study, it is okay to audiotape and videotape me:

Please initial: _____ Yes _____ No

One copy of this consent form is for you to keep.

Statement of Consent

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement, and possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. My signature also indicates that I am 18 years of age or older and have received a copy of this consent form.

Print your name here	Sign your name here	Date
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<u>Renee Shand-Lubbers, MA, LAC</u> Name of Principal Investigator	Signature	Date
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<u>Dr. Amanda Baden</u> Name of Faculty Sponsor	Signature	Date
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Appendix F

Demographics Questionnaire

Please answer the questions provided below to the best of your ability and return the completed document to shandlubber1@montclair.edu.

1. What is your name? _____
2. What are your preferred pronouns? _____
3. What is your current age? _____
4. What city, state, and country do you currently reside in _____?
5. What is your highest level of education?
 Master's _____ Doctoral _____
 - a. Did you attend a CACREP or CORE accredited program? _____
6. What credential do you currently hold (e.g., LPC, NCC, ACS, none, etc.)? _____
 - a. If licensed, how long have you held these credentials? _____
7. Are you currently practicing? _____
 - a. If yes, describe the client population you serve.

 - b. If yes, how many clients do you see in a typical week? _____
 - c. If yes, what percentage of your current caseload is clients who self-identify as Black, Indigenous, or People of Color? _____
 - d. If no, when you were in practice, describe the client population you served.

8. What is your current work setting (Check all that apply)?

Private Practice

Community Clinic/Mental Health Agency/Non-profit

School (K-12)

Hospital

College Counseling Center

University/Student Affairs/Student Advising

Vocational Rehab/Residential

Higher Education

Other (please specify)

9. What is your primary work role (Check which applies)?

Part-time Staff

Full-time Staff

Faculty member

Supervisor

10. What is the geographic location of your counseling practice or current work environment

(Check all that applies)?

Urban

Suburban

Rural

Other

11. Please use the space provided below to share any additional information regarding your antiracism expertise and commitment to antiracism work as evidenced by research,

publication, presentations, and/or leadership roles (optional). If you are able, please attach a resume or curriculum vitae for review.

12. Please use the space provided below to indicate any other identities you hold that you believe are important to your experience.

Social Class _____

Disability Status _____

Gender _____

Sexual Orientation _____

Race _____

Ethnicity _____

Religious/Spiritual/Faith Identification _____

Political Views _____

Appendix G

Interview Guide 1 of 2: Interview One

Opening: “Hello! Do I have your permission to record this interview?”

If yes, I will share a bit about myself and my study and will follow-up with participants about the consent form document that they received before the first interview. Upon addressing any questions, I will state: “Before we begin discussing some of your experiences, I would ask that you not incorporate any of your clients’ or students’ names in our conversation. I know we both wish to protect the privacy of your clients/students and this omission of identity allows us to increase our level of protection.”

Question: Tell me about yourself and your work as a professional counselor.

The Demographics Questionnaire will be used to prompt for clarification when appropriate during the initial part of the interview.

Question: What made you interested in participating in this study?

Domain One: Definitions of Antiracist Counseling

Question: What is an antiracist counseling identity?

Follow-up prompts (if information does not organically emerge):

- How do you define antiracist counseling?
- How would you know if someone was an antiracist counselor?
- What do you see as being essential to an identity as an antiracist counselor?

“For the following questions, consider your own identity as a White person and other salient cultural identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, age, disability status). Keep those identities in mind as I ask you these next questions.”

Domain Two: Critical Incidents

Question: Who or what experiences led to your identity as an antiracist counselor?

Follow-up prompts (if information does not organically emerge):

- How did you get started in antiracism work?
 - What meaningful (personal) experiences fostered interest in antiracism work?
 - What meaningful (professional) experiences fostered interest in antiracism work?
 - If participants do not bring up Whiteness and WRID (White racial identity development), I will ask them the following question:
 - Can you expand on how your White identity had an impact on your interest in antiracism work?

- What critical incidents led to the development of your antiracist counseling identity?
- How would you describe your development of unlearning racism?
- Has your antiracist counseling identity changed over time? If so, how?
- Who and what has supported you in doing antiracist work?
 - If participants do not discuss supervision experiences, I will ask them the following question:
 - Could you describe some supportive supervision experiences?
- What obstacles have you encountered in your antiracist work? What helped you maintain your interest/commitment?
- How have those around you reacted to your antiracist efforts?

Domain Three: Antiracism in Practice

Question: How does your antiracist counseling identity impact your counseling work?

Follow-up prompts (if information does not organically emerge):

- How do you address clients of color's experiences of racism?
- How do you address White clients' racist comments?
- How do you address racist policies, procedures, and/or colleagues?
- Can you describe some times when clients of color were uncomfortable and how you handled that?
- How do you respond when clients do not view you as an antiracist?

Domain Four: Meaning Ascribed to Antiracism Work

Question: What does it mean to be an antiracist counselor?

Follow-up prompts (if information does not organically emerge):

- Why is antiracist work important to you?

Wrap-up:

Question: Is there anything else that you would like to add so that I can better understand your experience with your development of an antiracist counseling identity?

Question: What was the interview experience like for you?

Ok. Those are all of my questions for today. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for discussing your experiences with me. Your story will help increase what is known about the development of an antiracist counseling identity among professional counselors. We are finished with Interview One.

Discuss plan for member checks between interviews and the plan and timing for Interview Two.

Interview Guide 2 of 2: Interview Two

Opening: “Hello! Do I have your permission to record this interview?”

If yes, I will begin the interview.

Question: What was your first reaction to the emergent themes from our first interview that the research team identified?

If participants reviewed the themes, I will ask if there are any corrections they would make.

Prompt: What does and does not ring true?

Question: After having time to reflect on our previous interview, was there anything I missed that is an important part of how you have experienced your antiracist counseling identity and your development as an antiracist counselor?

Prompt: How can you expand on any responses given during the first interview as well as on any themes that the team identified from across the first set of interviews?

Question: What do you think would be most helpful for counselors-in-training to know about developing an antiracist counseling identity?

Prompt: What, if anything, would be different if you were to share your wisdom with advanced counselors and supervisors?

Prompt: What do you wish counselor educators would teach about this topic?

Prompt: What do you wish counseling leaders would address?

Wrap-up:

Question: Is there anything else that you would like to add so that I can better understand your experience with your development of an antiracist counseling identity?

Question: What was the interview experience like for you?

Ok. Those are all of my questions for today. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you again for discussing your experiences with me. Your story will help increase what is known about the development of an antiracist counseling identity among White professional counselors. We are finished with Interview Two. If you would like to receive the results of the study, I will send a copy to the email address you have listed.

Thank you very much for participating in my study.

Appendix H**Participant Thank You Letter**

Dear (fill in the name of participant),

Thank you for dedicating your time to participate in my research study on White antiracist counseling identity development. The information you provided to me was very helpful, as was your generous willingness to give your time. If you have requested to receive the results from this study, they will be sent to you once the data have been thoroughly analyzed. I hope this was a positive experience for you. Again, thank you very much for your participation and support.

Kindest Regards,

Renee Shand-Lubbers, M.A., LPC, NCC

Doctoral Candidate, Department of Counseling

Montclair State University

Appendix I

Participant 6: Lila

40yo female

ID as Jewish

Master's in Marriage and Family Therapy

PhD in Mental Health Counseling

CMHC- 10 years

Counselor educator-primary role

Initial Codes/Themes

Antiracist Counseling Identity: Acknowledgement plus Action, infusion throughout personal and professional life

-Acknowledgment

-acknowledging racist history of mental health profession, the colonization within the profession and the educational process (e.g., theories taught and practices utilized)

-White, male, Christian, able-bodied, wealthy “the yard stick”

-“acknowledgement of the need for antiracist work”

-recognizing disparities

-Action

-actively working against racism in counseling “speaking out against it, focusing on culture centered practices, focusing on frankly, practices of healing”

-decolonizing training and practice

-social justice advocacy (SJA)

***Antiracist counselor develops awareness, knowledge, skills, and actions.

-Awareness

-developing critical consciousness=“an ability to see systems of oppression or these dynamics of privilege and oppression and actively be working against them”

-recognizing own biased thinking

-check self

-Knowledge

-learning about clients of colors’ experiences

-understanding what it means to be a racial minority in U.S.

-relearn history of U.S, understand history of White supremacy and how we got here

-seeking out culture-centered counseling theories and practices “digesting knowledge from multiple perspectives”

-Skills

-redressing racist socialization “calling other people out when we hear things that are biased”

-using antiracist counseling skills or “culture centered theories and practices”

-Action

-Advocacy: actively working against oppressive systems, “agent of change”

-Orientation

- anticolonization perspective
- lifelong learner, antiracism is “continuous journey”
- being self-reflective and open to learning from mistakes

Antiracist Development:

-lack of awareness of self as racial being before graduate school

-eye opening moments (seeing, hearing, observing, learning over and over again):

1-impactful educational experiences “wow, that opened my eyes”

- taking master’s level multicultural counseling course in early 20s
- challenged to see Whiteness, talk about Whiteness
- shift understanding of racism from individual acts to system of oppression “I had enough privilege in my life that I was able to just think about them as individual incidents and sort of people who had these thoughts and beliefs, and that was it.”
- transformative experience like “just waking up for the first time” “When you everything you thought you knew kind of crumbles under your feet and you just realize, wow the world is so different than I have experienced it up to this point in my life, it’s really unsettling.”
- informs work as counselor educator-understands how hard this process is for White students

2-having eyes opened through exposure to new environments

- being exposed to other cultures and experiences while living and working in another country with clients and colleagues from all over the world “I realized there’s so much I need to learn.”

3-supportive cross-racial mentorship with faculty member who identifies as African American female “everything she taught me, the way she opened my eyes” LIFELONG MENTOR *Note:*

Most influential in development

- working through unsettling and developing awareness
- supportive yet challenging, feel safe to have difficult dialogues about race, racism
 - method-understand parts of self where you experience marginalization to build empathy for POC and other minoritized groups in U.S.
 - mentor advised on SJA and sense of urgency/strong ideas, helped her to slow down “Okay, calm down. You don’t know what you’re doing, but I’m going to help with that.”

4-eye opening clinical supervision with “wonderful supervisor”

- navigating experiences with respected clinical mentor, a White male displaying colorblind attitudes
- colleagues of color came to her sharing that they had a different experience at training facility
- mentor provided guidance, “She helped me to be able to kind of strategize.” how to initiate race-based conversations in clinical supervision and talk about racism embedded in training facility, mentorship facilitated development of own antiracist supervision lens

5-having windows into racist systems (e.g., schools)/ “seeing just how insidious racism is and how unaware White people largely are of it”

- students/clients as teachers, learning from students/clients of color's experiences of racism (e.g., focus group with girls/ NSF grant) *NOTE: Most influential in development*
- eye-opening to hear White school counselors racist comments and "how they just didn't really believe in these girls" and lack of awareness but the girls knew it
- seeing that antiracism is not saviorhood
 - understanding that we all miss out "the oppression of those girls is also the oppression of me and you and everyone else, we are missing out on so much"
 - White people need saving!
- learning from White colleagues who did not model antiracism and did things without awareness (e.g., providing more opportunities to White students than students of color, lack of diversity in faculty and hiring practices at midwestern university)
- Whiteness as challenge to antiracist development "I would say my biggest challenge at this point is probably just myself and the fact that I'm a White woman, born and raised, living in a racist society."
 - "the biggest barrier is probably myself"
 - "retreating into your privilege" "relapsed stage" re bias and racism (e.g., times when you back off and rest, grappling with that)
 - "Am I understanding this issue correctly?"
 - questions about how to address issue, do this or do that?, doing enough?
- connection, finding an antiracist community of support
 - most significant relationships with POC (e.g., lifelong mentor)
 - doctoral cohort supportive
 - importance of White antiracist peer support (e.g., 2 friends on "parallel journeys" with shared values) for informational and emotional support
- identity changes over time: become braver in speaking out, moving into new roles like mentorship
- recognizing benefit of antiracism work and development for self
 - understand self differently "deepens my understanding"
 - "When people don't do this work and they just kind of stay in that place, where, 'I don't know. I don't want to know.' They don't even know what they're missing out on."
- journey is ongoing with pivotal/transformational moments
 - recent events like murder of George Floyd "tipping point" "I think it created a tipping point where people were more open to looking at what we're doing and how it's not working for everyone."
 - can do more

Antiracism Practice:

- theoretical orientation directly connected to antiracist identity
 - strengths based-starting point is strengths and supports
 - culture centered
 - recognizing trained into colonized ways of thinking and practices and actively working to use more culture centered and healing practices, identifying as eclectic
- broaching-intentionally talking about race and racism with clients
 - asking questions, "How do you understand your health?...going back into your family, into your culture, and asking, just broaching, What are your salient identities?...struggles

- you're having" "What's your understanding of yourself and your culture and all these little systems you're embedded in." "What's it like for you as a Black person?"
- letting client tell own story
 - self-disclosure: talking about self as White woman, older White woman, sometimes explicitly other times more nuanced, creating an environment that feels safe to bring whole self
 - even when not talking about race, always thinking about race "My conceptualization is how does race potentially play into whatever problem they're bringing in?", then making choices about when and if to bring it up
 - addressing clients' of color experiences of racism
 - using a strengths-based approach, emphasizing resilience
 - bringing antiracism into teaching
 - addressing White clients' racism: teaching White students to use" privilege of Whiteness to challenge clients in a therapeutic way"; exploring where beliefs and attitudes come from, make connections between racist attitudes and beliefs and presenting issue (e.g., relational issues)
 - helping White students think critically about beliefs (e.g., taught by family), explore incongruence between those beliefs and what they're learning in class, and work through dissonance
 - being mindful of how to address White students' racism without shaming or reacting from a self-righteous" stance and "vomit information on someone", being a safe person to explore with, empathy, using self as example "...that feeling I was describing before of kind of having the rug pulled out from under you...it felt to me a little bit like the world dropped out"
 - "Oops, Ouch, Educate" to address racism at interpersonal level (e.g., students, colleagues, friends, family) and to take responsibility for own mistakes
 - change over time= becoming brave, calling out injustices in higher education and counseling
 - using position of power and privilege to center voices of POC, students of color at HSI
 - engaging in antiracist mentoring of students of color
 - "I'm helping them to learn the academy and learn how to navigate it."
 - supporting their growth and leadership development (e.g., access to opportunities)
 - "most satisfying role in terms of antiracism"
 - bringing antiracism into supervision
 - clinical mentorship experiences helped develop own lens "The importance of broaching and having conversations about identity and power and supervisory relationships.."
 - advocating for systemic change within university/local community/profession (e.g., letter to president, CSJ service)
 - Master's service learning project "collaborate with community"
 - policy work is newer/developing skill set, helping students access those skills (e.g., PhD advocacy project)

Meaning/Importance of Work:

- personal value system "intersection between social justice and spirituality, and social justice and humanity"
 - connection to humanity
 - spiritual work "We're all interdependent, we're all connected."

-most important personal value=none of us is free until we're all free "My liberation is bound up in your liberation."

-antiracism "I think for me it's become an opportunity to just deepen my spirituality, deepen my humanity."

-antiracism as essential part of White identity "Not only is work I do as a spiritual being and a human being, but as a White person. Because this is our work."

-seeing antiracism as professional responsibility, recognizing need to provide models for White people to figure out how to do the work

-"I feel like there's really a gap in terms of really understanding White professional counselors' journey."

Appendix J

Participant 7: Rylie

28yo female

ID as Bisexual, disability

PhD candidate in Counselor Education

LPC associate/LCDC intern-practicing for 2 years

M.S. in Clinical Mental Health Counseling

Initial Codes/Themes

Antiracist Counseling Identity: MULTIFACETED; infusion throughout personal and professional life

Awareness plus Action “recognizing, critiquing, and then, working to dismantle racism both within myself, and then, outside of myself, whether it’s in interpersonal interactions or organizations, or more systemic and institutional”

-Awareness:

-awareness gained from confronting own denial of White supremacy and systemic racism

-Action:

-“green flags” a person who is actively working on own development: receiving feedback on own racism (e.g., any oppressive behavior or language) and not seeking to explain self but rather listen, take accountability for it, and do follow-up work to “do better”

-Orientation:

-openness to feedback

-non-defensiveness “being willing to be changed by new information” “just having this stance of not being so threatened by criticism”

-being able to recognize when feeling threatened by feedback and working with feeling to make changes

Antiracist Development:

-growing up as “outsider” in small conservative community and navigating differences in experiences as part of “broken family”

-“having different experiences with these families as far as racism, sexism, heterosexism, everything” Context: these families= own extended family, substance abuse and trauma in family of origin

-mother and maternal grandmother “open to different perspectives and experiences”

-hearing “hate” from other side of family=dissonance

-upbringing facilitated an openness and curiosity about others’ experiences, engaging in conversations and making connections with Latinx people

-impact of early life racial experiences around witnessing oppression

-speaking up “When a teacher or other person of authority in those settings would say something harmful, that I would be known to speak up.”

-seeing self as benevolent White person led to “the veil of kindness” that cloaked personal racism and deeper understandings of systemic racism until graduate school

“...because I was a kind person, I was not racist because I was willing to defend my friends growing up, that I was not racist.”

-college-veil continued “patting myself on the back” for being open and meeting people from different religions, different cultural backgrounds, but “I wasn’t doing anything to address the systems that were impacting them.”

-pivotal *eye-opening experiences* (seeing, hearing, observing, learning over and over again):

1-taking MA level multicultural counseling course in early 20s which “disrupted my whole sense of self,” impactful educational experience, felt “cultureless” until moment when read chapter on White culture “I was just shocked.”

-challenged to see Whiteness, talk about White culture and White cultural values, myths

-transformative experience and shift in understanding of impact of prior socialization (e.g., personal value of individualism, bootstraps mentality)

-questioning self: “Who am I?” “What do I even believe?”

-developing an understanding of social constructions (e.g., why, who for, who benefits, who does not)

-seeing self as “pawn” in the system

-using a “critical eye” when viewing counseling interventions, theories

-more awareness of “White-centered ideas and perspectives”

-working through challenging emotions like guilt

-reconciling things said and done based on White values which support oppressive systems “disorienting”

-lifting of “veil of kindness”

-helpfulness of having White educators as models for how to move through guilt into positive growth by showing their own vulnerability and modeling being uncomfortable is part of process, by talking about their experiences of developing an antiracist identity, by sharing about times when they had been racist and how they “grappled” with those experiences

-normalizing of emotions and affirming it is all part of the process

2-having significant relationships with people of color (e.g., Latina best friend in master’s program)

-“most meaningful relationship in my development as an antiracist counselor”

-witnessing racial trauma and pain and understanding feelings like anger as “expression racial pain” “you can’t just un-know that” quote pg. 8

-friend gives feedback on own racism “She was able to help me understand that that is a gift. When somebody is willing to give you feedback on your racism, that’s a gift and it’s a vulnerable thing and a risky thing for them to do.”

3-having systems “illuminated for me” by SEEKING OUT NEW INFORMATION and LISTENING= key to unlearning racism, understanding Whiteness, learning about antiracism through scholarship and continuing education: current events and movements, books, articles, workshops, dialogue

-being in “safe or brave spaces to discuss...” and “hold myself back from the urge to be the center of any conversation” to LISTEN and be moved quote pg. 11

-once you see/feel pain “you can’t go back from that”

-being a witness to pain and learning from it, not feeling threatened by pain or feeling guilty “It doesn’t mean I’m a bad person because I’m involved in those systems.”

-teaches about White supremacy, own Whiteness, and responsibility to act “it says something about what I need to do in response.”

4-ACTIVELY (not a passive recipient of “whatever kind crosses my world” information) exposing self to new ideas “Not only exposure, but very intentionally exposing myself to new and challenging information” “they’re not just going to come across your newsfeed” as a White person

-importance of QUESTIONING previously held understanding (e.g., follow activists on Instagram, Facebook and think “I’ve never thought about it that way.” (e.g., White person presenting info on racism in more “palatable way” might reinforce stereotype of angry Black woman)

-intentionally follow people whose ideas “strike me as very radical” and sitting with that discomfort of not knowing how to feel about idea quote pg. 9

5-learning from White colleagues, counselors, counselor educators who are known for SJ, antiracism, or feminism and “enact harm” without awareness “I’ve realized like that could be me, like I could be walking around with this self-perceived benevolence and enacting harm in a position of power, whether that’s counselor or counselor educator. And I just do not want to be that.” quote pg. 23

-seeing imperfection of White leaders is “powerful motivator for me” to continue to engage in self-work, do better, “I do not want to be that person.”

-intersectional identities (e.g., bisexual female with disability) and personal experiences with oppression facilitated understanding of antiracism and “how those different systems of oppression support and sustain one another”

-being a woman “does give you kind of an entry point” into understanding oppression quote pg. 14

-having identity as bisexual woman or as a person with an invisible disability challenged/denied gives some insight into “having your humanity challenged”

-can understand that oppression exists, see systemic oppression “not such a radical notion...” quote pg. 14

-challenge in development is “my own racism, of course”

-“impossible to disentangle the commitment to antiracism, and then being involved in racist systems, and a lot of times, being racist yourself”

-realizing ways in which “I’ve been complicit” (e.g., previously held views like conservative economic policy)

-being “eager to point out other people’s racism before doing that for myself” as means to “absolve my complicity”

-challenging self to see how Whiteness continually shapes own reality, question it

-having an antiracist community of support

-professors, friends-having models to learn from

-development over time: antiracist identity has become “more complicated” understand basics and “starting to contend with these more nuanced realities” (e.g., tone policing, whitewashing of MLK legacy, critiques of White feminism) quote pg. 9

Antiracism Practice:

- theoretical orientation directly connected to antiracist counseling identity

- informed by relational-cultural theory to centralize the counseling relationship, attending to power and privilege dimensions within the relationship
- integrating trauma-informed principles and specific theories
- antiracist identity helps maintain non-defensive stance, recognizing “limits to my ability to have accurate empathy with certain clients” (e.g., may reflect something that is not entirely accurate)
 - eliciting feedback from clients
 - actively working to minimize harm
 - listen to feedback “take that in”
- broaching racial differences in counseling relationship “bring that to the surface of the conversation”
 - “Yes, I will talk about my Whiteness.” Not excluding those dimensions of the relationship is key
 - asking questions like “What was it like for you to share this experience with a White counselor?”
- having awareness that clients of color ‘test’ White counselors, will be “cautious” and tentative in sharing certain experiences “not sure how a White counselor will respond to that” based on previous experiences of racism and negative interactions with White professionals
 - using language to affirm and validate clients of color’s experiences of racism “I will be very clear and explicit with my language” “say... the word racism, or the word racist encounter, just to show that I’m understanding it as that, and that we can use those words here and I affirm your experience of it, as it was, and not in the way that’s most palatable to my Whiteness.”
- extending antiracism work with BIPOC clients “beyond the office” and session
 - advocating for policy changes (e.g., organization/agency level, state or national level)
 - speaking up at staff meetings, bringing current events that impact clients into conversation (e.g., January 6, 2021, Insurrection of the Capitol) because “the silence is really deafening” and “sidestepping the role of racism in client well-being does transfer over beyond just staff meetings” impacts quality/competency of trauma work
 - bringing the question up “How do you do trauma work without acknowledging racial trauma?”
- addressing White clients’ racism is a struggle “one of the more challenging parts being an antiracist counselor”
 - tension/conflict: confrontation and avoidance dilemma due to profession’s emphasis on not imposing values and conservative setting/state, concern about confrontation being perceived as “threatening or harmful” and ethical complaint
 - not “pushing somebody away from mental health services” ongoing dilemma with White clients who need service is that addressing racism may not be the work they came to do
 - using an approach that fits client’s needs/developmental level
 - e.g., openly SJ oriented White client, dialogue about how to navigate spaces as a White person trying to become more antiracist
 - e.g., White client who says something covertly racist, express hesitancy to endorse problematic dimensions of what they’ve said “Well, I’m not so sure about that.” And then explore belief/worldviews, express curiosity to understand
 - e.g., White client who uses overtly racist language like a racial slur, “intervene in the moment”, set boundary “That’s just not ok, in our relationship,” explore

feeling behind statement, provide psychoeducation on how slur is offensive and inappropriate, attempt to connect to presenting issue (e.g., trauma)
-make very clear that these views are a perspective and not reality, help to explore and perhaps intervene towards growth

Meaning/Importance of Work:

-personal and professional value system “It’s just my values. It’s who I am.”

-healers cannot be oppressors, “It’s one path towards healing, towards justice, towards making a connection, and those things are very important to me.” “be part of creating systems and organizations and interactions that are healing”

-White people’s work: must “reckon with the racial pain I have caused, that my family before me has caused, and that White people in general have caused. And to do something to repair that, to the extent possible.”

-not a choice to be antiracist, cannot retreat into “safety of denial” “and the comfort” quote pg. 13, negligent if not doing work quote pg. 22, cannot live like that, antiracism as essential aspect of White identity

Appendix K

Model of White Antiracist Counseling Identity Development: Categories and Themes

	<i>Category</i>	<i>Supporting Themes</i>
<i>Pre-contemplation Phase</i>	<i>Significant Early Life Racial Experiences</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Lack of Exposure</i> • <i>Color-blindness</i> • <i>Missed Connections</i> • <i>Family Influence</i>
<i>Exposure</i>	<i>Eye-opening Moments</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Having Windows into Racist Systems</i> • <i>Witnessing Racial Oppression</i> • <i>Intersectional Experiences</i> • <i>Multicultural Coursework and Training Experiences</i> • <i>Immersion Experiences</i>
	<i>Guiding Relationships</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Mentoring Relationships</i> • <i>Significant Relationships with BIPOC</i>
<i>Awareness Phase</i>	<i>Re-educating Self on Race and Racism</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Disrupting Cycle of Socialization</i> • <i>Learning from Books, Articles, Workshops, and Conversations</i> • <i>“Let this Matter” Critical Analysis and Assimilation</i>
	<i>Walking through Challenging Emotions in Relationships</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Reconciling White Fragility</i>
	<i>Critical Race Consciousness</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Deconstructing/Reconstructing Whiteness to Include Antiracism</i> • <i>Acknowledging Personal Biases and Privilege</i> • <i>Shifting Understanding of Racism</i> • <i>Developing Knowledge of History of Racism in U.S.</i> • <i>Knowledge of Others: Impact of Culture and Context</i>
<i>Identity Integration Phase</i>	<i>Critical Race-Consciousness (continued)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Reconstruction of Whiteness and Professional Counseling Identity to Include Antiracism</i>

	<i>Personal Definition of Antiracist Counseling Identity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Awareness and Knowledge Plus Action</i> • <i>Prioritizing Change within Systems</i> • <i>Definitional Challenges</i>
	<i>Intentionality to Change</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Healers Cannot Be Oppressors</i> • <i>Living and Acting with Integrity</i>
<i>Manifestation: Antiracist Action Phase</i>	<i>Taking Action</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Personal Action</i> • <i>Professional Action</i>
	<i>Inherent Challenges</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Own Racism</i> • <i>Conflict in Relationships</i> • <i>Use of Confrontation</i> • <i>Lack of Accessible Antiracist Training and Models</i>
	<i>Accountability</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Accountability to BIPOC</i>
<i>Maintenance Phase</i>	<i>Lifelong Development</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Change over Time</i> • <i>Lifelong Commitment</i> • <i>Lifelong Learning</i> • <i>Making and Recovering from Mistakes</i>
	<i>Antiracist Community of Support</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Sustainability through Ongoing Connections</i>
	<i>Clarity of Purpose/Meaning of Antiracism Work</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Personal and Professional Values</i>
<i>Influences throughout Cycle of Development</i>	<i>Attitudes and Personal Characteristics</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Open, Interested, Non-defensive Stance</i> • <i>Humility</i> • <i>Fortitude</i>
	<i>Motivation for Change</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Increased Empathy</i> • <i>Upholding Human Rights</i> • <i>Personal and Professional Responsibility</i>

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