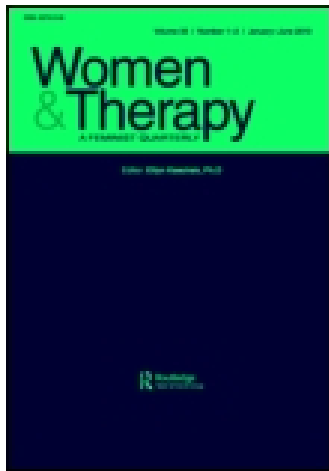


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What Do White Counselors and Psychotherapists Need to Know About Race? White Racial Socialization in Counseling and Psychotherapy Training Programs

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What Do White Counselors and Psychotherapists Need to Know About Race? White Racial Socialization in Counseling and Psychotherapy Training Programs

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Multicultural training in academic counseling and psychotherapy programs is often designed to address the needs of minority populations, and it rarely places Whiteness in the spotlight. Its structure, in fact, risks mirroring the very dynamics embedded in White privilege. Using the framework of feminist theory, we build on key findings on White racial socialization—which has a profound impact on the quality of communication and interaction within and across racial groups—to outline the skills and awareness needed for White counselors and psychotherapists to promote racial justice in both their individual/counseling and community/advocacy work.

KEYWORDS *colorblindness, feminist counseling, racial and ethnic socialization, whiteness*

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FROM MULTICULTURALISM TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

The centrality of the therapeutic relationship is one of several forces that have propelled counseling and psychology training programs to adopt a multicultural lens, as there are few contexts where that quality of communication and interaction matters more than in the relationship between counselor and client (whether the client is an individual or a community). There has been marked progress over the past thirty years in coverage of knowledge and awareness around diversity in counseling and psychotherapy training programs (Arredondo, Tovar-Blank, & Parham, 2008; D'Andrea & Heckman, 2008; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992), as well as in the integration of guidelines for competent multicultural practice into the professional standards of counseling organizations, accrediting bodies, and licensing boards (American Counseling Association, 2005; American Psychological Association, 2010; Fawcett & Evans, 2013). Facilitating multicultural competence has become central to ethical clinical and counseling training, with its responsibility resting on training programs and clinical supervisors (Inman & DeBoer Kreider, 2013; Sue & Sue, 2012).

That said, multicultural training in counseling and psychotherapy training programs have focused primarily on the impact of particular identities, especially racial identity, on the therapeutic relationship and process (Helms, 1993; Pinderhughes, 1989; Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Rieger, & Austin, 2002; Wei, Chao, Tsai, & Botello-Zamarron, 2012). By focusing on the race of the client and the counselor, the field for the most part has studied how “minorities” experience the world, how mental health or illness are shaped by such experiences (e.g., racism), or how racial differences impact the power dynamic within the therapeutic relationship. While such an approach does begin to acknowledge the privilege of Whiteness, it does not problematize the very method of inquiry that places Whiteness as the standard referent from which viewpoint we study those who are “other” or “different.”

Further, while the multicultural movement has provided a foundation for dialogue as well as a heightened appreciation for multiple perspectives, when matters of race come up in the therapeutic relationships (or the classroom, or faculty meeting), it is not uncommon for resistance and defensiveness to arise. The discomfort emerges from being challenged in one’s view of oneself or one’s experience of the world and it gets in the way of authentic and intentional dialogue—where race can remain central, and genuine transformation can occur. Partly because of this discomfort (which also preserves the normativity of Whiteness), counseling and psychotherapy training programs have relied on an additive model of race and gender. This model ultimately frames all women (whether clients or psychotherapists) as essentially the same, with individual race variances (e.g., we are women who happen to be Black or White, or my client is just like me except she is Latina). This additive model encourages a “victim competition” (i.e., who experiences the most oppression,

given one's multiple minority identity statuses) that is counterproductive and distracting in one's attempt to fully hear, acknowledge, appreciate, and validate another's experience/reality (the latter being the only way of developing safe and authentic relationships). By isolating identities, we are both minimizing and making one-dimensional a complex social life, and continuing to identify the location of "the problem" in "the other."

Multicultural training has also focused primarily on developing students' self-awareness. In this context, we would argue that it is insufficient to understand one's own racial identity or work on internalized stereotypes and misconceptions of self and others, as injustice and oppression are not simply individual problems and cannot be resolved only with individual solutions. We argue that self-awareness needs to be promoted in tandem with the examination of our particular social locations and statuses, scripts and roles. Fully understanding oneself and one's impact on others demands that we look at our position in the social landscape, at how it is managed in comparison to another social group, and at our relationship to dominant cultural power and social order. While self-awareness has its value, it doesn't make us immune to the forces that shape our lives, whether we approve of them or not.

Feminists of Color have written extensively about moving from an additive model of race to one of intersectionality (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1993), which "emphasizes the interlocking effects of race, class, gender, and sexuality, highlighting the ways in which categories of identity and structures of inequality are mutually constituted and defy separation into discrete categories of analysis" (Thornton Dill & Kohlman, 2012, p.154). For instance, women experience oppression and constraint (a) as an individual in their own personal biography, (b) as a member of a social group with particular social status, and (c) as a participant in, and producer of, social institutions (Collins, 1990). In other words, personal identity and attitudes are grafted onto existing social and cultural processes; these structures then often produce outcomes that are worse for women of Color or poor White women. Therefore, fully understanding oneself and one's impact on others must include not simply self-reflection, but an understanding of the social scripts and structures that frame the very conversation and enable the existing power structure.

This shift from an individual to a structural perspective moves the conversation from one of multiculturalism to one of social justice. Once we view the individual within a social network of relationships and structures, we can begin to detangle power and personality. This perspective was summarized long ago by the feminist principle "the personal is political," indicating that one's private and public selves are interrelated and interdependent. For example, rape and violence, once conceptualized as personal and private, are now viewed as a social problems linked to heteronormative practices and gender norms. In psychotherapy or teaching, we are confronted by power differentials between "expert" and "novice," or by notions of sickness and health. In each, we reflect our own racial social status, with its privileges or burdens.

We see evidence of this in individual White feminists who might struggle with how to be both a member of a privileged group by race or heterosexual marriage, and a member of a disenfranchised group by gender. The discomfort generated by this dissonance forces some White feminists to maintain a coherent narrative of oppression based on gender by denying the racial scripts of privilege (Gillman, 2007). From this space, roles are enacted and reinforced that allow White feminists to render invisible and inconsequential their statuses of power and privilege. As helpers, teachers, and activists we have many well-rehearsed roles and scripts that rid us of racist responsibility (e.g., I teach a multicultural course), provide us with an alibi for why we are post-racist (Gillman, 2007), and defines us as “the good one”—somehow supposedly impermeable to the social structure in which we are embedded.

If we want to truly move from an additive multicultural model to a social justice model, we need to interrogate not only our personal life experiences, but the ways that we serve the larger social system. We must move psychotherapists and faculty to see social action and social change as inextricably tied to the healing and restorative process. It is from this perspective that we offer an analysis of the importance of racial socialization of White students in counseling and psychotherapy training programs, and propose guidelines for the inclusion of social justice principles both in the structure of counseling and psychology programs and the curriculum delivered to students.

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Definition of Racial Socialization

Racial socialization is the way individuals learn about, interpret, and interact with members of their own and other racial/ethnic groups (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009). Using both explicit and implicit messages, informants such as parent, teachers, and psychotherapists communicate to youth their perceptions of racial hierarchies, how to manage racial conflict, and norms for interacting with people based on their racial/ethnic background. Although coping with racial strife typically involves members of different racial groups, providing the skills for navigating racial tension has primarily rested on the shoulders of ethnic minorities. These expectations have resulted in racial socialization literature focusing almost exclusively on racial ethnic minorities, largely neglecting such processes within White families. Although a critical analysis of White racial socialization (WRS) is crucial to understanding intergroup dynamics, it is largely missing within the field of Whiteness studies (Fine, 2004; Helms, 1993; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994).

Racial socialization of Whites must account for their unique position within North American culture and the specific ways in which Whites understand race. It is important to recognize that the aims of WRS are unique and diametrically opposed to the goals of People of Color (POC). For example,

the overarching goals of Black racial socialization are to promote safety, positive self-regard, and adaptability to different contexts (Bentley et al., 2009). The primary focus of WRS is to ease racial tension while also promoting positive self-regard. For Whites this means denying vs. acknowledging race, and avoiding vs. seeking multicultural relationships and contexts – where the opposite is true for the racial socialization of youth of Color (Bartoli et al., 2014). Thus, the multiculturalism messages in WRS may capriciously promote cultural diversity while demanding an adherence to White spaces and cultural norms. Further, while racial socialization of youth of Color is often explicit and strategic (e.g., parents of Color telling their sons to be particularly non-threatening to the police), WRS tends to occur via implicit and theoretical means grounded in censorship and what “not to do” (e.g., White parents telling their children not to say anything that makes others think they might be racist).

Prior research by Bartoli et al. (2014) has identified broad constructs salient to WRS, such as aversion for being perceived as racist, denial of the significance of race, promotion of racial hierarchies, and idealization of colorblindness. These constructs have implications for the specific racial stress, appraisal, and coping strategies utilized by White psychotherapists and their clients in same race interactions as well as multicultural contexts. Colorblindness, however ineffective in practice, is a common strategy conveyed in WRS (Bartoli et al., 2014; Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012); it is fostered by the intent to erase racial bias and promote interracial relationships, while in fact it promotes existing racial inequalities and segregation. This means that the goal of much of current forms of WRS (i.e., to erase racial tension) is in direct contrast to its outcomes (increased racial conflict and opportunities for biased behavior).

The Unique Need for Racial Socialization in Counseling and Psychotherapy Training Programs

As mentioned above, multicultural competence in psychotherapists is typically based on an additive model, most often delivered with a White counselor and an ethnic minority client in mind (Gushue, Constantine, & Sciarra, 2008). Multicultural competencies are usually not appraised or deemed significant when White psychotherapists are treating members of their own race. Where it has long been acknowledged that it is imperative for psychotherapists to provide gender socialization (Hare-Mustin, 1978; Kryzanowski & Stewin, 1985) to improve interpersonal dynamics and self-perceptions, imparting racial socialization in the therapeutic setting has not been given equal attention – even though similar challenges in social development may need to be addressed (from parents seeking advice on how to promote the social development of their children, to adult clients’ anxiety around social interactions). In fact, psychotherapists are in a unique position to aid in the racial socialization processes of their clients (Brown, Blackmon,

Schumacher, & Urbanski, 2013; McCreary, Cunningham, Ingram, & Fife, 2006) to improve social functioning.

For it to be effective, training in racial socialization must move beyond an awareness of privilege and biases to an understanding of racial hierarchies, one's place in them, as well as one's role in preserving (or questioning) the status quo. Racial socialization would provide psychotherapists with the tools to appraise a client's interpersonal difficulties based on race as a barrier to healthy relationships at work, school, or community. Further, when psychotherapists are cognizant of the enduring nature of challenges to racial justice, they will be better able to engender improved coping in their ethnic minority clients, rather than discounting racial conflict as purely situational or as a matter of personal responsibility. Thus, multicultural competence training should be grounded in viewing all clients as racial beings impacted by racial hierarchies, with varying levels of racial identity development. Racial socialization must also avoid attempts to isolate identities when convenient (or rather inconvenient), as this is in direct opposition to the realities created by intersectionality.

WHITE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY TRAINING PROGRAMS

Moving from superficial acknowledgement of White privileges to meaningful critical consciousness requires sustained intentional strategies implemented at individual, program, and institutional levels (Sue, 2010). While the next section will describe individual training strategies, this section highlights possible program and institutional strategies. Training programs are primary socializing agents both through the content of what they teach students and through the processes, policies, and values to which they expose students while in the program. In this light, programs should have a clear mission statement that outlines a dedication to social justice based on an analysis of systemic oppression as a central organizing principle. Program goals and objectives should then relate to the overarching mission and intentionally incorporate social justice skill building. In order to facilitate critical consciousness around WRS, social justice issues should be infused in all courses, inform recruitment and retention, be introduced as foundational at new student orientations, and be an integral part of faculty clinical and research endeavors. Furthermore, programs should offer advocacy/social justice based courses or concentrations, emphasizing a systemic analysis of health and justice, as well as training on the specific skills necessary to promote individual and community change.

As mentioned above, programs operating within and from a mostly White lens embrace approaches that are geared toward teaching White students how to work with racial and ethnic minorities, thus perpetuating othering, marginalization, microaggressions, and systemic silence about the ways in

which one participates or benefits from institutional racism (Sue, 2010). Counseling and psychotherapy training programs that purport to advocate for marginalized racial minorities by focusing habitually on POC, inadvertently (or sometimes intentionally) perpetuate the racial status quo by ignoring or minimizing the meaning and impact of Whiteness. Systemic collusion unfolds when Whiteness is made invisible or non-central to the counseling process, issues of race are relegated to faculty or students of Color, or supervisors don't investigate how WRS impacts the work between a White counselor and a White client.

Furthermore, programs that don't actively work to name and develop skills to disrupt systemic racism in the classroom, educational institution, clinical placements, or the community, reinforce ineffective WRS messages. Rudimentary content knowledge about Whiteness does not translate into discernable skills, whereby White students are empowered to acknowledge, name, and disrupt individual and systemic manifestations of racism. However, similar to individual avoidance tactics, programs may focus on clinical issues (e.g., anxiety, where the problem is located exclusively within the client) to the detriment of nurturing critical consciousness (e.g., anxiety as a normal response to systemic racism) and the strategies needed to respond to injustice or empower individuals and communities to change oppressive systems. In other words, the dialogue about race within counseling and psychotherapy training programs must extend beyond basic multicultural knowledge and ask student to become change agents and social justice advocates combating racism on individual and systemic levels (Naples & Bojar, 2002; Toporek & McNalley, 2006). Thus, consistent with feminist lenses, we make a call for programs to intentionally strive to foster critical consciousness by placing WRS and social justice skill development in the spotlight.

The invisibility of White privilege also permeates the systems within which counseling and psychotherapy training programs must function, such as the guidelines, and sometimes confines, of licensing boards, accreditation bodies, and institutional politics. Instructors, clinicians, and students with heightened critical consciousness must be able to negotiate with systems that perpetuate the racial status quo and further racial marginalization, and recognize the ways in which White privileges are actually perpetuated within their settings. For instance, faculty of Color are often assigned to teach diversity courses despite a bulk of research that indicates that faculty of Color addressing issues of skin color privileges are frequently rated lower on course evaluations than their White counterparts (e.g., Pittman, 2010). White faculty need to not only develop racial consciousness, but also step up to name and address systemic barriers for instructors and students of Color, such as rates of tenure, promotion, access, equal representation in faculty and student of Color, success rate, graduation, retention, and the like. This functions not only to counteract institutional racism, but also provides constructive and implicit WRS by modeling advocacy skills for students.

WHITE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF WHITE PSYCHOTHERAPISTS

In this last section, we describe a comprehensive racial socialization strategy for White psychotherapists encompassing three areas: racial messages, content knowledge, and skills. Accurate racial messages provide an overarching framework for effective racial socialization, and thus an opportunity to challenge the potentially less effective racial socialization messages received by students before entering graduate school. However, even accurate racial messages are not sufficient to provide White students with the tools needed to engage in conversations about race with peers or clients. For that to occur, knowledge about racial concepts and dynamics and how they impact interpersonal relationships and functioning, as well as confidence in one's ability to contribute to or intervene in conversations or interactions about race, are of paramount importance. In other words, racial consciousness doesn't challenge inaccurate information nor tells us how to act in ways that may disrupt the status quo. Skill training is especially important for White students since, as mentioned above, Whites tend to receive primarily *implicit* messages about race and only clear mandates about what *not* to do (Hamm, 2001; Thandeka, 2000).

Messages About Race

TALKING ABOUT RACE IS NOT RACIST

Color-blindness often teaches Whites that simply noticing differences in phenotypic characteristics is a sign of racism. Many White students enter graduate programs not only with little experience in conversing about race, but often with an aversion to naming race as a topic or to verbally identifying racial groups. Exploring the impact of race with clients or challenging the (racial) status quo in any given setting can only occur through open dialogue (Ridley, 2005). Such dialogue requires one's ability to comfortably name race to either empower our clients to enter a potentially uncomfortable conversation, or indicate to clients that we are open to that conversation.

RACE AS A RICH SOURCE OF IDENTITY

Conversations about race, especially in White households, tend to arise around negative racial incidents (whether occurring in one's community or portrayed by the media) or when race becomes "a problem" (Bartoli et al., 2014). However, race contributes meaningfully to a variety of experiences (e.g., racist incidents as much as cross-racial friendships and community), and for POC is a valued part of one's identity and a source of pride. In this context, it is essential for White psychotherapists to embrace a fuller view of race in order to assist White clients to build more authentic relationships

with POC, and to assist clients of Color to question internalized racist messages (Enns & Williams, 2012).

BEING WHITE DOES HAVE MEANING FOR YOU AND YOUR CLIENTS

Many White students enter graduate school with little awareness of themselves as a racial being. However, being White in a racist society holds meaning and implications whether we acknowledge it or not (Sue, 2004; McInstosh, 1997). Our clients' lives and interactions are in fact shaped by their own or others' Whiteness (Harris, 1993; Kendall, 2006). White clients might be unaware that some of their interpersonal struggles may be due to racial dynamics (e.g., they keep being passed for a promotion because of their inability to interact effectively with their co-workers of Color), while others might hesitate to express the challenges they experience with peers of Color with their White therapist for fear that the therapist may not understand or engage appropriately. Just like we wouldn't hesitate to speak about gender with a client struggling with body image issues, we must be able to recognize where racial dynamics are at play without colluding with our clients by viewing their interpersonal problems as exclusively intrapsychically determined, rather than a consequence of their racial training or scripts.

LEARNING ABOUT AND DEVELOPING A POSITIVE WHITE IDENTITY

Historically, identification or pride as a White person was reflective of a White supremacist stance. More recently, White identity is most often associated with colorblindness, ignorance, or racist attitudes (Tatum, 2003). As Tatum (2003) suggests, none of these are identities White students will be inspired to develop further as they become more racially aware. We must offer Whites the vision of an anti-racist White identity, through which they can begin identifying both as Whites with unearned privileges as well as Whites that can use their privileges to subvert the status quo. Here is where the progression from basic multicultural competence to advocacy and social justice training can take place. White psychotherapists should be called to act as agents of social change, both at institutional (e.g., recognizing and intervening within a racist power structure preventing adequate treatment to be delivered to communities of Color) and individual levels (e.g., fostering effective racial socialization when racist comments are made by clients; Bartoli & Pyati, 2009).

Content Knowledge

RACE IS BOTH A FICTIONAL AND MEANINGFUL CATEGORY

While race is not a biological phenomenon (as humans' evolution on earth is too recent for genetic variance to have developed), its socially constructed

nature has very real/tangible consequences for all of us (e.g., economics, geographical, educational). White students will be able to view themselves accurately as racial beings only after they learn the history of Whiteness, how it was constructed, and how it is maintained at institutional/structural levels (Adelman, 2003).

RACISM IS SYSTEMIC

Just like understanding that “the personal is political” in feminist thought was revolutionary in women’s ability to accurately identify and fight systems of oppressions that directly affected the quality of their lives, it is essential for White students to understand that racism operates within structures and systems, not simply at the individual level (Enns & Williams, 2012). Such a broader and more comprehensive view of racism allows for a clear understanding of the absurdity of the term “reverse racism,” of the impact of exclusionary practices in primarily White institutions (who then “struggle” to diversify their campuses), and of the continued segregation of the educational system.

THE COSTS OF RACISM

Racism doesn’t simply impact POC; it is rather the driving force behind everyone’s history. The history of Whites and POC are inextricably connected and should be taught as such. Racism gave all of us a legacy to contend with that has a tangible impact on psychosocial functioning (Spanierman, Poteat, Wang, & Oh, 2008) and health (Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007). Within this context, it is essential that White students learn about their ancestors’ roles in perpetuating an unjust system as well as the role of anti-racist Whites in joining with POC and forming meaningful and effective alliances (Pheterson, 1986). Without such knowledge, it will be difficult for White students to know both how to resist participating in systems that systematically disadvantage POC (i.e., what *not* to do), while also know how to actively intervene to disrupt unjust practices and develop authentic relationships and alliances with POC (i.e., what *to* do).

IDENTIFYING STEREOTYPES AND ACQUIRING ACCURATE INFORMATION

We are all exposed to inaccurate or distorted images and information about POC, some of which we are aware of (whether we actually believe them to be true or not) and some of which we have so fully internalized that are simply reified. Stereotypical narratives are longstanding, pervasive, readily available, well-rehearsed, and expertly interconnected. This means that a concerted effort must be made to assist students not only in identifying such misinformation, but also in developing clear, powerful, and nuanced counter-narratives reflecting the richness and diversity of the lives of both Whites and POC (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006).

Skills

ONGOING SELF-AWARENESS

White students must understand that it is not in fact possible for them to develop a non-racist consciousness or to extricate themselves from a system of oppression that advantages them. However, in order to use one's privilege in the service of social justice (e.g., using one's position of power to facilitate the development of more just policies or connecting a client of Color to helpful resources) and in order to avoid perpetuating acts of racism (e.g., by colluding with White clients' racist views or invalidating the experience of a client of Color), *ongoing* self-awareness is key. White students must commit to exploring their mainstream and marginalized identities (embedded in an understanding of intersectionality, rather than an additive multicultural model), recognize their internalized biases, and become aware of the ways in which they perpetuate, benefit, and collude with the status quo (assuming that all three occur on a regular basis).

Feminists have long used self-reflexivity as a "minimum requirement" to carefully scrutinize what we bring to our relationships (Shollock, 2012). Lorde (1984) refers to this process as identifying and confronting the oppressor in us. This level of continuous interrogation is necessary on both individual and social levels. Reflexivity is a particular approach to antiracist work that helps us manage what is perhaps most difficult, i.e., the dysphoria of guilt and anxiety, as well as a tool for cultural self-awareness (Kowal, Franklin, & Paradies, 2013). Here feminism is an especially useful framework as it pairs self-knowledge with social action.

However, because of our very racial biases and scripts, self-exploration is impossible without appropriate support and mirroring. Therefore, White students must also learn to seek and develop relationship with White allies who can provide them with opportunities for peer supervision and accountability, and to whom they can provide feedback as well (Kivel, 2002). White students must develop the ability to support both empathetically and with honesty White peers in the learning process, while also seeking the feedback of other Whites with whom they can explore their biases without harming colleagues of Color in the process. Further, because Whites don't have a direct experience of racism, they must develop alliances with peers of Color, (1) with whom they can collaborate to maximize impact because of their different positionalities (e.g., a faculty of Color may be able to provide additional mentoring/mirroring to an advisee of Color of a White faculty when professional development concerns are discussed, or a White faculty can support the racial identity development of a White student in a multicultural course taught by a faculty of Color); and (2) to whom they can be accountable for, or seek input from, about decisions or actions aimed at disrupting racist dynamics. In other words, the development of an anti-racist community in all of one's spheres (personal, academic, professional) are essential in

empowering individuals to sustain both the vision and process needed for systemic change.

ANALYSIS OF RACIAL SCRIPTS

The media and social norms are primary sources of racial messages, which then provide us with highly reinforced scripts prescribing the “right” way to understand or approach racial situations or conversations. A critical analysis of such messages is key so that both the delivery methods and content can be understood and questioned (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009). In this process, it is also essential for White students to develop, or at least experiment with, alternative scripts (e.g., race talk is allowed in a comical context or when negative events may occur; an alternative script would be to name race when it’s not “warranted” and engage the expanded perspective that the new dialogue provides), as well as practice questioning out loud the narrower/biased scripts. This is especially important given that gender and race have interdependent and interactive scripts that reinforce both privilege and the ignorance of privilege (Gillman, 2007).

SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTION

Most Whites become extremely anxious and use the flight or fight reaction when they encounter racist incidents – whether they are the perpetrators, a witness, or otherwise involved. Silence, forcefully providing a non-racial explanation, or simply moving away from the situation, are often the only strategies they know. Therefore, it is crucial for them to learn effective and safe ways of becoming agents of social change. This involves recognizing if the situation warrants an immediate versus deferred action, an individual intervention or a collaborative one, or a combination of any of the above (depending on effectiveness and safety). This also involves learning specific language they can employ in that process that is both firm and empathetic. A helpful model in this process is “Name It, Claim It, Stop It” by Berrill and Cummings-Wilson (n.d.). See also Ridley (2005) for a behavioral analysis of racism and how to respond to it.

MANAGING RACIAL STRESS

Even though White students will become more comfortable naming race and discussing racial topics, their privileged position paired with often lifelong colorblindness training makes them especially prone to experience guilt and anxiety when racial topics or conflict arise (Spanierman et al., 2008). In order to sustain the process needed to develop authentic relationships and disrupt the status quo (which involves remaining present and open to be transformed by others), they must learn how to withstand their own

anxiety, confusion, and uncertainty (Stevenson, 2013). Mindfulness training can be useful in this context (Lillis & Hayes, 2007).

RECOGNIZE, RESPECT, AND FACILITATE AFFINITY SPACES FOR COLLEAGUES OR CLIENTS OF COLOR

Affinity spaces for POC in predominantly White spaces allow for safety, growth, and camaraderie especially in the face of stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). It is important for White allies to respect and support such spaces without feeling threatened or excluded, and to recognize their positive impact on healthy cross-racial interactions. White students should also learn to identify when such spaces are needed, so that they might facilitate appropriate referrals for clients of Color to affinity groups, psychotherapists of similar ethnic backgrounds, or additional resources outside of treatment. This skill implies recognizing the potential limitations (via self-awareness) of White psychotherapists to offer support to clients of Color because of White psychotherapists' very socio-political standing—which, again, cannot be escaped regardless of sophistication in critical consciousness. However, White psychotherapists *can* use their understanding and privileged position to support meaningful safe spaces for their clients of Color in primarily White institutions. Furthermore, White allies can serve as educators and agents of social change by helping other Whites to listen more critically to their own voices as well as the voices of peers of Color (Smith & Redington, 2010; Lorde, 1984).

RECOGNIZING ONE'S RACIST AND ANTI-RACIST IDENTITIES

Students must be able to acknowledge the “both/and” possibility of being racist and anti-racist at the same time (Raby, 2004; Thompson, 2003). Also called “multiple subjectivities” (Yon, 2000) or “ambivalence theory” (Katz & Hass, 1988), this is the idea that White Americans may simultaneously project both a sense of welcome or friendliness and rejection towards POC. Acknowledging this seemingly contradictory state of being can be critical to breaking down the binary in which people are always either “racist” or “not racist.” This expanded perspective creates the space to receive important critical feedback that may challenge one's self-image as anti-racist, while it also offers the possibility of growing in one's anti-racism. In fact, it assists students in becoming allies to other White students in supportive and constructive ways.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article we have argued for the necessity of moving beyond an additive model of multicultural training towards one that recognizes the reality of intersectionality. We have also argued for counseling and psychotherapy programs to offer training that doesn't simply target self-awareness, but also a clear understanding of the unavoidable impact of systemic racism and

consequently of the roles and scripts embedded in our socio-political positionalities. These considerations propel Whiteness to the center of the conversation, rather than as the unquestioned vantage point from which “others” are analyzed. It also necessitate that programs demonstrate a commitment to social justice in their policies and practices, and provide avenues for WRS in their curricula. In these context, skill development becomes essential as it lies at the core of what allows for the social justice mission inherent in feminist therapy to move beyond an aspirational proposition and become at least an option, if not a reality.

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