Struggling with Race: A Grounded Theory Study of the Developing of Awareness of Racism

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STRUGGLING WITH RACE: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF THE
DEVELOPING OF AWARENESS OF RACISM
BY WHITE COUNSELORS IN TRAINING

by

Shawn Victoria MacDonald

A Dissertation
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Faculty of The Graduate College
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Dr. James M. Croteau, Advisor

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
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Shawn Victoria MacDonald
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Counselors, psychologists, and other mental health professionals are called upon to assist persons from all cultural backgrounds in improving their lives. Unfortunately, Euro-centric worldviews have dominated the helping professions. “Racist and ethnocentric notions were frequently manifested in the research, theory, and practice of psychology and education” (Sue, et al., 1998, p. 26). In actuality, racism is a factor that so permeates society and culture in the United States that it affects all individuals, organizations, and social functions (Sue, 2005). As white counselors and psychologists enter into therapeutic encounters with persons of color there is a consistent possibility that if assumptions of race and privilege are not carefully examined, these assumptions will affect the therapeutic relationship in ways that “preserve the racist status-quo” (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 157). Thompson and Neville emphasize that “Racism and its corollaries present obstacles that potentially can interfere in the establishment of whole relationships” (p. 189). Since genuine human encounters are central to the work of therapy, without careful attention to developing racial awareness and an anti-racist perspective among white counselors and therapists, there is little hope for truly effective therapeutic work across boundaries of color. Carter (2003) holds that cultural competence is an essential feature of counseling competence stating, “It is not possible to be a competent counselor without being culturally competent” (p.21).

By the end of the twentieth century, multiculturalism had come to be seen as an essential aspect of counselor training as evidenced by the development of Multicultural Counseling Competencies, inclusion of multicultural training in
accreditation standards, and the development of a large body of literature (Mio, 2003; Mio and Awakuni, 2000; Sue, 2005). However with this emphasis on multicultural training and the advent of required multicultural training courses, the significance of dealing with resistance to multiculturalism on the part of counselor trainees has also become clear. Mio and Awakuni describe this response to multicultural training,

> How often have you discussed issues of multiculturalism with people who are not ethnic minorities themselves and sensed a certain defensiveness or over accommodation from some of those individuals?...Perhaps it is because there seems to be a knee-jerk reaction based on the feeling that the discussion of such issues is a subtle accusation that these individuals are racist (p. 83).

The pervasiveness of challenging reactions to racial awareness and multicultural training can be seen in a survey of students from one counseling psychology program conducted by Steward and colleagues (1998) which found that fully one third of their respondents continued to express resistance to multicultural training after completing their multicultural counseling course.

The purpose of this dissertation is to gain greater understanding of the sometimes difficult experiences of white counselors in training as they participate in a multicultural training course. These difficult experiences include challenge on any level, positive or negative, and are referred to as “struggle” in this dissertation. The first chapter of the proposal provides an overview of the study presenting essential points from the literature review, method, results, and discussion chapters. The second chapter is a review of the literature related to the phenomena of struggle with racism. The third chapter presents the qualitative method chosen for this study, the theoretical framework of the study, and outlines the research procedures used in this study. The fourth chapter presents the results of the study, a grounded theory of the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW). The fifth chapter is a
discussion of the study in which the DARW is compared with existing developmental models, implications of the DARW are discussed and the merits of the study are evaluated. In this chapter, I will first present an overview of the literature review, define the research question, and define terms that are central to this study. In the second section, I will outline the theoretical framework and the research methodology. In the third section I will provide an overview of the grounded theory developed in the study. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the study for existing theories and counselor training and evaluate the merits of the study.

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

The work of challenging racism within one’s self and in society is daunting for many white persons, including those training in the counseling professions. Multicultural trainers and researchers repeatedly point to the difficulty that white persons often have in coming to terms with race, racism, and white privilege (Carter, 2003; Goodman, 2001; Jackson, 1999; Kivel, 1996; Mio, 2003; Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Ponterotto, 1998; Reynolds, 1995; Ridley & Thompson, 1999; Sue et al., 1998; Utsey, Gernat, & Bolden, 2003). Thompson and Neville (1999) describe this struggle:

Putting an end to the pathology that surrounds racism entails a struggle. Interpersonally, engaging in this struggle can arouse anxiety, anger, guilt, and even violence between and among people of different racial groups. Intrapersonally, the struggle to overcome racism and autocolonization requires the individual to examine that aspect of identity that relates to one’s socialization as a racial being and to daringly confront how one has succumbed to the malignancy of racism (p. 200).

Although numerous authors have identified the struggle that white counselors and
psychologists in training face as they are challenged to learn about the effects of racism on their lives and relationships, little research has been initiated which seeks to understand the internal dynamics of this phenomenon.

As the need for multicultural training for all counselors and psychologists has emerged, it has become clear that the development of culturally competent counselors who resist racist assumptions in working with their clients is not easily accomplished. This is particularly the case for white counselors in training who are called on to recognize the reality of racism and white privilege. While the multicultural training literature has blossomed over the past two decades, little attention has been given to understanding the internal cognitive and affective processes of white counselors who are confronting racism. The sense of struggle with racism that is identified by so many trainers and theorists has yet to be explored in depth. No existing published study has sought to understand the individual’s internal process of coming to terms with racism and racial awareness for white counselors in training. Although there are significant bodies of literature which address multicultural training, counselor development, and white racial identity development, many authors agree that little attention has been given to understanding the experience of struggle with multicultural training (Carter, 2003; Goodman, 2001; Jackson, 1999; Kivel, 1996; Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Ponterotto, 1998; Reynolds, 1995; Ridley & Thompson, 1999; Sue et al., 1998).

The existing literature related to the phenomena of struggle with racism is found in three specific areas: (1) literature on resistance and defensiveness to racism and racial awareness training, (2) literature on emotional reactions to racism, and (3) racial identity development literature. The largest pool of literature describes the difficulty white counselors have in coming to terms with racism as resistance (Carter,
One of the limitations of understanding struggle as resistance is that the difficult reactions of counselor trainees are understood only as efforts to limit their growth and the development of their awareness. A second pool of literature focuses on identifying the emotional reactions that trainees often experience when learning about racism. Several research studies and theoretical articles have looked into specific emotional reactions to racial awareness training (Arminio, 2001; Parker & Schwartz, 2002; Swim & Miller, 1999). These three articles focus on guilt and shame among white persons as they develop racial awareness. Other studies exist which highlight the complex and diverse emotional reactions of persons as they develop racial awareness (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; D’Andrea & Daniels, 2001). Each of these studies discusses the emotional reactions that white persons experience at different levels of understanding of racism, although the exploration of emotional responses is not the central purpose of these studies. Of these five articles, only Swim and Miller have set out to conduct an empirical study of an emotional reaction to racism awareness; their study focused on guilt. The limited literature base, only five articles, shows that emotional reactions to racial awareness training have not yet been fully explored. Racial awareness is often understood in developmental terms and several of the racial identity development models include aspects of struggle in the models (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b; Helms, 1990, 1995; Helms & Cook, 1999; Mio & Awakuni, 2000). These models, however do not primarily address the concept of struggle. There is a need for a study that seeks to understand the experience of struggle from the perspective of white counselors in training in order to develop a more comprehensive and in depth
The purpose of this dissertation is to gain a greater understanding of the psychological experiences and behavioral responses, the struggles, of white counselors and psychologists in training who are learning about race, racism, and white privilege. Through a qualitative investigation, using a grounded theory methodology, this dissertation explores the phenomena of struggling with race among white counselors and psychologists in training. A grounded theory methodology allows new insights and understandings of this phenomenon to emerge from the data collected from the participants themselves. In intention of this dissertation is to provide an increased understanding of struggle that can inform the interventions and approaches to multicultural training and improve the effectiveness of these interventions as trainers seek to develop anti-racist white counselors and psychologists.

Research Question

The focus of this study is to understand the experiences of white counselors in training as they are exposed to issues of race and racism and encouraged to develop a greater racial awareness. The broad research question for the dissertation is stated as follows: How do white counselors in training experience “struggle” in dealing with racial issues in their early training in a multicultural counseling course? This question will be addressed from several perspectives: (1) the struggle students are experiencing while in the course, (2) the student’s motivations for incorporating or not incorporating the course content into their worldview, (3) the coping strategies the students use to handle discomfort they may experience, (4) any continued struggle the students experience following the completion of the class, and (5) the students’
reflections upon their growth and their experience following the completion of the class. The study focuses primarily on intrapsychic cognitive and affective experiences described by the participants in the context of the social and interpersonal experience of the multicultural counseling course and takes into account the individual histories of the participants with respect to race and racism.

Definition of Terms

The difficulty of discussing and learning about race and racism is echoed in the various understandings that exist for terms used in the discussion. In the following section, important terms that are used throughout this dissertation are presented together with the definitions and understandings of the concepts that are being used in this particular dissertation. I have chosen to focus attention on the terms race, culture and ethnicity, racism, and white privilege due to their centrality to the study.

Race

While the term "race" is used in everyday conversations in the United States, with a general understanding that the concept is mutually understood, social scientists express considerable disagreement about the definition of this concept. "Race" is used in the United States as a primary way of classifying persons. "Natural" concepts of race understand race as a result of one's genetic makeup (Thompson & Neville, 1999). "According to this perspective, there are distinctive racial groups as illustrated by the physiognomic marks of various subspecies of humans" (p. 160). Social scientists generally agree that there is no basis for a “natural” concept of race and that there is no biological or genetic basis for the classification of persons.
according to race (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001; Helms & Cook, 1999).

Race is no longer understood as a meaningful scientific category by sociologists and anthropologists (Ambercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000; American Anthropological Association, 1998). "Sociologists do not regard 'race' as a useful scientific category and there is widespread agreement that the biological notion of race cannot provide a causal explanation of human behavior" (Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner, 2000, p. 339). Psychologists, on the other hand, continue to understand race as a valid psychological concept. Race is understood as a socially constructed concept.

Race is a social construction intended to maintain certain societal norms—in the case of race, the norm of between-group disparity. A social construct has meaning in the minds and discourse of people who use it, but not in objective criteria. It defines who should have access to societal and in-group resources as well as the rules by which such resources will be dispensed. (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 16).

A social constructionist view of race holds that the construct of race is a construct that has social significance even if it has no biological or genetic basis. Because people are classified by their perceived race, race has meaning in the social milieu. "Although these classifications are not necessarily accurate from a biological perspective, they nonetheless represent a general tendency to classify individuals according to socially constructed beliefs about racial differences" (D'Andrea and Daniels, 2001, p. 291). While race does not refer to a quality that can be objectively defined in the biological or ancestral history of a person, it continues to be a very real concept in the experience of persons in their day-to-day lives. "If professional counselors wish to challenge, deconstruct, and ultimately change existing meanings, we must contend with how identities are socially constructed and how oppressive dominant discourses are perpetuated in the counseling profession" (Robinson, 1999,
p. 73). In other words, the construct of race is meaningful because as a society we give weight to the construct. Counselors and psychologists must understand this construct because it is used to create real difference between groups of people and it is a central force in the oppression of devalued groups. Throughout this dissertation, race is understood as a socially constructed phenomenon in which persons are classified based on their external appearance and/or the appearance of members of their family of origin.

Culture and Ethnicity

Two other terms which are frequently used in ways that are similar to race or synonymous with race are culture and ethnicity. While each of these terms refers to separate sociological phenomena, Helms and Cook (1999) hold that these terms are often used as nicer substitutes for the term race. Technically, ethnicity “refers to the national, regional, or tribal origins of one’s oldest remembered ancestors and the cultures, traditions, and rituals handed down by these ancestors, which among the ethnic group members, are assumed to be their culture” (p. 19). Culture “refers to the values, beliefs, language, rituals, traditions, and other behaviors that are passed from one generation to another within any social group” (p. 21). While they are different phenomena, culture and ethnicity are considered together with race to the extent that the participants in the study confound these concepts in their own thinking and worldview. Culture is a broader term that encompasses individual diversity, country of origin, pan-national experiences of oppression, social and cultural groups, and racial differences (Carter, 2003). The racially based perspective of US society “assumes that sociorace defines cultural groups in North America and that reference-group memberships, such as ethnicity, social class, gender, and religion, are
understood in the context of racial group membership” (p. 21).

Racism

Racism is generally understood as a pattern of domination of one group over another on the basis of physical features and/or cultural patterns (Arminio, 2001). Racism is often seen as consisting of both power and privilege (McIntosh, 1998). Racism is generally understood to be more than a single entity or concept. Scholars often describe racism as having both structural and ideological components. The structural component of racism refers to the institutional and societal mechanisms for domination of one group over other groups, while the ideological component refers to the beliefs that justify this differential treatment of persons based on their physical features or cultural patterns (Thompson & Neville, 1999). In the United States, since white people are the dominant group and have the greatest access to power, whites are in a greater position to dominate other groups. “In general, racism is a white phenomenon acted on non-whites for the benefit of whites” (Arminio, 2001, p. 240). Racism, however, is so pervasive that it affects the socialization of all people (Sue, 2005; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

It is important to distinguish racism from related concepts. Prejudice differs from racism in that it involves attitudes, beliefs, and intentions, while racism involves the power to dominate others and harmful behavior toward others (Ridley, 1995). “Racism is behavioral, and prejudice is dispositional” (p. 18). In addition, while racism refers to access to power and privilege and as such is a construct which relates to dominant groups, prejudice refers to the individuals attitudes and beliefs and can be found in persons at all levels of society.

Psychologists frequently focus on the ideological component of racism in their
research and intervention efforts (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

We propose that racism has an ideological component in that ideas about race and race relations serve to protect the status quo, that is, the current system of racial domination in which racial minorities experience institutional discrimination. Racist ideologies are manifested and perpetuated by false representations of racial minorities as culturally, intellectually, and/or morally inferior and the simultaneous representations of whites, as a whole, as superior and the norm by which other groups should be evaluated. (p. 165)

While the ideological component of racism is often the focus of psychologists, it is important for psychologists to understand the structural nature of racism in order to have an understanding of the possible impacts of racism on individuals and to minimize their participation in the mechanisms of racism while trying to dismantle the structures that support racism in our society.

**White Privilege**

While racism is the social dynamic that exists for all persons, white privilege is the set of societal advantages that white persons receive as the result of their race. White privilege refers to the benefits of racism for whites. White privilege is defined as “an expression of power arising from receipt of benefits, rights, and immunities and is characterized by unearned advantages and a sense of entitlement that results in both societal and material dominance by whites over people of color” (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). Wildman and Davis (2000) outline three characteristics of racial privilege:

First, the characteristics of the privileged group define the societal norm, often benefiting those in the privileged group. Second, privileged group members can rely on their privilege and avoid objecting to oppression. And third, privilege is rarely seen by the holder of privilege. (p. 658)
Because white privilege is a benefit that is derived from social inequalities and oppression of others, it is also one of the forces that makes it so difficult for white persons to disavow racism. This is because of the numerous benefits of white privilege that permeate the lives of white persons as well as the unearned and unasked for nature of these benefits. White persons cannot decide not to have white privilege as they can decide to let go of stereotypes and prejudices. White privilege is continually granted by society and one of the challenges for white persons in seeking to end racial oppression is to recognize and resist these privileges. As white persons become aware of their unearned privileges and the unfairness of this system, it is common to feel trapped in an unjust system, guilty for the advantages which have been granted to one's self and not to others, or frustrated by the inability to change the system of privilege and discrimination.

METHOD

In this section, I will describe the methodology for the dissertation. I will first describe the theoretical framework for the study including the reasons for choosing a qualitative method, grounded theory, and its appropriateness for the research question at hand; I will then describe the research procedures used in the study. Each of the issues discussed in this section is described in greater depth in Chapter 3.

Qualitative Method

The positivist paradigm of early psychology did not ask for racist assumptions to be questioned. "Historically, multicultural counseling research, even that conducted by people of color has been grounded in a Euro-American positivist or
postpositivist research paradigm” (Morrow, Rakhsha, & Castaneda, 2001, p.580). The majority of existing research on multicultural counselor training is quantitative in nature using various measures of multicultural counseling competency and racial identity to understand changes on a group rather than an individual level. More recently, qualitative research methodologies have been used to examine long held assumptions and to approach psychology from a constructivist paradigm that allows the worldviews of diverse people to be understood in greater depth. This new line of research enables psychologists to understand the experiences of various persons and groups of persons from their own perspective and context, rather than applying a preexisting set of assumptions and hypotheses to the collection and analysis of information. Qualitative research methodologies are essential tools to understanding the worldviews of persons who are the subjects of psychological studies.

This study will be conducted using grounded theory, as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990), and Charmaz (2000, 2003, 2006). Grounded theory is particularly suitable for understanding a phenomenon that has not been previously studied or is not well understood. Grounded theory is designed to enable researchers to develop theoretical propositions inductively from the data. I am using a constructivist approach to grounded theory. While grounded theory was initially developed to provide a qualitative research method that met standards for rigor similar to those of quantitative studies in a postpositivist paradigm, Charmaz suggests modifications to grounded theory that enable it to be situated in a constructivist paradigm. A constructivist approach to grounded theory is distinctive in two primary ways. First, a constructivist approach does not seek to develop a theory that describes one objective reality, but rather the subjective realities of the participants. Second, a constructivist approach recognizes that the researcher is a
partner with the participants in constructing the interpretations of the study.

The methods used in this study will be discussed with attention to the participants, the procedures for data collection, data analysis, the rigor of the study and the place of the researcher in the study.

Participants

The participants in this study are white students enrolled in a multicultural counseling course in a counseling psychology and counselor education department at a regional public university. The multicultural counseling course is a required core course in the curriculum and is offered during three or four terms each year. In order to develop a depth of analysis, participants were recruited in three pools from three different sections of the course over three academic terms. Two sections were offered in a seven-week intensive format over the summer terms and one of the sections was offered during a 15-week semester. One section was held at an extension campus of the university and two sections were held at the main campus. Each section was taught by a different Black faculty member. The three sections had separate syllabi and assignments, however they shared the goal of developing multicultural counseling competencies so that students are able to function as effective counseling professionals with culturally different groups.

Fifteen participants were recruited for the dissertation. Five participants were recruited in the first pool, four in the second pool, and six in the third pool. In addition, two persons participated in pilot interviews and their responses were included in the analysis. Table 1 outlines the participants by pool and number of interviews that were conducted per participant:
Table 1. Participants by interview pool and number of interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pool</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>First Interview</th>
<th>Second Interview</th>
<th>Third Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Including the pilot participants, there were 17 participants in the study. There were 3 males and 14 females. Ages were not collected from the pilot study participants; other demographics refer to all participants in the study. Participants in the main dissertation study ranged in age from 23 to 53 with a median age of 28 and a mean age of 32, the standard deviation was 9. Six students were working on master's level degrees in Community Counseling, Counseling Psychology, Marriage and Family Therapy or a combination of two of these programs. Five participants were enrolled in a master's program in School Counseling. Four participants were enrolled in a doctoral program in Counseling Psychology and two were enrolled in a doctoral program in Counselor Education and Supervision. Among the master's students, six were in the first half of their program and five were in the second half of their program. All of the doctoral students were in their first year of doctoral study at the time they enrolled in the study. The two pilot participants had taken a multicultural course as part of their master's degree. One of the doctoral students in the main dissertation study had taken a multicultural course previously in a master's program.
All of the doctoral students and one of the master's students were completing their program on a full-time basis; the other ten master's students were completing their program on a part-time basis. Two of the participants identified as European international students. One participant identified as a lesbian.

Procedures

Data Collection

Data was collected through individual interviews with participants. Participants were interviewed on up to three occasions: (1) at the mid-point of the course, (2) following the completion of the course, and (3) six months to a year following the completion of the course. All participants engaged in the first interview and 11 engaged in the second interview. The third interview was only offered to participants in the first two pools and five participants participated in the third interview. There were a total of 33 interviews with 17 participants. All of the initial interviews were face-to-face and three of the second interviews were face-to-face. The remainder of the interviews took place over the phone. The average length of the interviews was 57 minutes with a range of 40 to 76 minutes.

Interviews for this study were structured according to the emergent design of the study. An initial interview guide was constructed and tested with two pilot participants. (See Appendix A for a summary of the pilot study). Revisions were made to this guide focusing more attention on the participant’s background and racial awareness prior to enrolling in the multicultural course. The interview guide (Appendix B) was designed to encourage participants to talk about their experiences in their multicultural counseling course, their personal background in understanding
racism, and how they have responded to these experiences. The guides for the second and third interviews (Appendix C and Appendix D) were developed based on responses from the earlier interviews and sought to further clarify issues from the participant's previous interview and explore developing themes in the research study.

**Preparation of Transcripts**

The interviews were recorded with digital recording equipment. The researcher transcribed seventeen of the interviews and a professional transcriptionist transcribed sixteen. All of the transcriptions were audited by the researcher for accuracy with the recorded version and the researcher reviewed each transcript to remove identifying information. Printed versions of the transcripts were also read and proofread. The interviews transcribed by the transcriptionist were listened to in their recorded version at least one additional time to provide further immersion in the data. As a result, the researcher reviewed the contents of each interview three to four times during the preparation of the transcripts.

**Data Analysis**

The data analysis strategy for grounded theory is the constant comparative method. Using this method, data were analyzed during the data collection period and the emerging understanding of the phenomena from the analysis was used in gaining greater depth of understanding of the phenomena in later data collection. The constant comparative method consists of four levels of coding and analysis (open coding, axial coding, selective coding and the construction of the conditional matrix) that begin with the data and move in successive levels of abstraction. Throughout the data analysis process, analytic memos are written to describe each code, category, and
relationship as it emerges in the analysis. These analysis processes are described in
greater detail in Chapter 3.

Analysis of the data occurred throughout the data collection process and
continued after the interviews had been completed. A structured analysis procedure,
open coding, using an in vivo coding strategy was applied to all of the initial
interviews and the second interviews from the first pool of participants. The open
coding process resulted in 1247 codes of 4828 coded sections. Many passages were
coded more than once to represent various axis of understanding the content (topic,
emotions, actions, use of language, etc.) according to axial coding. Through selective
coding, codes were organized into 116 categories and these categories were further
organized into seven general areas: journey and development, factors that facilitate
growth, factors that limit growth, examples of struggle, emotions, descriptive
variables, and thematic codes. Several key categories emerged in this formal analysis
that became central concepts in the development of the conditional matrix.

A less structured analysis process was also conducted through writing memos,
diagramming ideas, comparing interviews and categories, reviewing the interviews,
and coding the remaining interviews thematically. The data analysis and data
collection occurred simultaneously allowing the opportunity for questions about
emerging understandings to be included in the ongoing interviews to allow for further
refinement of concepts. These two analysis procedures, the structured and the
unstructured procedures, overlapped one another throughout the analysis of the data.

The data analysis resulted in the construction of the conditional matrix. The
conditional matrix went through several permutations before and after the final set of
interviews. Initial ideas about how the data came together in a conditional matrix
were tested out through subsequent interviews and through comparison with the
existing data set. The final conditional matrix, the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW) was compared to the existing codes and categories and checked against each interview by listening to all of the recordings again. If an aspect of the conditional matrix or the themes within the conditional matrix was contradicted in the raw data it was reevaluated and either changed to fit the data or removed from the conditional matrix.

**Place of the Researcher in the Study**

As a constructivist study, the researcher is an integral aspect of the study itself. While the researcher takes many steps to ground the analysis in the data, in a constructivist grounded theory there is an explicit recognition that the researcher’s sensitivities, depth of understanding, and insights affect the analysis process throughout the study.

This study was conducted by one researcher. I am a white, middle-aged, woman who identifies as a lesbian. I was raised in culturally and ethnically diverse neighborhoods in Los Angeles, California, where I was often one of very few white students in my classes and neighborhoods. My parents were active in the Civil Rights Movement and in Vietnam War Protests and I grew up seeing participation in demonstrations as a normal family activity. It was not until I was in high school and college that I experienced being in a group of people that was predominantly white. I was dumbfounded to hear my white peers express racist attitudes and stereotypes. Within my context, I grew up with an early awareness of racism and white privilege that is somewhat rare for white persons. As a result, my primary struggle with racism in society has been in trying to understand the perspectives and struggles of other white people. I have often found myself in situations where I could not understand
the perspective of other white people and as a result did not know how to effectively work toward changing their perspectives. My own confusion and difficulty understanding other's perspectives is the motivation for conducting this dissertation. I have also had an ongoing journey of acknowledging the privilege that is granted to me as a white person and learning ways to share this privilege, name the privilege, and leverage the privilege toward justice. As a person who is committed to work against racism, I have also found it necessary to continually evaluate my own attitudes and assumptions and identify racist and privileged perspectives.

RESULTS

All of the participants in the study engaged in a struggle as they came to a deeper understanding racism and white privilege. The nature of this struggle varied based on the level of awareness of racism that the participants had at the time of the struggle. The participants described experiences that can be divided into three different types of development or transition: The External Transition, The Internal Transition, and The Transforming Transition. Figure 1 outlines the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW) model and the transitions, stances, and tasks within it.

The three transitions are separate growth processes in which the participants undergo changes in their perspective toward racism. The transitions are sequential, yet they also are overlapping. These three transitions are sequential in that a person must have significantly engaged in one transition before being able to engage in the next transition completely. The transitions are also simultaneous in that the tasks of each transition are ongoing tasks. Additionally, participants were engaged in learning activities that focused on various tasks at the same time. The External Transition is
Defensive Stance: "Surviving" against Threat

Sustaining Commitment

Integrating Commitment

Discovering own Racism and Privilege

Being a Good White Person

Exploring Race in Society

Believing in a Just Society

External Transition • Internal Transition • Transforming Transition

Key: Shaded objects represent stances; Unshaded objects represent tasks.

Figure 1. Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites
focused on discovering racism outside of one's self, the Internal Transition is focused on discovering racism within one's self, and the Transforming Transition is focused on action toward changing racism within oneself and in society.

Within each transition there are two clearly different parts, referred to as stances and tasks. For each transition there is a stance, a place of equilibrium toward racism that allows for a person to maintain their current perspective and view of the self and society. Each transition also has a task that is a dynamic process of growth and involves various degrees of disequilibrium. Struggle with racism during the stances is focused on maintaining equilibrium while the struggle during the tasks is often the result of disequilibrium. The External and Internal Transitions begin with a stance and then proceed to a task that is essential for moving into the next transition. The Transforming Transition begins with a task and then reaches a stance. There was no evidence for a stance or place of equilibrium between the Internal Transition and the Transforming Transition; instead, of a place of equilibrium there was a need for continued growth into the Transforming Transition. Participants who did not continue forward into the Transforming Transition, remained in their earlier stance.

The first transition is the External Transition. Participants go from a place of equilibrium where they see society as being basically just and fair and having little awareness of racism, Believing in a Just Society stance, to the developmental task of Exploring Race in Society. In this exploration participants discover the different experiences of people from other cultural groups and that racism exists in society. Participants in this transition are often pleased to explore cultural differences but also saddened to discover that people are treated differently based on their racial, ethnic, or cultural background. Having discovered that society in the US is not just and that racism is present in society, participants enter into the second transition, The Internal
Transition. In the Internal Transition participants discover a new place of equilibrium where they recognize racism in society but see themselves as good people who are not racist, Being a Good White Person stance. The task in the second transition is to go from seeing themselves as being good people who are not racist to recognizing the part that they have played in racism and discovering the privilege that they have received as white people (Discovering own Racism and Privilege task). It is in this transition that participants become aware of themselves as white people. Having discovered the insidiousness of racism and the ways that they have bought into racism, participants then are ready to enter into the Transforming Transition. Growth in this transition does not begin with equilibrium; rather participants have the task of integrating their new awareness into their lives. This transition begins with the task of Integrating Commitment against racism and for justice and diversity into their lives. Here participants have a desire and a commitment and are in the process of developing the skills and direction that are necessary to be able to sustain this commitment over the long haul. Finally, participants describe a new place of equilibrium, Sustaining Commitment stance, where they are able to deal productively with the challenges of working toward justice and have developed perspectives and skills so that the work is no longer as painful as it has been in previous perspectives.

Many participants moved through two of these transitions over the course of the study, but few of them traversed from the External Transition through to the Transforming Transition during the study. The participants who described the Transforming Transition tended to have entered the multicultural counseling class with prior experience and training and to describe themselves initially in ways that related to the Internal Transition or Transforming Transition. Although the transitions are sequential, participants often engaged in activities and attitudes that were
characteristic of two adjacent transitions simultaneously. As participants progressed to later transitions, they continued to engage in the tasks of Exploring Race in Society and Discovering own Racism and Privilege but from the perspective of later places of equilibrium. This is represented in Figure 1 with arrows that continue through the later transitions.

In addition to these three transitions, there were also participants who described a defensive, retreating stance focused on surviving and maintaining their sense of personal or racial power. This “Surviving” against Threat Stance developed at all three levels of awareness in response to a state of disequilibrium that was overwhelming to the participants at the time. There was not a clear difference in the “Surviving” experience based on the transition the person had been engaged in, actually there was a remarkable similarity between the comments of participants in the External Transition and participants in the Internal and Transforming Transitions when they felt threatened or overwhelmed. The “Surviving” against Threat Stance appears to be a constant possibility, or even temptation, for white persons throughout their growth and development. Participants who described aspects of the Sustaining Commitment stance also discussed ways that they guarded themselves against becoming defensive, apathetic, or complacent.

Additionally, there were threads of personal characteristics and environmental factors that served to facilitate or limit growth for the participants. Several participants recognized that their own level of anxiety caused the course to be more difficult for them. Participants who respond to new situations and unfamiliar content with anxiety and fear found plenty of opportunity for their anxiety to flourish in the class. In as much as these participants were aware of their anxiety as a character trait, they were able to respond to the anxiety as something that comes from within.
themselves rather than tying their anxiety to the other they were interacting with or the situation. On the other hand, participants who saw themselves as generally open and courageous, saw themselves drawing on these resources to engage in some of the course experiences.

The environmental factor that was most essential to student’s development through the course was a sense of safety for learning and growth. Participants were very sensitive to the response they received from people in the class, especially the professor. Those who felt that the professor dealt with all students with a deep level of respect and positive regard discussed feeling free to engage in discussions, take risks in and out of class, and explore their own assumptions, racism and privilege. On the other hand, students who either felt that the professor had attacked them or had witnessed the professor being disrespectful toward another student discussed their need for safe space to learn and explore and their fear of speaking up in class for fear of being shut down.

Each of the elements of the DARW model will now be discussed in greater depth, using comments that are prototypical of each of the major elements of the model to illustrate. A more comprehensive discussion of the results is found in chapter 4.

The External Transition

The External Transition begins with the stance of Believing in a Just Society and moves through the task of Exploring Race in Society. The transition is external in that participants go from a naïve understanding of racism and general denial of racism to seeing racism as a reality in society in the United States. The awareness of racism that is gained is an external one, racism outside of the self.
Believing in a Just Society

Participants in the Believing in a Just Society Stance entered the class with a general sense of the world being good and just and a vague sense that racism in the US culture exists but is mostly a thing of the past. These students cited being aware of racism in the past, but that the abolishment of slavery and the civil rights movement, which were often described as directly related, did away with racism. They recognized that there are still racist individuals in our society, but these were seen as bad or ignorant people. Racist acts are individual, by identifiable people toward identifiable people.

The perspective of Believing in a Just Society is the most naïve perspective on racism represented in the study. Persons who held this perspective understood racism only as overt racist acts. In discussing racism they talked about Hitler and slavery. They saw racism as a historical issue and believed that racism is currently only expressed by people such as Klan members and white supremacists. In other words, racism is an individual moral failure. They saw contemporary society as basically just and fair and did not recognize differences between groups. Persons in this status maintained this perspective by holding to a “Code of Silence” which dictates that one does not talk about race, does not see racial differences, and does not hear any evidence that is contrary to their perspective.

And I think part of it might've been I came through learning about the Civil Rights Movement, learning about the Civil War, learning about Roots, learning about Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and I guess I honestly thought the Civil Rights Movement and inequities were done. And, that was previous generations, and it wasn't in my generation.
Exploring Race in Society

The task of the External Transition is Exploring Race in Society. Participants engaged in the task of Exploring Race in Society were often excited to discover cultural differences and responded with enthusiasm to multicultural course assignments that asked them to learn about different cultures. When they were confronted with their individual part in racism and the idea of white privilege they either understood it in a superficial way, trying to incorporate these ideas into their existing worldview, or became angry and defensive. Although these students saw a just society, it was a fragile worldview. To maintain this worldview they needed to continue to see people of color as other than and different from themselves. They needed to continue to be blind to or unaware of their assumptions and stereotypes and how these attitudes led to discomfort around people of color. This blindness is often seen through contradictory statements where they described themselves as not having racist stereotypes; yet perpetuated these stereotypes through their actions or words. They were ready to begin to understand racism as a force in society, but were not ready to take the further step of coming to terms with their own part in this system. They responded to experiential activities with fascination at the way that members of other cultural groups function, but they also talked about their own discomfort at the task of placing themselves in these situations. Participants in this task were not comfortable with being the only white person in a setting or discussing their own experience of race and racism with a person of color. They completed experiential assignments often focusing on how positive it was to spend time with people of color, how they were welcomed, or how impressed they were with the openness of the person they talked to. They were discovering racism as a thing outside of themselves. In this discovery they talked about feeling sad, broken hearted, and discouraged that
people of color have to face these realities.

The central task of the External Transition is to Explore Race in Society. As participants explored other cultures they described excitement, enthusiasm, and wonder while they also felt discomfort when interacting with people of color.

Well, um, knowing that you are trying something different, something new and coming along side of people and entering a place where you normally probably wouldn't go you know and just recognizing that as important. You know to step outside of your area you know that you are so familiar with. To know that the, you know, existence of the world goes beyond what we know and so I guess that.

However, as participants learned about the pervasiveness of racism they were saddened and discouraged as their perspective of a just society is shattered.

I mean I want a happy world, I want all happy, you know, you'd like to think that we have this wonderful egalitarian society and we'd all mix and mingle and blend and preach each other's cultures but let each other into our worlds back and forth and that everyone would have the same chances and the same, you know, same opportunity you know and all that kind of stuff. The inner city schools would do it; they'd be able to do what they need to do for these kids you know and all of that. So, no it's sad and I think the more you learn about it the more, the bigger the problem, you realize the bigger the problem is to a point it's sort of overwhelming and discouraging.

In this task participants tended to continue to talk about members of other cultural and racial groups as people who are “other than” themselves. In the process of development of awareness of racism by white people, the task of the External Transition is to learn about racism and it’s effects in society.

The Internal Transition

Having become aware of racism in society, the focus of the Internal Transition begins with a view of one’s self as a good white person and then moves forward to discovering one’s own role in racism and privilege. While the focus of the External
Transition was on a worldview and discovering racism outside of one’s self, the focus of the Internal Transition is on one’s self perception and discovering racism within one’s self.

Participants in the Internal Transition have engaged in some multicultural exploration and have come to see that all is not right in the world. However knowing that racism exists and recognizing that they have been complicit in the dynamics of racism are two different things. Students who entered the course at this transition often believed that they already knew what they need to know about multicultural issues due to their awareness of cultural differences and sensitivity to racism in society.

**Being a Good White Person**

The Internal Transition begins with the stance of “Being a Good White Person” which is characterized by participants who are informed about cultural differences and who see themselves as responsible citizens. Participants in this stance knew that racism and injustice exist, but did not see how they, by their action or inaction, participated in the perpetuation of racism. Persons who presented themselves primarily with this stance toward racism were aware of cultural differences between groups of people, they considered themselves well-informed on social and political issues, and often saw themselves as open minded or tolerant of differences. They saw that there are problems in the world, racism and discrimination among them, and they wanted to help people deal with these problems. They did not have the naïve, all is good in the world, perspective described under the stance of Believing in a Just Society.

So I’m just not, just oblivious kind of to what is going on and. You
know it is kind of, I became more educated and things, it was obvious that racial discrimination is built into our system and that was becoming more apparent but, you know I'm not really a part of that, you know there is nothing I can do about it, it doesn't really affect me. So just kind of an obliviousness, I don't know how else to describe it.

They knew that there are things about society that are not fair or are just plain wrong. Participants were often uncomfortable in situations when they were with people of color. The difference between participants in this stance and participants in the stance of Believing in a Just Society is that in the Being a Good White Person stance participants were aware of racism and stereotypes and were careful not to acknowledge a view that may be seen as racist.

Honestly I don't, I don't, [pause] there are some of the things with the professor that I just don't like. And it is like I'm just almost afraid to talk about it, and I think ick, I could not write that on an evaluation because, it'll just be assumed that I am targeting her because she is African American.

As counseling students they were motivated to do good and they saw themselves as good people. They have sought to inform themselves on issues and have engaged in some cultural exploration or had a variety of multicultural experiences in their lives.

Discovering Own Racism and Privilege

The task of the Internal Transition, Discovering one's own Racism and Privilege, is the task described most often by participants in this study. For those participants who began their multicultural class at the External Transition, this is the task they confronted as they engaged further in the multicultural class and moved from external to internal awareness. Many of the participants who began the class in the External Transition have developed the background knowledge of racism and
discrimination to begin this task. On the other hand, participants who entered their multicultural counseling class already at the Transforming Transition in their own development returned to the task of discovering their own racism and privilege and sought to learn and grow further. This return is partially due to the subject matter of the classes and also due to the life long nature of developing personal awareness. All participants were challenged with this task by their course. Some of the participants engaged deeply and thoughtfully in the task of discovering their own racism and privilege.

Well, no and you know but I saw myself as an open minded person before, you know, ... And I thought that I had a number of things factored in there but I guess that my awareness, I guess is just increased a little bit more. ...Well I think it is going to help to not take things for granted and not assume that there [are] these givens in this world. It is not a given that it is as easy in this world as it has been for me.

On the other hand, others felt overwhelmed and ashamed by the challenges they faced and retreated or were tempted to retreat into a more defensive stance, The “Surviving” against Threat stance.

But it has really shaken me up, it has really challenged everything I have ever known and when that stuff starts to happen you feel like now that I know about this. It is not, the easy way out is to quit. And I to be honest I have had these thoughts a lot about maybe I shouldn't be here.

The Transforming Transition

Participants in the Transforming Transition have a solid understanding of racism and white privilege, although they recognize that they are on an ongoing journey and have more to learn. Participants begin the Transforming Transition with the Integrating Commitment task. They had a desire to work against racism, but often
did not have the skills to accomplish this. They discovered the value of discussing race and have broken the code of silence. But these students have not yet developed the ability to maintain and sustain their commitment to an anti-racist identity and anti-racist actions. Unfortunately, these students typically did not find support for the challenges that they faced in the course structure or the course readings. Their discoveries and emerging awareness were typically an individual affair. The task of Integrating Commitment is focused primarily in two areas, developing a perspective on racism in themselves and in society that is sustainable and finding ways to express their commitment against racism that they can integrate into their lives. The Integrating Commitment task leads to the Sustaining Commitment stance in which participants have a passion for making change in the world and are confident in their ability to take action. This confidence stems from a recognition that their actions against racism are systematic rather than individual. In the Sustaining Commitment stance, they are now able to see that they personally participate in a racist and privileged system and they share responsibility for social engagement and change. In the Sustaining Commitment stance participants are able to engage in genuine relationships with other persons and understand the racial component of social interactions.

**Integrating Commitment**

The Integrating Commitment task builds on the Discovering own Race and Privilege task of the previous transition to integrate knowledge and to learn ways to effectively advocate for justice and find equilibrium for the long haul. Students who entered their multicultural course at this transition had great hopes for the course, they wanted to learn more and discover ways to truly make a difference in the world.
Participants in all three classes who began their multicultural course at this transition were discouraged by their multicultural counseling course due to the reality that the course was targeted at the External and Internal Transitions rather than their own aspirations.

I think, sometimes it feels like that in every class. We're talking about racism in every class. We're talking about white privilege in every class. We're talking about, that it exists. And it almost feels like, you know, that's - maybe that's as far as this department has gotten, is recognizing that there's racism and that it exists. But, I find myself frustrated with that and wanting to really take another step.

Participants acknowledged the need for other white students to gain this awareness, however they were also discouraged as they saw the responses of their peers to the course material. Students engaged in Integrating Commitment became frustrated with their peers and often struggled with ways to engage in the class discussion without losing their temper or being overly critical of their more naïve peers.

I am angry at everybody. I am angry at those people who are not making progress in my class. But I am angry with the people who are making progress just because they are so far behind. You know I am sitting in that class in that [Multicultural Counseling] class and they are, "Oh I understand now that I have to be more aware." You are almost 30 years old and only now you understand that you have to be more aware? I just get, I have to sit in there and talk to people who are just for the first time in their life realizing that maybe being racist is bad. And it is like please you don't live in this only white neighborhood or only white city.

For these students the multicultural course hit them right at their vulnerable point in their own development. They were quite sensitive to racism and privilege and they were in a situation where the majority of the students in the class were stumbling, often awkwardly toward a realization of racism. Their challenge in the class was to observe and discover the development of their peers, to begin to
understand their own actions as part of a whole, and to find a way to find hope in change beyond themselves.

With their deeper understanding of racism and white privilege, persons at this point in their development were able to have more genuine relationships with people of color and to value others. Participants involved in this task however often expressed frustration with other white people, especially as they noticed racism in other white people. They had few role models available to demonstrate ways to respond and to act in this transition. They were also engaged in learning how to take action against racism. In this process they discovered some of the risks of advocacy and realized that they did not know how to work for change. During this task, participants also discussed the temptation to abandon their commitment to work against racism.

Sustaining Commitment

The final stance in the model is the Sustaining Commitment stance. Participants in this stance were able to see their actions for justice as part of a larger whole, they understood more of the development of awareness for other white persons, they came to accept the risks of advocacy, and they developed a positive perspective on being white. The Sustaining Commitment stance is less fully populated than the other stances. There were only a few participants who articulated this perspective, however the perspective is notably different from the earlier stances. Participants here displayed a greater level of confidence in their beliefs and actions, they continued to be angry at injustice and frustrated with racism, however they have come to a more sustainable perspective on the impact of their own actions.

I think I am beginning to understand it. Because when I was growing
up I had all of those idealistic ideas, thinking I can make a difference. Well, I think now I am understanding that the difference I might be able to make will be on a very small scale. And some people could not be convinced and I should just narrow it down and stop being so upset about it and it is always going to be there.

Participants came to an understanding of the development of other whites and experienced less frustration and anger with their peers.

I think it was even though, like, I don't think I've learned as much as I wanted to. It was interesting to see people interact. And, I guess it's all about the people and it was nice to see the change happen because if I didn't take the class, I would still feel the people just get stuck in their opinions and that's safe. So now I would definitely give people more credit and more room to - more room to myself to not be so narrow-minded when it comes to other people's ideas.

Participants at the sustaining commitment level are aware of the risks of advocating for justice and change and are willing to take these risks, even doing so in a strategic manner.

I don't think that I will let certain comments go without saying something. Not at all. Ah, but I'll just have to be more diplomatic. If there was something real blatant, I just wouldn't let it slide. I mean then I am just as guilty as they are just perpetuating that same behavior.

A final feature of participants in the Sustaining Commitment stance is an ability to work for justice out of a positive sense of themselves rather than out of guilt or defensiveness as a white person.

Yeah, I think like you that it is more of like doing it for myself now. Like I will do a dissertation on something related and at least I will feel better about it. And maybe someone will read it and that will be helpful to someone. Because it seems to be like minority issue, not racial minority, but people who do not fit the bigger culture.
A Defensive Stance: “Surviving” against Threat

The core of the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites model is in the three transitions described above. However, superimposed on this developmental model is an additional stance, “Surviving” against Threat. This is a defensive stance focused on maintaining one’s perceived status. Participants in each transition adopted this stance. At times the stance was adopted in a transient manner for some, and for other participants it was a place where they became stuck. The only place in the larger model where this stance was not observed was in persons in the Sustaining Commitment stance. Participants engaged in the task of Integrating Commitment actually discussed the temptation of giving up and abandoning their commitment and one participant who entered the multicultural counseling class at the Integrating Commitment task retreated to the Surviving stance. The Surviving Stance is observed when participants were feeling threats to their power or perspective.

Yeah it does, I mean it this class gives me such a guilt trip, like I have never known [laughter]. I go home and I feel bad after the class is over and I read the books and I feel bad and I know the point is to get you to see differences and to get you to really realize that this is out there and stuff, but. It just ends up. I mean I realize but it just takes such a deep cut into me that it is hard for me to, like move past that point, like all right I know about it now, I mean I just, part of me wants to withdraw.

This participant described leaving each class and needing to retreat, the “Surviving” against Threat stance, before she could return for class the following week.

The “Surviving” against Threat stance is evident when participants are disengaging from their class. Some participants also entered the class in this stance and held the belief that they already knew what they need to know. The “Surviving” against Threat Stance was adopted by participants because they felt harassed or
attacked or because of their fear of the implications of what they are learning.

Well, I used to bitch about it more, but that didn't really help, so I just dread it all week, suffer through it while I'm there, then try to forget about it. I don't actually dread it all week, because I just pretend like I'm not in this class, so I just basically dread it [day of class]. I try to just ignore it all the rest of the time.

Participants retreated to this stance when they felt that they needed to regain power. If they sought to regain power through power over others, this could result in a racist response and resistance to growth. However, if they sought to regain power by reconnecting with themselves and trying to find new ways to engage in the journey it could be a place of reestablishing equilibrium and then re-engagement with the growth process.

Personal Characteristics

The ability to proceed through the three transitions described above and the level of struggle one experiences in this process is affected by some of the personal characteristics that participants bring to the process. Participants who engaged in the multicultural course with attitudes of openness to change and curiosity about themselves and the world experienced less struggle in their own development.

Well, I guess my understanding that I don't have all of the answers. You know, I mean I, when I started this course I thought, well I'm probably in for a ride here, you know this is going to be a lot to take in all at once because I assume that I have a lot to learn. You know I know that I don't have a corner on the market on understanding, I'd like to try, but I know that I have got a lot, a lot of work to do, because I want to do my best someday when I am a counselor. So, I guess that I have that desire to learn and to be open minded because I realize that I don't have it all sewn up right here.

While those who came into the class with high degrees of anxiety or a desire to project a positive impression of themselves on others tended to experience a
significant degree of struggle.

It makes, well as I started to discuss before, it makes me see the differences and take almost [pause and sigh]. Just like I take in other people's feelings, I take in the knowledge that I have learned and try to experience it in a real way. And so, by learning these things I am almost exhibiting the stereotypes by learning the stereotypes I am exhibiting the stereotypes, even though I, I mean I may have been doing it before and not realized. And that is a strong possibility, but now I am almost overly cautious about everything I say and do and that, that is probably not so good for me. Seeing as how I am overly cautious anyway.

Previous exposure to diverse groups of people and previous multicultural training affected the level of development participants were at as they entered the class, but background in these areas did not appear to increase or decrease the struggle participants experienced as they engaged in the course. Participants who had difficulty with engaging in conflict or tolerating interpersonal tension described their experience as being more difficult than those who were able to see conflict and tension as potentially growth producing.

Um, because people, people are so hurt, like we are watching The Color of Fear today, well we saw some of it before, and the anger there and the hurt and everything that they have experienced is so overwhelming that it gets to me. I am almost tearing up now just talking about it.

Environmental Factors

In addition to personal characteristics, participants also described environmental factors that served to hinder or facilitate their development of multicultural awareness. Participants identified difficulty with their professor, a lack of social support for their development, and lack of discussion and processing time as factors that hindered their growth. Their growth was facilitated by having a “Safe
Space” to explore and develop. This “Safe Space” included experiences of positive regard from other students and the professor, a supportive class environment characterized by respect for all persons and openness to naive questions or comments, and trust in a supportive professor.

He puts himself on the same level as human like we are all human, we all do this, it is natural. If we are going to be counselors we need to keep it in check though. You know like it is always we, he doesn't put himself up here. And that just makes it safe for me because it doesn't make me feel so dumb or so much like I am wrong. It is just like I am human and it is not right to have those assumptions but we are human and we do and so let's take a look at them together. So that like feeling has stuck out to me.

Participants also found that engaging in the interviews for this study gave them safe space to explore and understand their own experiences.

But right now I feel more comfortable kind of hiding in my shell and when I have a chance, to explore. Like right now, with you, you know having a chance to explore and I am grateful for it. But I am not going to do it on a wide level.

DISCUSSION

In this section of the chapter the value of the study will be discussed. First the DARW will be compared to existing developmental theories of racial identity and racial awareness. Then the implications of the DARW for multicultural training will be considered. Third, the study will be evaluated with regard to the usefulness of the research question, the strengths and limitations of the study, and the criteria for qualitative research. Fourth, future directions for research will be raised.

Comparison with Existing Theory

The Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites is a developmental
model, as a result it is appropriate to compare the theory with the existing developmental theories of racial awareness and racial identity. Three developmental theories, Mio & Awakuni’s Majority Identity Development (2000), Helms' White Racial Identity Attitude Development (1995), and D’Andrea and Daniels Dispositions of White Racism (1999), are compared with the DARW model in Table 2. The similarities between the various levels of these models are not to be taken as equalities. Each of the four models takes a slightly different approach to the development of white persons and purpose for the models. The DARW is most similar to the Dispositions of White Racism model due to the emphasis of both models on understanding the awareness of racism by whites. Table 2 indicates the similarities between the constructs of the DARW and the Dispositions of White Racism. Notably, among the three existing models, there is only one construct that is not represented to some extent in the DARW, the Affective-Impulsive Disposition of the D’Andrea and Daniels model. The Affective-Impulsive Disposition is an overtly racist position and all of the participants recruited for this study held views that were critical of racism. On the other hand, the Principled-Activistic Disposition is the only existing construct among the three models that is highly similar to the Sustaining Commitment stance of the DARW. Mio and Awakuni’s Majority Identity Development is an identity development theory and therefore has a different focus than the DARW. There is no stage in the Mio and Awakuni model that is similar to the Being a Good White Person status. The tasks of Exploring Race in Society and Discovering own Racism and Privilege are addressed in one stage by Mio and Awakuni, the Exposure Stage. Otherwise, the constructs of the DARW are represented to some extent in the stages of the Majority Identity Development model. The Integration stage is minimally addressed by Mio and Awakuni. There are
Table 2. Comparison of developmental models

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<td>Believing in a Just Society</td>
<td>Pre-Exposure</td>
<td>Contact</td>
<td>Affective-Impulsive Rational</td>
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<td>Exploring Race in Society</td>
<td>Exposure</td>
<td>Disintegration</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
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<td>Being a Good White Person</td>
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<td>Discovering Own Racism and Privilege</td>
<td>Exposure</td>
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<td>Integrating Commitment</td>
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<td>Sustaining Commitment</td>
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<td>“Surviving” Against Threat</td>
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significant similarities between the DARW and Helm’s WRIAD. The significant differences between the models are that, as in the Mio and Awakuni model, two tasks, Exploring Race in Society and Discovering own Racism and Privilege, are found primarily in one status, the Disintegration status. The Immersion/Emersion status also has similarities to the Discovering own Racism and Privilege task. WRIAD does not contain a status that is similar to the Sustaining Commitment stance. The other significant difference between DARW and WRIAD is that defensiveness is understood as an integral part of the developmental process, the Reintegration status, while the DARW places defensiveness in the “Surviving” against Threat stance, outside of the developmental process.
In the next two sections the two unique contributions of the DARW will be presented. There are two important differences between the DARW and the three existing models, the three developmental transitions and the place of defensiveness in the model.

Three Developmental Transitions

The DARW is unique among the four models in conceptualizing development as three developmental transitions. Helms’ WRIAD, like Mio and Awakuni’s Majority Identity Development model, conceptualizes the process of discovering racism as one learning or developmental process. D’Andrea and Daniels do not explicitly address learning or development in their model but address static dispositions. An important discovery in this study is that white persons in this study are engaging in three different but related processes.

These three processes or transitions are: 1) The External Transition, exploring race in society and discovering the existence of racism in the world; 2) The Internal Transition, discovering the existence of racism in one’s own life and worldview; and 3) The Transforming Transition, integrating this new awareness into one’s life in meaningful and productive ways. Although some of the transitions in the DARW may occur simultaneously, white persons have distinctly different processes to engage in as they discover racism outside of themselves and as they discover racism within themselves. In this study, when participants were confronted with their own racism before they had come to understand racism as a system in society, they often balked at the information and resorted to a “Surviving” against Threat Stance.

The components of the third transition, the Transforming Transition, are not fully present in all of the other models. Both the Mio and Awakuni and Helms’
models conceptualize the end result of development as an integrated position that is similar to the Transforming Transition, however neither of these models identifies the tasks that are involved in establishing and sustaining a commitment against racism. The DARW model and the D'Andrea and Daniels model both conceptualize this level of development as having two distinct positions. The recognition of the Transforming Transition or the Principled to Principled-Activistic transition is important to the development of culturally competent counselors and psychologists. The Principled-Activistic disposition and the Sustaining Commitment stance focus on developing a stable anti-racist perspective that is necessary for ongoing engagement in difficult work. Without a clear recognition of the necessity of this developmental process and provision of opportunities in training settings in which trainees are challenged to engage in this transition, counseling and psychology educators set the ceiling too low on cultural competency. The third transition, the Transforming Transition, and the Sustaining Commitment stance can be ignored when training is developed based on models that stop short of this transition.

The Place of Defensiveness

An additional difference between the DARW and other models is the placement of defensiveness in the model. The “Surviving” against Threat stance is conceptualized as standing outside of the model but as a continual presence or even “temptation” for white persons. “Surviving” against Threat can be understood as a stance that is superimposed on the developmental process for some participants. Mio and Awakuni conceptualize this resistance as an option in the developmental process, the Defensive stage, which comes in response to Exposure. Helms conceptualizes resistant responses as a necessary aspect of development in the Reintegration status.
D’Andrea and Daniels address defensiveness throughout their first four dispositions as cognitive characteristics of persons at each of these dispositions. In essence the cognitive style of the disposition serves to maintain the person at that disposition toward white racism and limits the ability to understand events from another point of view.

In the DARW model, defensiveness is conceptualized as a process which occurs outside of and alongside of development. Although participants struggled with new knowledge and new awareness universally, not all participants expressed this struggle as defensiveness toward understanding racism. On the other hand, all of the participants recognized that defending against recognizing racism either in themselves or in society was a possibility for them. In the DARW model defensiveness or the “Surviving” against Threat stance is seen as a constant possibility but not an essential aspect of the process of growth. This difference in the place of defensiveness may be an artifact of the nature of the study. As a Grounded Theory study, the perspectives of the participants contributed in large part to the construction of the theory. It is possible that participants were limited in their ability to fully comprehend and express the nature of their own defensiveness, especially as they are involved in the process. The Helm’s and D’Andrea and Daniels models are constructed from an external vantage point and thus may place defensiveness differently in the model.

Implications for Multicultural Training

The DARW suggests that white students who enter their training program at a naïve state regarding race, privilege and multicultural issues, have three transitions to undergo during their training in order to develop an awareness of racism necessary
for competent work as a counselor or psychologist. None of the participants in this study engaged in the entire developmental process during the term that they were taking multicultural counseling. If multicultural training were to be developed taking into account the DARW model, it would take place in a curriculum spread over three to four academic terms and encompass developmental tasks that are appropriate to the stage of development students would be ready for at that stage.

Multicultural counseling training has been largely grounded in the multicultural counseling competencies first articulated by Sue et al. (1982) and most recently revised by Sue et al. (1998). These competencies focus on three spheres of development: awareness of one’s attitudes and beliefs about diversity, knowledge about one’s own worldview and the worldview of persons from other cultures, and skills in working with persons from differing groups. The Multicultural Counseling courses that participants in this study were enrolled in focused largely on the awareness and knowledge dimensions. The DARW model illustrates that in the development of counselors, development of awareness is a constant activity with several levels of depth. There are qualitative differences in the nature of self-awareness for participants at the External, Internal, and Transforming transitions. The development of an advanced level of self-awareness is essential for white counselors to function at advanced levels of multicultural competency. Without developing more advanced levels of self-awareness and a full appreciation for the effects of racism and privilege, multicultural knowledge and skills will be used to support the level of racial awareness held by the individual counselor.

Evaluation of the Study

This section of the discussion will focus on the evaluation of the study. First
the usefulness of the research question will be addressed. Second the strengths and weaknesses of this particular study will be discussed. Finally future directions for research will be described.

Usefulness of the Research Questions

The purpose of the research question in a constructivist grounded theory is to launch the study in a way that allows a free exploration of the area of interest and does not restrict the inquiry by imposing preconceived limits. Overall, the research question was useful to understanding the experiences of struggle with race among the participants and in going beyond the experiences themselves to discover an underlying process of growth that was common for the participants. Due to the emergent design of the study each interview followed its own course based on the areas of struggle and growth brought up by the participant. The research question was also sufficiently broad to allow for the construction of a grounded theory based in these experiences of struggle. The research question did not appear to constrain or limit the study.

Strengths of the Study

As a constructivist grounded theory this study was intended to explore and describe the lived experience of the participants and to construct from this experience a useful theory. The grounded theory is ultimately judged as people are able to use and apply this theory to understand their own lives and work. The particular strengths of this study are the development of a coherent model for the development of awareness of racism among white counselors in training, Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites, and the applicability of this model to multicultural
training in counseling and psychology. The model has similarities to existing theories, demonstrating that it describes phenomena that have been observed previously by others. However the model also offers several unique insights into the development of awareness of racism by whites. The model is also general enough to be potentially applicable to populations beyond counseling and psychology and to anti-racist efforts with whites in general. As a constructivist grounded theory, the model developed in this study goes beyond simple description of the experiences of the participants in the study to a more abstract level of analysis. The DARW model explains a process of developing progressively more comprehensive levels of awareness of racism and privilege. Within counseling and psychology, the DARW is applicable to multicultural training models and suggests several ways that multicultural training can be improved to allow opportunities for white counselors to develop along all three transitional stages identified in the model. The implications of the model for training are described above.

Limitations of the Study

Several planned aspects of the study were not accomplished in the actual implementation of the project. The study is limited by the scope of the participants who volunteered for the study. The participants were all persons who identified themselves as interested in learning about multicultural counseling, creating a limitation in that there were no participants who were overtly opposed to developing multicultural awareness. The study and the model developed within the study are limited to the extent that they are based on the experiences of students who were motivated to engage in the class and more generally to participants who were motivated to be engaged in counseling training through participation in research. On
the other end of the spectrum, there were fewer participants representing the Sustaining Commitment stance indicating that this stance may not be fully understood in the study. As a result of the smaller number of participants speaking from the Sustaining Commitment stance, the stance is less thickly described than the other stances and tasks. It is quite possible that essential features of the Sustaining Commitment stance were not identified in this study due to less data in this area.

Directions for Further Research

This study suggests many avenues for future research. The rich data accumulated in this study has not been exhausted. There are several possibilities for future analysis of the current data set that will be discussed in this section. I will discuss several possible future studies suggested by the current study.

There are several avenues of research that would further the present model. It would be interesting to extend this line of research into later stages of counselor development by including participants who were involved in fieldwork and persons who are practitioners in the field. The present study revealed little in regard to applications of multicultural training for one's role as a counselor due to the participants' early stage in their training. Other extensions of the present study would be to further the edges of the study by exploring the perspectives of students who are opposed to multicultural training on the one end and further study of persons who are engaged in Sustaining Commitment. Each of these studies would require different recruiting methodologies than the one used in the present study. Recruiting participants who are averse to multicultural training may be more possible through a study that requires less intensive participation from the participants and the possibility for more anonymous feedback such as a web-based data collection procedure or
collection of written responses from trainees during class time. Recruiting more participants in the Sustaining Commitment stance could be done through using snowballing procedures or nomination processes to find persons that others, including people of color, see as having a highly developed awareness of racism. Extending and exploring the edges of the model would add to the comprehensiveness of the model and potentially add to understanding on both edges.

While quantitatively minded researchers may be tempted to jump into developing a self-report measure to use in research on this theory, I believe that such a step could lead to a premature encapsulation of the theory. Rather, I would suggest that the theory be further explored as an elastic model and that further research into the DARW model be conducted first through qualitative means. One approach that could help to further explore the theory would be to conduct a study with an observational component in the data collection. The current study is based on the self-understanding of counselors in training and the analysis of this self-understanding by the researcher. An example of an observational component in the study of the developmental process would be to develop small groups in which participants discuss their emerging awareness of racism. Group observers or participant observers could analyze the group members' responses and interactions and possibly conduct collateral individual interviews. This approach could provide similar data to the data in the current study, but data that could incorporate both the self-understandings of the participants and observations of their interactions in a social situation.

Conclusion

White counselors in training struggle with race as they develop their
awareness of race, racism, and white privilege. For most of the participants in this study, their struggle represents a striving toward growth and development, however they also faced an ever-present temptation to struggle against developing a new awareness and retreat into a “Surviving” against Threat stance. In order to provide training programs that assist counselors in developing a fully racially aware perspective programs need to provide students with opportunities to progress through the three transitions identified in this study, the External Transition, the Internal Transition, and the Transforming Transition. The Transforming Transition is often missing from the curriculum of counseling and psychology programs and is often not the focus of multicultural counseling courses. Programs could also be aware of the needs of counselors in training for safe space in which they feel the freedom to take risks and discuss concerns that may include current racist attitudes and assumptions.
CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

"Racism tends to resist change" (Ridley, 1995, p. 25). This simple statement is at the core of this study. Racism is resistant to change due to both the general difficulty in changing any behavior or social dynamic and the benefits that dominant groups receive from racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999). However, since racism is an oppressive force in society and causes harm to people throughout society, both people of color and white people, change is necessary (Sue, 2005). This leads to one of the challenging paradoxes of anti-racism training: while the vast majority of white counseling trainees will easily agree that racism is negative aspect of our society, many have great difficulty recognizing their own participation in racism and resist efforts to change their worldviews. This challenge is noted repeatedly in the literature (Carter, 2003; Goodman, 2001; Jackson, 1999; Kivel, 1996; Mio, 2003; Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Ponterotto, 1998; Reynolds, 1995; Ridley & Thompson, 1999; Sue et al., 1998; Utsey, Gernat, & Bolden, 2003) and is often described as resistance, though others refer to defensiveness (Ridley, 1995) and to powerful emotions such as guilt (Arminio, 2001; Swim & Miller, 1999), shame (Parker & Schwartz, 2002), anger and apathy (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999a). Tomlinson-Clarke and Ota-Wang (1999) refer to the reaction to discussions of race as a "conspiracy of silence." Sue (2005) notes that "Because we are generally well intentioned, we find it painful to consciously acknowledge our own racism....that is why open dialogue about race and racism is so difficult.” Although the phenomena of resistance to dealing with racism is generally recognized, few studies exist which seek to understand this reaction, especially from the perspective of the trainees who are being
asked to grow and change.

The lack of understanding of the phenomena of white students’ struggle with racial awareness can be seen from the variety of terms used to describe it: resistance (Ancis & Szymanski, 1998; Jackson, 1999, Sue, et al. 1998), defensiveness (Ridley, 1995), and various powerful emotions (Arimino, 2001; Parker & Schwartz, 2002; Swim & Miller, 1999). In order to fully understand the phenomena and resist the temptation to rely on formulations of the problem proposed by others, I have chosen to adopt a different term to refer to this phenomenon. The term I use is “struggle.” Thompson and Neville (1999) have also described the phenomena of white persons confronting racism as a struggle:

Putting an end to the pathology that surrounds racism entails a struggle. Interpersonally, engaging in this struggle can arouse anxiety, anger, guilt, and even violence between and among people of different racial groups. Intrapersonally, the struggle to overcome racism and autocolonization requires the individual to examine that aspect of identity that relates to one’s socialization as a racial being and to daringly confront how one has succumbed to the malignancy of racism (p. 200).

The term struggle refers to the difficulty that is plainly evident in many white persons when they are confronted with new information about racism, yet it does not carry the baggage of other terms such as resistance and defensiveness that are rooted in psychological dynamics. The term struggle opens the door for understanding the phenomena more comprehensively because it allows for growth seeking and growth producing responses to racism as well as those which seek to limit growth and understanding. In initial pilot interviews, for this project the participants were able to use a question about their “struggles” in multicultural counseling courses to discuss both incidents of conflict and resistance and times of striving for growth and development. (See Appendix A for a brief outline of pilot study). The term struggle
captures an intensity of experience but does not presume that the response is only resistant or opposed to growth and change.

One of the challenging tasks for multicultural trainers is confronting the racism and prejudice that trainees have within themselves and use to construct their worldviews. The task of confronting racism is one of the things that makes multicultural counseling courses and training experiences potentially trying and difficult for both students and trainers. Counseling students, like other persons, want to see themselves in a positive light and seeing one’s self as racist is contradictory to this view (Sue, 2005).

The Multicultural Competencies are one of the primary ways of describing and assessing the potential effectiveness of counselors in a multicultural setting. Three general areas of multicultural competency were developed by Sue et al. (1982): (a) awareness of personal beliefs/attitudes toward culturally diverse clients, (b) knowledge about diverse cultures, and (c) ability to use intervention skills or techniques that are culturally responsive. This dissertation focuses primarily on the development of awareness of personal beliefs and attitudes with regard to racial awareness. Ancis and Szymanski (2001) note that self-awareness is a prerequisite to being able to achieve accurate empathy in working with culturally diverse clients. Without this self-awareness, knowledge and skills can be used to support one’s own biases and prejudices. “Meaningful personal changes in attitudes and beliefs toward culturally or ethnically different people require self discovery and acknowledgment of socially undesirable characteristics—such as bias or prejudice—that are in turn likely to inhibit self-learning” (Abreu, 2001, p. 490).

The foundational nature of developing awareness of one’s self as a racial and cultural being can be seen in my own experience of a multicultural counseling course
that focused primarily on the knowledge area. I observed a significant number of my colleagues using the information they were learning about other cultural groups to reinforce the stereotypes they held about these groups. Without being challenged to explore their own racism and prejudices, these students may have left the course with their racial views more firmly established and misunderstood their new knowledge about other cultures as all that was necessary for culturally competent practice.

Abreu (2001) notes that while training recommendations have been well developed for the belief and skill areas of the Multicultural Competencies, the recommendations for the awareness area are fairly vague and do not clearly suggest training modalities. This shortcoming in the literature is compounded by the inherent challenge of learning about one's own participation in racism. Several authors advocate for placing an experiential approach to training, aimed at developing awareness of one's own biases and prejudices, following a didactic component of training (Abreu, 2001; Tomlinson-Clarke, 2000; Tomlinson-Clarke & Ota-Wang, 1999). Abreu also focuses on teaching about prejudice and racism didactically before exposing students to experiential and self-exploration exercises. Additionally, trainees may be more open to understanding their own participation in racism if racism is understood as endemic to society and not solely as a personal moral fault (Sue, 2005; Thompson & Neville, 1999; Wildman & Davis, 2000). To acknowledge one's own racism is not then seen as a statement of moral inferiority, but rather of increased enlightenment and awareness. This is similar to the approach advocated by Abreu (2001) "The objective of this approach is to make self-awareness of covert prejudicial attitudes and beliefs easier to acknowledge by establishing, scientifically, that perceptual biases that involve racial categories are normative and apply to most everyone" (p. 491).
The focus of this study is not on multicultural training in general, but on one particular challenge that faces multicultural trainers and trainees, namely understanding the struggle of white trainees in coming to awareness of race and their participation in racism. Abreu, Chung, and Atkinson (2000) note that the majority of the multicultural training literature is concerned with the implementation of the Multicultural Competencies into training and the development of multiculturally competent counselors. My hope is that with an increased understanding of the difficulty many white trainees experience in coming to a deeper understanding of race and racial awareness, multicultural trainers will eventually be able to develop more effective strategies for working with white trainees and developing racial awareness.

STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter will explore the mostly conceptual literature that seeks to explain the phenomena that I refer to as struggle with racism. Through this exploration of the existing literature, the gaps in understanding the phenomena of interest, struggle with racism, will be more clearly identified. Additionally, a survey of the existing literature that relates to struggle will help in identifying theories and interpretations which will need to be acknowledged and set aside in order to explore the phenomena afresh using a grounded theory methodology. This chapter is divided into three main sections that will explore the literature that relates to struggle with racism from three different perspectives. The first section will review the literature that approaches the phenomenon under consideration as resistance. In this first section, the literature on resistance to understanding racism in general will first be considered followed by a discussion of resistance as it relates to multicultural training. The second section of
the chapter will consider the literature that understands the challenge in coming to an awareness of racism in the context of strong emotional experiences such as guilt, shame, anger and apathy. The final section will review several developmental models of racial identity and discuss the ways in which these models shed light on the phenomena of struggle as well as they ways that they do not provide an adequate explanation for the phenomena of struggle. Following the review of literature, I will discuss the intersections of the three strands of literature in understanding the phenomena of struggle with racism and then present the purpose of this particular study and the research questions that will guide the study.

STRUGGLE AS RESISTANCE

Many theorists define the challenging reaction white trainees have to racism and racial awareness training as resistance. For these authors resistance is understood as inhibiting learning and development of racial identity or racial awareness (Carter, 2003; Jackson, 1999; Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Steward, et al, 1998). Ponterotto (1998) notes that the absence of defensiveness or resistance is a trait of a student who shows promise as a multicultural trainee. Sue, et al. (1998) identify resistance to multicultural development not only in individuals but in the profession of psychology as a whole. In this section I will first discuss literature that describes resistance to racial awareness in general and then in the second sub-section, discuss the literature that addresses resistance in multicultural training experiences specifically.

Resistance to Racial Awareness

Ridley (1995) notes that a characteristic of racism is its resistance to change.
"Human beings are creatures of habit. Their patterns of behavior are well established and backed up by a long history of reinforcement. Attempts to change racism—like attempts to change any well-established behavior—are typically met with resistance" (p.25-26). Ridley (1995) notes that resistance is a serious impediment to changing racist behavior.

The encounter with resistance has two important implications. Changing racist behavior is a serious challenge. It demands careful attention and commitment based on the scientific principles of behavior change. Counselors must meet this challenge head-on if they are to overcome racism in counseling and therapy. Second, counselors can overcome their racism. They can acquire empowering behaviors, helping themselves to better serve minority clients. (p. 26)

According to Ridley, viewing the struggle with racism as resistance is helpful both in identifying ways to change behavior and in understanding racist behaviors as changeable. In this section various perspectives on counselor resistance to racial awareness will be considered. These different theoretical perspectives on resistance to racial awareness include: characteristics of resistance as a psychological dynamic (Ridley & Thompson, 1999), forms of resistance to racial awareness (Jackson, 1999), defensive racial dynamics (Ridley, 1995), systemic and organizational resistance (Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Sue, et al., 1998), the relationship of resistance to white privilege (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and resistance related to Color Blind Racial Attitudes (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001)

Ridley and Thompson (1999) outline six characteristics of resistance, especially in relation to diversity training:

1. The most important thing to say about resistance is that it is reflected in behavior.

2. Resistance is counterproductive.

3. Resistance is directed toward a goal: the avoidance of
threatening demands of change.

4. Resistance typically involves indiscriminate avoidance of the demands of change.

5. Resistance may manifest itself in a variety of behaviors.

6. Resistance is observable, but it may go unnoticed. (pp. 5-7)

Given this understanding that resistance is primarily directed toward limiting growth and development, it would follow that the behavior that is understood to be resistant is an attempt to avoid growth or change. However, it is also possible that the behavior displayed by trainees and labeled as resistance may be the result of some other form of struggle to cope with new information. Students may also be struggling to incorporate new understandings into their worldview and identity, find themselves coping with strong emotional reactions, or challenged by new beliefs or thoughts which are discordant with their previously held assumptions. Understanding responses such as these as resistant rather than as striving for growth may be counterproductive and leave students feeling that their struggle is misunderstood.

Therefore, I propose that it is important that the struggle with racism be discussed in a context that is broader than resistance alone. Engaging in the struggle to incorporate new perspectives is exactly what counseling and psychology trainees should be doing when they are dealing with racial awareness. While racism may "tend to resist change" (Ridley, 1995, p. 25), the challenging responses of trainees to racial awareness training are not necessarily resistance. This is not to say that there may not be a large number of white trainees who are indeed resistant to developing a deeper racial awareness and who are truly resistant to change. However, even an accurate label of resistant behavior does not in itself help trainers in finding effective ways to remediate this problem.
In a further discussion of resistance, Ridley and Thompson (1999) see resistance as a product of the social systems in which we live. As such, resistance to multicultural and racial topics should be expected and understood in the light of social dynamics. They also believe that it is possible to create effective strategies for dealing with resistance. This belief comes from their underlying belief that change is possible. An essential key to developing adequate strategies to deal with resistance is a sound understanding of the phenomena. "All too often in the social sciences, symptoms are conceptualized as problems when, in fact, the real problems are undefined. Misconceptions of problems inevitably lead to ineffective interventions" (p. 4). A central purpose of this dissertation is to understand the characteristics of struggle with and learning about race and racism among white counseling and psychology trainees. Although this resistance is noted repeatedly in the literature, to date no studies have sought to understand the experience of this resistance from the perspective of the trainees themselves.

In addition, Jackson (1999) discusses the various forms that resistance may take among students in multicultural training environments and that resistance among students in multicultural training courses can interfere with the classroom dynamics and stall development for students. "Resistance impedes the process because students bring many different personal experiences and histories to the process" (p. 28). Jackson notes that resistance is generally decreased if the course is an elective and increased when it is a required part of the curriculum. Students in an elective course have made a choice to delve into the subject matter of a multicultural counseling course, while students in a course which is a required part of the curriculum may enter the course dismissing its goals as contrary to their own goals. Although Jackson focuses on the resistances of students of color in multicultural courses, the analysis
presented on the various forms of resistance can be helpful in understanding the situation for all students. Jackson distinguishes between resistance to the content of the course, character resistance, and transference resistance. Content resistance can occur both in students who would normally avoid the material presented in the class, as well as students who feel that they are comfortable with the course content, but who are not expecting to be challenged by it. Content resistance is resistance to the material presented in the course and to growth in the direction that is expected by the course. Character resistance refers to the personality dynamics of the student, including his or her defensive style, coping style, and level of functioning. Since multicultural training is often anxiety provoking, these dynamics will often come to the surface in a multicultural training course. Character resistance has much more to do with the individual students' style of coping with anxiety than with the actual content of the course. Transference resistance includes the many positive and negative reactions that students may have to the faculty teaching the course out of the student’s unique history. Students may bring pre-existing assumptions about the faculty member or persons like the faculty member into the course and be reacting to this individual history rather than the actual interactions and demands of the course. Like Carter (2003), described in more depth in the next sub-section, Jackson suggests that faculty respond to resistance and defensiveness with sensitivity and empathy. Jackson cautions against trying to avoid resistance, but rather to use it as it arises to enhance student learning.

Jackson’s (1999) analysis of resistance shows that resistance is not one-dimensional. Resistance may come from a person’s response to the content of the course or from a person’s general coping patterns. Resistance can also be related to the idiosyncratic experiences of the individual. This analysis raises the complexity of
resistance and raises the importance of understanding individual factors when seeking to develop an understanding of the phenomena of struggle with racism. In conducting this study, one aspect of the struggle with resistance may be the ways that a participant’s current experience of struggle relates to the participant’s previous experiences. Because of this, questions about the participant’s past experiences as they relate to their current experiences of struggle with racism fall within the parameters of the study.

An additional concept related to resistance is the concept of defensiveness. Ridley (1995) outlines eight racially related defenses that counselors and clients may use to undermine the counseling relationship and/or perpetuate racism. The first of these defenses is color-blindness, or the belief that non-white persons are no different from white persons. This belief may rise from a counselor’s discomfort in discussing race or “insecurities or unresolved personal issues about race” (p. 68). Counselors operating from a color-blind model “overlook the influence of racism and discrimination upon the attitudes, feelings, behaviors, and personality development of minority clients” (p.68). The opposite defensive reaction to color blindness is color consciousness in which the counselor places too much weight on the race of the client and overlooks other aspects of the presenting problem. Ridley believes that color consciousness stems from white guilt and that in the therapeutic context counselors are “seeking to atone for their feelings of guilt about racism, even though they may not be responsible for any injustice” (p.69).

Ridley (1995), like Jackson (1999), also discusses transference however in the context of defenses. Ridley describes cultural transference as “the emotional reactions of a client transferred to the therapist of another race” (p. 70) and cultural countertransference as “the emotional reactions of the therapist of one race projected
onto the client of another race" (p.71). Both of these dynamics, when they are unacknowledged lead to less than authentic interactions between the counselor and the client and to severe limitations to the therapeutic process. Counselors may also respond to clients out of what Ridley refers to as cultural ambivalence. This defense refers to the ambivalent motives that white counselors may hold in working with persons of color such as the need to gain approval from the client or the need for power and control over the client. While ambivalent motives may appear in any counseling relationship, in interracial encounters, counselors may bring their unresolved issues and needs related to race into this encounter. Psuedotransference occurs when the client reacts to the therapist's racist attitudes and behavior and the therapist responds to this client reaction as defensiveness. In pseudotransference, the counselor may force the client into self-fulfilling stereotypes.

It is helpful to remember that resistance to multiculturalism is not a problem that is solely located in individuals, and that resistance may also be organizational and institutional in nature. Mio and Awakuni (2000) and Sue and colleagues (1998) note the presence of resistance in groups and organizations. Mio and Awakuni (2000) discuss the resistance to multiculturalism that they observe in universities such as the tendency to see one or two ethnic minority persons in leadership as good, but more than two as too many or to see students of color as less prepared for academic work simply based on the color of their skin. Sue and colleagues (1998) outline seven forms of resistance to multiculturalism that have occurred successively in the discipline of psychology. These "seven deadly resistances" (p. 28) all relate to the ethnocentric monoculturalism which psychology has been grounded in throughout its history. These resistances represent an evolution of resistant reactions from an early resistance on the basis of the efficacy of psychotherapy theories and practices for all
persons regardless of race or ethnicity, to more recent resistances on the basis of reverse racism and an anti-white agenda on the part of multiculturalists. According to the authors, as proponents of multicultural counseling have overcome a previous type of resistance, resistance to change emerges in a new form or argument. This organizational resistance is also seen in larger social forms of resistance to understanding and dealing with racism such as the belittling of concerns as being "politically correct" (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1999b) or the emergence of Color-blind racial attitudes (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). While this study focuses on the experience of individuals in their struggle with racism, it is important to remember that organizational and systemic forces are at play in the overall dynamic of resistance to racism. In seeking to understand the experience of individual white persons, it is important to be continually aware of the ways that the experiences of individuals relate to the systems in which they live. Understanding the systemic and organizational dynamics of struggle or resistance is outside the parameters of this study, however, noting the places where these dynamics touch on the experiences of individuals is important to a comprehensive understanding of the experience of individuals.

Another way of understanding white trainees' resistance to racial awareness training is to understand this resistance as related to white privilege. White privilege accords many advantages to white persons, including: "(a) access to society's resources, (b) advanced educational opportunities, (c) life within a culture that delineates one's worldview as correct, and (d) a sense of entitlement" (Spanierman & Neville, 2004, p. 249). Developing an awareness of race, racial discrimination, racism, and white privilege results in an awareness of these advantages. White persons may resist gaining awareness of racism as well as combating racism because
they perceive either consciously or unconsciously, that a change in racial dynamics will result in a loss of these unearned privileges. "Ultimately, self-serving and group-preserving motives promote an ethnocentric preference for symbols and protocols within individuals and institutions that both reflect and maintain a system of privilege based on the racial hierarchy" (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001, p. 265). The linking of white privilege and resistance to racism awareness leads to the possibility that resistance is not only a response of the individual white trainee, but the individual in the context of a social system which is intent upon preserving privileges for the most advantaged groups.

Another way of understanding resistant responses of whites to understanding racism is the concept of Color-Blind Racial Attitudes (CoBRAs). Neville, Worthington, and Spanierman (2001) define CoBRAs in the following way:

Similar to white privilege, color-blind racial attitudes (CoBRA) are rooted in the structure of society. Essentially, to adopt a color-blind racial perspective is to deny the existence of ideological and structural racism and to believe that race does not play a meaningful role in people's lived experiences. We fully believe that we should live in a society in which race does not matter; however, this strand of color-blindness is an ideal morality for an ideal society. And unfortunately we do not live in an ideal or just society. To ignore, deny, distort, or evade this reality is the core of CoBRA. (p. 270)

CoBRAs differ from racism in that there is not a belief in superiority/inferiority that is found in racism; however there is a denial that racism exists as a social force. This denial of the existence of racism reflects a resistance to awareness of racism at the level of a person's worldview and intellectual understanding of the world. Trainees who hold CoBRAs would be expected to resist racial awareness training due to a conflict in understanding how society works. The premises of much of racial awareness training in multicultural counseling training
assume that racism exists in individual, societal, and structural forms. Since persons who hold CoBRAs believe only in the individual perpetuation of racism and deny the existence of structural racism, students who hold these views would be expected to either respond to all discussion of racism as if it is an individual phenomenon, and therefore a moral issue, or debate the premise that racism is systemic and structural or both.

From this discussion on theoretical literature related to the resistance of racial awareness, several consistent ideas can be outlined. There is general agreement that resistance to racial awareness is one aspect of the phenomena of struggle with racism and that resistance is movement against change. Resistance can be multidimensional and a comprehensive understanding of resistance includes understanding the personality and experiential dynamics of the individual. Defensiveness is related to resistance, and is sometimes used synonymously with resistance. The type of defenses evidenced by counselors can relate to various needs and unresolved issues within the counselors. Resistance to racial awareness and to change is systemic as well as individual and it is important to take into account the places where the systemic and the individual response of resistance intersect. Resistance can also be understood as maintaining white privilege and Color Blind racial attitudes. On the other hand, the literature on resistance to multicultural training is entirely theoretical. Although the authors write from their extensive experience as trainer of counselors, an analysis grounded in data of what is occurring within the counselors cognitively and emotionally when their behavior is being observed as resistant or defensive has not been completed. This dissertation is directed toward filling part of this gap in the literature by providing an empirical analysis of the experiences of struggle described by white counselors in training.
Resistance to Multicultural Training

In addition to general theoretical discussions of resistance to racial awareness, several authors have addressed the issues of resistance in the context of multicultural training courses. In this section I will review the applied and empirical literature that describes resistance in multicultural training. Ponterotto (1988) and Carter (2003) both describe the resistance of their students in multicultural training courses. Ponterotto (1998) also describes the characteristics of ideal multicultural trainees; central to this profile is a lack of resistance or defensiveness. Steward and colleagues (1998) report on their study of students in a training program where they found that fully one third of the respondents to their study were resistant to the content of multicultural training courses. These resistant students endorsed items in a survey indicating that they rejected the concepts of multiculturalism and appreciation of diversity. This somewhat disturbing result helps to understand the scope of the problem of trainee resistance to multicultural training.

Ponterotto (1988) in an early work addressing training white students in racial awareness notes that his students appeared to fall on a continuum from zealot to defensive. While, on the one hand some trainees became very zealous in developing a multicultural perspective, others displayed considerable resistance to this growth displaying withdrawn and passive behaviors in response to racial awareness training. Ponterotto sees both of these reactions as ways to deal with one’s own feelings of guilt about racism. It is possible to understand the response of students at both ends of this spectrum to be one of struggle, with defensive students struggling against incorporating racial awareness into their worldview and zealot students struggling to identify with minorities with great energy. The zealot-defensive continuum has been picked up by Mio and Awakuni (2000) in their Majority Identity Development Model.
described later in this chapter under developmental models.

Carter (2003) believes that breaking through the resistance of counselor trainees is essential to the process of developing an understanding of one's own identity. In his Racial-cultural Counseling Competence (RCCC) model, Carter sees self-exploration of one's own reference group identities and worldview as key to developing cultural competence. Carter notes that “students’ experiences in the course can be characterized by a host of defenses and reactions intended to enhance or resist engaging in the course material” (p.29). Carter advocates for helping students to identify defensive patterns in small group interactions and through feedback on journals. Carter notes that most students are able to move beyond their initial defensiveness and resistance. The process of learning about previously unexamined aspects of themselves and their social structures is a struggle for many students. However, Carter notes that some students will not move beyond this resistance and will “stay stuck” and persist in negative reactions to the course and the instructor. Carter recommends responding to these students with feedback and patient understanding throughout the term and especially at mid-term evaluations. However, Carter notes that some students do not overcome their resistance and are required to repeat the course. Carter notes that in departmental follow-up studies over 80 percent of department graduates reported the RCCC training program as one of the most valuable parts of their experience in the program.

In contrast to a focus on resistance, Ponterotto (1998) comments on the responses of other authors in a special issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* and his professional experience and proposes a set of characteristics for promising multicultural trainees. The characteristics in Ponterotto’s profile include:

- exercise openness and curiosity with regard to training
activities.

- demonstrate a willingness to examine their own socialization history...

- exhibit courage to self-disclose their own views, opinions, feelings, and questions in the group and class discussions.

- are nondefensive in their interpersonal interactions and can absorb and consider feedback regarding their own sexist, racist, and homophobic attitudes and expectations.

- are characterized by high levels of resiliency, psychological hardiness, and cognitive complexity....

- display a commitment to developing multicultural competence in spite of the many challenges that are involved in the process...

- make active efforts to learn more about multicultural issues through additional course work, conferences and workshops, and independent reading and research (pp.50-51).

This list of characteristics is quite impressive and virtually anyone would desire to have such characteristics in the trainees with whom they are working. However, even students who possess these qualities are likely to face some significant struggles as they grow in their awareness of race and racism. The reality is that many, if not most, counseling and psychology trainees are lacking in some or many of these characteristics. As trainers, we must find ways of working effectively with those trainees who are not yet ready to deal with the challenges of a multicultural society, helping them to overcome resistance and develop as effective multicultural counselors.

In one of the few empirical studies of trainees’ struggle with multicultural training, Steward, et al. (1998) report on a survey of 39 master’s and doctoral students from one Midwestern training program who had completed courses that included
multicultural content and earned at least a "B" in the course. They found that one-third of the students they surveyed believed that the multicultural coursework they had completed was "meaningless and unnecessary" (p. 21). They label those respondents who rejected the multicultural component of their courses as "Multiculturally Reactive" while those who accepted the multicultural content as "Multiculturally Responsive." Additionally, Steward and colleagues found that the "Multiculturally Responsive" participants found the resistant reactions of their peers to be an impediment to their own learning in the courses. The most frequent reaction to the reactive students in their courses was, "I believe that they were afraid of difference. I wish they had opened themselves to the experience; it seems that they would have benefited from the class sessions if they had chosen to do so" (p.21). Steward and her colleagues mention that this indicates that there is a "critical mass" of graduates of counseling and mental health training programs "actually rejecting the concepts of multiculturalism and appreciation of diversity" (p.21). This study was limited to students from one university’s programs, however, if graduates from other programs are at all similar, a substantial minority of graduates from counseling and counseling psychology programs may actually reject the values of multiculturalism and diversity even after completing courses in multicultural counseling.

The Steward et al. (1998) study raises interesting questions regarding the phenomena of students who are resistant to multicultural training, or "Multiculturally Reactive." This study however has significant limitations including a small sample of 39 students drawn from one university’s population of master and doctoral level students. The students were divided into two groups based on the student’s self-report of their "overall reaction to the diversity related content of the department’s courses." The article implies that this was a forced choice between positive and
negative options with no option for explanation or elaboration. The study found no significant results of differences between the two groups on their estimation of the number of fellow students who did not share their views, their estimation of the competency of students who did not share their views and the student’s own GPA. This lack of significant results may be related to the small sample size and limited power of the study quantitatively. The authors collected qualitative responses from participants, however they do not describe their method of analyzing this data and report the data only by frequency of similar responses. This study uses an interesting and promising methodology in that they ask for students to reflect on the responses to multicultural training of their peers, however the execution of the methodology is so limited that the study is not very generalizable.

Resistance to racism and racial awareness among whites has been clearly shown by numerous scholars and trainers. However, resistance does not explain the entire phenomena of struggle among white trainees. The struggle may be toward growth and development as well as against growth and development. Additionally, it is important to understand the basis of the resistance of white trainees so that it may be addressed in ways that lead toward a reduction of resistance and a willingness to learn and grow.

STRUGGLE AS EMOTIONAL REACTIONS TO RACISM

In addition to resistance, other theorists and researchers have understood the struggle of white trainees in response to racial awareness training and multicultural training by seeking to understand the emotional reactions of trainees. Rose (1996) asserts that it is essential for white people to confront the challenges and issues of
racism on both a cognitive and an affective level.

If white people only confront these issues on a cognitive basis, they will wind up as hostages to political correctness. They will be careful about what they say, but their actions will be rigid and self-conscious. When the process is emotional as well as cognitive, the state of being an ally becomes a matter of reclaiming one's own humanity. (pp. 41-42)

This affective level of response is an expected reaction to racial awareness and multicultural training according to Neville, Worthington, and Spanierman (2001). They describe emotional reactions to increased knowledge and deeper understandings of race and privilege.

An increased knowledge about the systemic nature of white privilege coupled with the adoption of positive racial and ethnocultural identities may help to decrease racially based cognitive distortions (a cost of white privilege). However, a new set of psychological costs (primarily affective in nature) may emerge from this heightened awareness. Upon learning about or acknowledging their unfair racial advantages, white individuals may begin to feel guilt or shame, perhaps wanting to rescind some of their unearned power. (p. 268)

In addition to affective responses associated with an emerging racial awareness, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) have discussed the affective costs of racism to whites. They see several types of emotional costs that white persons experience as the result of racism. Anxiety and fear are emotional costs when white persons harbor fears of other racial groups. White persons who perceive persons of color through a stereotype of being dangerous or threatening, live their lives with increased anxiety due to their racially based views. As white persons come to recognize the reality of racism in our society, many experience anger, sadness, and helplessness. Sadness and helplessness may come to the forefront as persons begin to understand the insidiousness and pervasiveness of racism. White persons also often experience guilt and shame as they come to an awareness of white privilege and their
participation in it. In addition, they note that D'Andrea and Daniels (2001) have identified apathy as a common emotional response to racism among white persons, especially in the counseling professions.

Only a few empirical studies have directly addressed the challenging emotional reactions to emerging racial awareness. In this section these empirical studies, together with related theoretical work on emotional responses to racism will be discussed. Arminio (2001) addresses race-related guilt in her qualitative analysis. Swim and Miller (1999) studied the phenomenon of white guilt through a series of quantitative studies. Parker and Schwartz (2002) understand the reaction often seen in trainees as "shame" in their theoretical treatment of the issue. Ancis and Szymanski (2001) and D'Andrea and Daniels (2001) report a variety of affective responses in their studies of white privilege and white racism. These studies and conceptual pieces will be discussed thematically, first discussing the related concepts of guilt and shame, then the broader emotional reactions described by Ancis and Szymanski and D'Andrea and Daniels. Finally, I will discuss the need for research into struggle as leading to growth and positive emotional reactions to racial awareness, a topic which is not addressed in the literature with any significant depth.

Struggle as Guilt and Shame

Arminio (2001) discusses the experience of race-related guilt in a hermeneutical phenomenological study of six white graduate students. Her broader study had the purpose of understanding how counseling and student affairs students who were concerned about racism made sense of their whiteness. Within this broader study, the construct of race-related guilt became salient. Arminio notes that guilt arises when a person's value systems have been violated. Relying on Helms, in the
context of White Racial Identity Development, guilt is an emotion often involved in
the process abandonment of racist attitudes and behaviors by white persons.
According to the Helms model, as white people begin to recognize the privileges they
have enjoyed as a result of their race and their involvement in the racist structures of
our society, this emotion often arises.

Arminio (2001) interviewed her participants, who were first and second year
white graduate students, five to six times. Race-related guilt was discussed
spontaneously by three participants and when the subject was brought up in the
interviews, the other three participants agreed that they also found this to be an
important aspect of their experience. Race-related guilt was found to be related to
three primary antecedents: awareness of white privilege, something the participants
had done including failures to act in response to racist incidents, and something their
ancestors had done such as owning slaves or participation in World War II atrocities.
Although guilt is often referred to as a negative experience, participants in Arminio’s
study found that guilt led them to increased insight. Even though the participants in
Arminio’s study used the term guilt, some participants found the term inadequate for
what they were feeling:

I think guilt is a poor word to use for it, maybe discomfort, white
discomfort, I don’t know. I feel white guilt, but if I sat down and
actually tried to define what I felt, then guilt wouldn’t come to terms.
White guilt is a societal term that I use to express how I feel. But if I
were to take away the societal term and just put how I feel into words,
guilt wouldn’t come in. (Arminio, 2001, p. 244)

Although there was some ambivalence among her participants as to the
accuracy of the term guilt, the participants generally agreed that this emotional
experience motivated them to grow and change, not only to alleviate the pain of the
guilt, but also because the guilt gave them an increased sense that growth and change
was a necessary and right thing.

In reflecting upon her findings, Arminio (2001), comments:

I believe that this "knife stabbing pain" of guilt is a moment of grief, an emotional response to a loss. The loss here is the loss of a positive sense of self. Guilt is the consequence of not acting congruently with our values and self-expectations. ...What is significant here is what one who feels guilt decides to do with the emotion of guilt. Some may deny or pretend it does not exist, some may find the guilt pathological and be unable to move from it, and others may learn from the voice of guilt. (p. 247)

Arminio (2001) also raises the importance of the construct of forgiveness in response to guilt. Forgiveness is what moves one beyond guilt to a sense of hope and liberation and the ability to act in constructive ways. Overall, Arminio sees race-related guilt as a motivating factor that leads toward growth.

The study Arminio (2001) conducted was based in a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology. She outlines the steps of her research methodology that include in-depth interviewing of the participants, reflective interpretation by the researcher, dialog and collaborative analysis with other student affairs professionals, and participant review of the analysis for clarity and accuracy of the analysis to their life experience. Consistent with this methodology, Arminio saw herself as an active ingredient in the research process, however she does not provide information to identify herself culturally in the article. The purpose of interpretative research such as this study is to expose and understand the lived structures or meanings held by the participants. Her study appears to be effective in illuminating the experience of guilt, especially concerning white privilege. Arminio notes that the participants in her study were limited to students who were already concerned about racism, and thus represented a group of participants who were motivated to understand racism. A study with a broader participant population would help to identify whether the
experience of race-related guilt is only found in those who are making positive changes toward racial awareness or is found in the experience of those who are resistant to change as well.

In their quantitative studies of white guilt, Swim and Miller (1999), sought to verify the existence of white guilt and clarify its proposed antecedents, its relationship to feelings about white persons as a group, and the consequences of white guilt especially in relation to beliefs about affirmative action. The hypothesized antecedents to white guilt include beliefs about white privilege and the prevalence of discrimination, and levels of prejudice. Swim and Miller based their study on an understanding of collective guilt, which is "not necessarily a result of one's own prejudicial behavior. Instead it is a result of knowledge of the advantages one receives from being in a privileged group" (p. 501). Swim and Miller discuss four separate studies they conducted to understand white guilt, primarily using a scale that was constructed for their studies. Participants in their studies were primarily university students, however, one study included persons from the general population who were recruited at an airport.

Swim and Miller (1999) found that levels of white guilt reported by their participants were generally low with the mean being below the midpoint of their scale. White guilt was associated with more negative perceptions of white people in general, greater belief in the existence of white privilege and the pervasiveness of discrimination, and less prejudice against blacks. In other words, white guilt was more evident in persons who were aware of racism and white privilege. White guilt also mediated the relationship between beliefs about white privilege and the prevalence of discrimination and beliefs about Affirmative Action. All of the findings were consistent with the hypotheses of the study.
While Swim and Miller (1999) describe their research as focused on understanding white guilt, the research described is primarily focused on the construction of a measure of white guilt and the assessment of its construct validity by comparing responses to the new measure to various other measures. The authors never explicitly name the scale they are testing and provide only measures of the Cronbach’s alpha for the three subscales (White Guilt Scale, White Privilege Scale, and Affirmative Action Scale). They also report that the measure was refined between studies 1 and 2 and studies 3 and 4, however only the items on the final measure are reported in the article. One significant limitation of the article is the constant reference the authors make to “low levels of white guilt” based on the participant responses being below the mean point of the scale. Since the authors have not collected normative data on the scale, it is not clear what points on their scale may be low, medium or high for any population. The low means of their respondents may indicate that the scale is not fully sensitive on the lower end of the measure, however these results are not generalizable to any abstract level of white guilt. As a description of the construction of a research measure, the article is inadequate and it is difficult to assess the strength of the measure being described for the information in the article.

On the other hand, the correlational data comparing the author’s measure to other measures reveals interesting trends, especially the consistent finding that higher levels of white guilt on their measure are associate with lower levels of prejudice and racism. However, it is important to note that the majority of the respondents to the study were traditional aged undergraduate students at one university.

Swim and Miller’s (1999) study helps to explain the relationship between the presence of white guilt and an awareness of white privilege, discrimination against Blacks, and lower levels of racial prejudice. An indication from these findings is that,
a sense of guilt often accompanies emerging awareness of racial inequalities for white persons. On the other hand, persons who have little awareness of white privilege or racism are unlikely to have any strong sense of white guilt. The emotional response of guilt may be one of the dynamics which counseling trainees experience when they are exposed to new perspectives on white privilege and racism.

Parker and Schwartz (2002) understand the difficult emotional response that is often displayed when white persons are learning about racism and white privilege as shame rather than guilt. Guilt and shame are generally understood to be two distinct, but related emotions. Persons often relate to these emotions in substantially different ways. Parker and Schwartz differentiate between guilt and shame in this way:

Private events or mental constructs are said to elicit guilt, while violations of public codes seem to elicit shame. Therefore, if understood qualitatively, shame can be differentiated from guilt. One means of differentiating the experience of shame from that of guilt is in terms of self-transgression. In shame the self is pictured as unable to cope, and as an object of scorn, contempt, ridicule, disgust, or rejection... The individual afflicted with a shame reaction can feel self-conscious, helpless, paralyzed. Thus, shame is not necessarily correlated with specific behaviors but rather by the perception that one's core self is 'bad' or 'wrong' due to an incorporation of other people's negative perceptions (p. 312).

Parker and Schwartz (2002) note that persons who enter counseling related professions often place a high value of unconditional acceptance and the celebration of diversity. When learning about multicultural competencies, counseling trainees often discover that they harbor biases, stereotypes, and prejudices that are in tension with the values of acceptance and diversity. Parker and Schwartz believe that the result of this tension is often feelings of shame. While feelings of guilt often lead to action to correct the situation, shame, which is related to core beliefs about the self, often leads to paralysis and feelings of inhibition and inferiority. They caution that,
“Trainers should be aware that shame often leads to personal distress, self-focus, and self-preoccupation, and that an inverse relationship exists between shame and empathic understanding. That is, as shame experiences increase, empathic understanding decreases” (p. 314). Such responses are contrary to the goals of multicultural training. Parker and Schwartz recommend helping counselor trainees to gain awareness of their emotional responses, explore the sources of these responses, and understand their counter transference reactions.

It is important to note the different emotional reactions that can be tied to an emerging awareness of racism and white privilege. While Swim and Miller (1999) and Arminio (2001) see guilt as a motivating factor toward change in the individual, shame may be the emotion that is tied to the foreclosure of development in trainees confronted with new perspectives on racism and white privilege. Trainees who are experiencing shame are not likely to articulate these feelings clearly due to the dynamics of shame. I believe that both shame and guilt are at play in the emotional reactions observed in white persons who are learning about racism and white privilege. Arminio (2001), Swim and Miller (1999) and Parker and Schwartz (2002) raise the question of what emotional responses are occurring in relation to racial awareness training. Guilt and shame are often used interchangeably, but refer to two quite different emotional responses. It may be that a more careful examination of the emotional responses trainees have to racial awareness training will lead to a deeper understanding of the situations which give rise to these and other emotions.

Struggle as Other Emotional Responses

Two qualitative studies (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001) report on a variety of affective responses to racism and racial awareness
training. It is important to note that these studies, and the Arminio (2001) study on guilt, reflect emotional responses that emerged from the responses of participants themselves. One the other hand the Swim and Miller (1999) study and the Parker and Schwartz (2002) theoretical article discuss emotions which were identified by the authors.

Ancis and Szymanski (2001) in their study of 34 white, Master’s-level counseling students, sought to understand the relationship between an awareness of white privilege and the different responses of white trainees to information on white privilege. The authors used a constant comparative methodology to analyze written responses of students to McIntosh’s (1998) article, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.” They report that participants in their study could be categorized as responding to information about one person’s experience of white privilege in one of three different ways reflecting increasing levels of awareness: a lack of awareness and denial of white privilege, an awareness of white privilege and discrimination, and a higher order awareness and commitment to action. Participants who were categorized as belonging to the first group due to demonstrating a lack of awareness of white privilege expressed anger and defensiveness, along with other negative emotions, in response to the concept of white privilege. Half of the ten students in the first category expressed anger and defensiveness at McIntosh’s article including “‘anger’ at ‘being made to feel guilty,’ ‘irritated,’ ‘offended’ by McIntosh’s thesis, ‘startled’ by the inaccuracies of McIntosh’s conditions, ‘blamed,’ and stereotyped by McIntosh” (p. 555).

The only emotional response identified by Ancis and Szymanski (2001) among the participants categorized in the other groups was one of sadness and disgust expressed by three participants who were categorized in the second, introductory
awareness of white privilege group. These students expressed grief, sadness, shock, disgust, and feeling disturbed and bothered by the awareness of white privilege. No emotional responses are reported for the third, higher order of awareness group.

The authors carefully discuss their research methodology and use of constant comparative method. They discuss their own cultural identities and assumptions and describe the steps they took to achieve trustworthiness through credibility, transferability, and confirmability. This careful description is helpful in assessing the value of the research. The description also leads to the question of whether the participants' responses, which are course work in a required program in a master's level counseling program, may have limited depth and honesty since one of the researcher's is the instructor for the class and a member of the counseling faculty. The influence of student evaluation and desire to please faculty members is not discussed in the study. Actually, the fact that the participants are known to the faculty member is described as an added benefit to the research because the researcher is able to analyze the participant's responses in light of her interactions with these students in the program in general. Further, the authors do not describe their method for initial or open coding which is the process of data analysis that lies most closely to the data. In the organization of their data into three general themes the authors state, "Because the general themes represent three discrete levels of awareness and action, we coded each student into only one general theme." (p. 554) This step is potentially problematic and contrary to the constant comparative method in that the researchers could wind up forcing the data into the form of their emerging analysis. An improvement in the methodology would be to question whether the three categories are indeed discrete by testing to see if there are participants whose responses fall into more than one category. Despite these reservations, the study is
well crafted and described in the article.

While the Ancis and Szymanski (2001) study focuses on responses to awareness of white privilege, it also underlines the different challenging emotional reactions that trainees may experience when faced with material that raises their awareness of race and their participation in racism. Although the students who were most resistant to the concept of white privilege responded with anger, it is also important to note that participants who were more open to understanding White privilege also experienced challenging emotional reactions. For these other participants, their emotions were focused not on resisting the new information but on coping with their increased awareness.

D’Andrea and Daniels (2001) found in their 16 year study of white people and racism that when the topic of racism is raised, the majority of their white participants responded with one of three emotional reactions: increased anger, apathy, or intellectual detachment. Participants in their study often expressed anger at a “politically correct climate” with regard to race together with a sense of blamelessness regarding the problem of racism. In other words, they were angry that standards for understanding race were imposed on them and they felt no personal sense of responsibility for racial dynamics or systems. D’Andrea and Daniels understood these angry reactions as a sort of defense mechanism employed to cope with uncomfortable feelings that were raised by discussions of racism.

In attempting to explain the sort of anger, projections, and denial that were commonly manifested in our research from a psychological perspective, it is suggested that these types of defensive reactions are often designed to serve a twofold purpose by: (a) helping individuals avoid the uncomfortable process of exploring ways in which they might unintentionally be contributing to the perpetuation of structural racism in this country and (b) alleviating these persons from the responsibility of examining how they benefit from the types of
privileges and power that are differentially bestowed on persons in our society as a result of their racial positionality. (D’Andrea and Daniels, 2001, p. 305)

D’Andrea and Daniels (2001) also noted that many of their participants, particularly from the “liberal disposition” (described below under developmental models) that is commonly found among persons in the counseling professions was a response of apathy to racism. They describe this apathetic response as follows:

Avoidance of such confrontation [with issues related to racism] was primarily achieved by maintaining disinterest and noninvolvement in issues or conversations about white racism in their personal or professional lives. This included demonstrating an unwillingness to become engaged in discussions or other types of learning about the unfair treatment and suffering that continues to be imposed on millions of persons of color in the United States as a result of the perpetuation of various forms of structural racism. (p.306)

This apathetic response is understood as being related to two factors: first a desire to avoid conflict or controversy in personal and professional settings, and second, a lack of incentives in organizational structures to reward persons for working toward an amelioration of racism. They found that persons who do make moves into the difficult and uncomfortable realm of addressing racism often receive negative reactions from their coworkers and organization, rather than positive incentives for making these changes. Closely related to apathy is a sense of intellectual detachment. Many of the participants in D’Andrea and Daniels’ study were able to discuss forms of oppression and racism in great depth, however this intellectual insight was rarely associated with taking action in a change producing way. The intellectual distancing and apathy described by D’Andrea and Daniels can be understood as a way of keeping the emotional impacts of racism at a distance so as to avoid changing one’s worldview.

D’Andrea and Daniels (2001) describe their research methodology as
constructivist naturalistic inquiry. Their conclusions are based on 16 years of observations and interviews with over 1200 persons from across the United States. They do not describe their process of record keeping or any systematic process for data analysis. Due to the lack of information about the research methodology, it is difficult to critique this study. This study's merit does not lie in the carefulness of its methodology, but in the combined wisdom of the researchers as they have developed their theory over years of multicultural training.

The work of Ancis and Szymanski (2001) and D'Andrea and Daniels (2001) reveals the complexity of the emotional reactions that white persons experience in response to racism. While these studies have exposed the existence of these emotional responses, they do not go to the next step of understanding how the emotional responses function in the development of racial awareness for the participants because both studies sought to understand participants at a single point in time. This dissertation will continue the exploration of various emotional responses yet it does so in the context of the emerging racial awareness of the participants over several months' time and should lend insight into the function of emotions in the struggle with racism.

Struggle as Incorporating Positive Emotional Experiences

Several authors view the challenging behaviors and negative emotions experienced in multicultural training as a necessary step in the growth process, incorporating difficult emotional reactions into developmental (Jones & Carter, 1996) and training models (Carter, 2003; Ridley & Thompson, 1999). As such, the difficult emotions associated with an emerging racial awareness can be understood as a necessary aspect of growth and not necessarily a sign of resistance or pathology on
the part of the trainee. Normalization and acceptance of these emotional responses may assist trainees in handling difficult emotions and moving toward new perspectives. However, emotional reactions to the racial awareness training need not only be difficult or painful. In addition to shame, guilt, anger, apathy, etc., it is quite possible that counseling trainees experience positive emotions in reaction to developing racial awareness. Positive emotional responses are rarely discussed in relation to racial awareness training and no study has been published which explores positive emotional reactions of trainees to racial awareness training. Some possible reactions may include feeling of freedom, hope, empowerment and connection with others. In addition, I would expect that as participants work through difficult emotional reactions and come to a place of resolution, they would also experience feelings from relief to joy. One participant in Arminio’s (2001) study indicates the possibility of positive as well as difficult emotional reactions with the comment: “Today I think about being white all the time. Sometimes I feel guilty, sometimes I feel thankful. Then I feel guilty for feeling thankful” (p. 244). In seeking to understand the struggle that counseling trainees experience in multicultural training courses, it is important to not presume that the experience is only difficult or painful. Although positive emotional reactions may not necessarily fall under the umbrella of “struggle,” in this dissertation there were inquiries into reactions which participants felt were both positive and negative so that the full spectrum of the experience could be understood and struggle was not prematurely defined as only a painful emotional experience.
DEVELOPMENTAL MODELS OF RACIAL AWARENESS AND RACISM

One of the major modes for understanding the process white trainees go through in becoming aware of race and racism is the use of identity development models. While these models are not intended to explain the experience of struggle per se, experiences that can be described as struggle are included in identity development models. In this section, I will first introduce three early models for white racial identity development in counselor training (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani, Ponterotto, Borodovski, 1991) and then describe three more current identity development models in greater depth: Mio and Awakuni’s (2000) Majority Identity Development Model, Helms’ (1990, 1995, Helms & Cook, 1999) White Racial Identity Attitude Development Model, and D’Andrea and Daniels’ (1999b) Dimensions of White Racism. Following the description of the three models, the helpfulness and limitations of developmental models as a whole will be discussed in relationship to the phenomena of struggle.

Early Developmental Models

Four developmental models (Corvin & Wiggins, 1989; Helms, 1990; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovski, 1991) emerged at an early point in understanding the process of development for white trainees. While the Helms model continues to be actively used in research, theory and practice, the other three models did not receive further development. In this section these three models will be briefly reviewed, especially as they address the phenomena of struggle.

Ponterotto’s (1988) Racial Consciousness Development Model is a four-stage model developed to describe the development Ponterotto observed in his students in a
one semester multicultural counseling course. This four-stage model consists of Pre-exposure, Exposure, Zealot-Defensive, and Integrationist stages. The unique contribution of the Ponterotto model is the recognition that students in multicultural courses often take differing stances in response to racial awareness, becoming zealots for minority causes or becoming defensive. This characteristic is maintained in the Mio and Awakuni model described in greater depth below.

Corvin and Wiggins (1989) adapted the much earlier work by Hardiman into a four-stage model: Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, and Internalization to describe the process of developing an antiracist identity for white professionals. Parts of this model are also adopted by Mio and Awakuni (2000) described below. Although one of the stages of this model is labeled resistance, the phenomenon of struggle is not clearly articulated by the model. Rather, the authors describe the knowledge and attitudes that persons must adopt at each stage with no attention to the internal struggles that persons may experience in this process.

Sabnani, Ponterotto, and Borodovsky (1991) sought to integrate the existing white racial identity models (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984; and Ponterotto, 1988) into a unified stage theory. This integration led to a five-stage theory consisting of Preexposure/precontact, Conflict, Prominority/antiracism, Retreat into White Culture, and Redefinition and Integration. As a synthesis of other theories, the model does not contribute many new insights to the literature, however, like Corvin and Wiggins (1989) the authors seek to integrate their stage theory with the tasks of cross-cultural counselor training. In their article, the authors identify course activities that they believe would move trainees from one stage to another. Many of their suggestions describe activities that would serve to assist trainees in looking critically at their own beliefs and attitudes and engaging in their own struggle with racism with the goal of
changing their racist attitudes.

Mio and Awakuni – Majority Identity Development Model

Mio and Awakuni (2000) note that resistance is closely tied to racism and occurs on all levels of social interactions. When working with psychology students, Mio and Awakuni suggest discussing resistance in the context of minority and majority identity development models. Mio and Awakuni find that a combination of the Ponterotto (1988) and Corvin and Wiggins (1989) models is most helpful in working with students in a multicultural course. Mio & Awakuni use a four-stage model, Pre-Exposure, Exposure, Zealot-Defensive, Integrationist, for majority identity development drawn from several identity development theorists. Resistance or defensiveness can be experienced in any of these stages. Even as persons have come to a place of integration, new discoveries and new levels of awareness can cause one to recycle through the earlier stages. Mio and Awakuni suggest that an in depth discussion of both majority and minority identity development models helps students to recognize the importance of racial and cultural identity for all people. Resistance takes on a different form in each of the four stages of the model.

The initial stage of this model is the Pre-exposure stage (Mio & Awakuni, 2000). This stage is characterized by a naïve attitude that “people are people” which they state really means that “people are like me and those familiar to me” (p. 87). This stage is characterized by a denial that racism exists or a minimization of its existence. In the Exposure stage people are confronted with the realities of racism and discrimination. When confronted with ways in which their own naïveté has perpetuated racism, students usually respond with either anger or guilt. “They feel angry about having been duped into accepting the notion that past ways of
conceptualizing the world have been fair and just. They feel guilty because they realize how their naïve acceptance of the fairness view has been fostering subtle racism” (p. 87). In the next stage, the Zealot-Defensive stage, white individuals either become zealots for minority causes or they become defensive about the majority culture. Mio and Awakuni see the zealous response as a reaction to the guilt these individuals feel over their previous naïve acceptance of the status quo. Those who take a defensive stance will seek to have contact with their own majority culture and point out the concessions this culture has made to other groups. The final stage, Integration, is characterized by a reduction of the strong feelings of the previous stage and a more balanced view. In this stage there is a deeper appreciation for one’s own culture and for the culture of others.

An advantage of the Mio and Awakuni model is that it presents the possibility that not all majority persons develop through identical stages. The zealot-defensive stage proposes that persons respond to awareness of racism with quite divergent responses. This variation in development seems much more true to experience than a uniform model in which all persons follow the same developmental trajectory. However, the model is not described with any great depth and the Integrationist stage seems to be basically an acceptance of the reality of racism and the part a majority culture person plays in perpetuating it, how a person responds to this new awareness personally and professionally is not fully addressed by this model. Although Mio and Awakuni describe various ways that whites struggle in coming to terms with racism, their model is not empirically grounded but based in predominantly theoretical literature and personal observations.
Helms describes her White Racial Identity Attitude Development (WRIAD) model as a permeable stage theory in which the stages are mutually interactive and dynamic processes rather than mutually exclusive progressive categories (Helms, 1995). This model is intended to describe the development of racial identity of white people who are defined as: “those Americans who self-identify or are commonly identified as belonging exclusively to the White racial group regardless of the continental source (e.g., Europe, Asia) of that racial ancestry” (Helms & Piper, 1994, p. 126). White Racial identity models were developed to explain “the adaptation of Whites as members of the ordained ‘superior’ group” (Helms, 1995, p. 182) as opposed to models for persons of color that reflect membership in a non-dominant group. Helms has adopted the term status rather than stage to define the various levels of her theory. “Statuses are cognitive-affective-conative intrapsychic principles for responding to racial stimuli in one’s internal and external environments” (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 84). At times Helms uses the term “ego-statuses” to refer to statuses as well. In the Helms model each previous status leaves an imprint on successive statuses. For white people, racial development is a process of recognition of and then abandonment of white privilege. In the White Racial Identity Attitude Development model, “it is assumed that being a member of the acquisitive socioracial group contributes to a false sense of racial-group superiority and privilege. Thus, the process of overcoming internalized racism for whites is assumed to require the individual to replace societally ordained racial group entitlement and privilege with a nonracist and realistic self-affirming collective (racial) identity” (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 89). Multiple statuses may exist simultaneously and function in concert with one another, however one status is typically relied on more than another. The Helms WRIAD
model will be presented by first outlining the Information Processing Strategies and statuses of the model, then discussing the underlying assumptions of the model, and then discussing some of the research issues related to research on the model. Throughout the discussion the ways in which these concepts relate to struggle with racism will be emphasized.

Information Processing Strategies

One feature of the WRIAD model that is helpful in understanding the phenomenon of struggle is the information processing strategies. According to Helms (1995), as individuals are responding from various statuses of racial development, their typical way of receiving and responding to racial information is dependent on their WRIAD status. A person in the initial contact status is likely to respond to racial information with obliviousness, denial, or avoidance of anxiety provoking information, similar to the response of a person in the pre-exposure stage of the Mio and Awakuni (2000) model. Persons in the contact status have only a simplistic understanding of their membership in the white group and are generally oblivious to the ways that they benefit from membership in this entitled group. In the disintegration status, a person has come to the place where they can no longer avoid or ignore their own whiteness, sometimes due to the reactions of people of color to their naïveté. Persons in the Disintegration status generally respond to racial information with disorientation, confusion, general distress, and by being non-receptive to anxiety-evoking information. The Reintegration status reflects the development of a process for dealing with the anxiety raised by the Disintegration status. In this status an individual adopts the racism that exists in his or her social environment, idealizing one's own dominant group and displaying intolerance toward
other groups. The information processing strategy for the reintegration status is to distort racial information in a way that enhances one's own racial group. In the Pseudo-independent status an individual identifies with non-racist whites and rejects those one sees as racist. This status is primarily intellectual in nature and the information processing strategy is focused on reshaping information to fit one's own "liberal" framework. The Immersion status reflects the individual's attempt to find a non-racist view of one's own whiteness. In this status the individual is seeking accurate information about race and racism and how this affects one's self. The information processing strategies employed by persons in this stage are reeducating oneself, hypervigilence to racial stimuli and activism. The Emersion status often goes hand-in-hand with the immersion status. The emersion status reflects a withdrawal into the community of reeducated white people to rejuvenate the self and seek new self-knowledge. The information processing strategies of this stage are shared with the immersion status. The final status, Autonomy, reflects an ability on the part of the individual to respond to racial information based on "a realistic, nonracist, self-affirming conception of one's racial collective identity" (p. 93). The information processing strategy associated with the Autonomy status is one of flexible self-expression in response to racial material.

The Information Processing Strategies are helpful in that they illustrate the many different reactions white persons may have to racial stimuli they encounter based upon their own current worldview. According to WRIAD, the way that a white person struggles with racial content is dependent upon his or her WRIAD status. However, persons are also able to respond out of any of the previous statuses they have experienced. On the other hand, the Information Processing Strategies are not intended to present an exhaustive list of the ways that white persons may respond to
racial stimuli, but are intended to be illustrative of the statuses contained in the theory. While many of the information processing strategies are expected to appear in this study of struggle with race, it is also expected that other reactions which lie outside of the phenomena described by WRIAD theory may also be discovered.

Assumptions of WRIAD

Helms' WRIAD has become the central theory used in understanding the development of whites, especially in the training of counselors and psychologists. Because of the extensive use of this theory, it is important to look closely at the assumptions it is based in and critique the theory. This careful critique is especially important to preparing a grounded theory study of a similar construct so that the assumptions of one model are not inadvertently incorporated into a new data based analysis. However, due to the common use of the model it is possible that concepts from WRIAD have been integrated into participant's own self-understandings.

Ethnic identity models have been developed to understand the complex process of coming to affirm one's own identity as a member of an ethnic minority group in the presence of a dominant group which devalues one's own group membership. These models then seek to understand the process of asserting the value of one's identity in the face of societal oppression (Phinney, 1990). The White Racial Identity Development model is a translation of the ethnic identity development model from the development of a non-dominant group member to the development of a dominant group member. One of the central criticisms of the Helms model is that the assumptions of a model that seeks to understand non-dominant groups do not hold for members of dominant groups (Rowe, Behrens, & Leach, 1995). In ethnic identity models the person seeks to overcome the challenge of being disparaged by a
dominant group, while in WRIAD the developmental process is aimed at valuing both the other and the self.

One assumption of WRIAD is that all persons, regardless of their race or ethnic identity, experience a racial identity process that can be described by several statuses (Helms, 1995). The content of these statuses differs based on the power accorded to members of different groups (white and persons of color) and the differing socialization of various racial groups. Development from one status to the next occurs due to increasing cognitive-affective complexity in the individual and race-related environmental stimuli. Each of the statuses is expressed through behavioral patterns that Helms labels schemata or information processing strategies. It is these schemata that are assessed in measures of racial identity development.

Another assumption of the WRIAD model is that white persons always begin their development of racial awareness from a state of obliviousness to race.

As a consequence of growing up and being socialized in an environment in which members of their group (if not themselves personally) are privileged relative to other groups, Whites learn to perceive themselves (and their group) as being entitled to similar privileges. In order to protect such privilege, individual group members and, therefore, the group more generally, learn to protect their privileged status by denying and distorting race-related reality, and aggressing against perceived threats to the racial status quo. Consequently, healthy identity development for a White person involves the capacity to recognize and abandon the normative strategies of White people for coping with race. (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 89)

While this may have been accurate for most white persons in the past, with the rise of diversity in the United States, an increasing number of children are raised with an awareness of diversity and their own whiteness from the time they begin to establish an understanding of identity. For example, as a white child growing up in culturally diverse Los Angeles, I encountered cultural differences and was exposed to varying
treatment of persons based on race while still in elementary school and these experiences were central to how I developed my own identity in adolescence. If persons encounter diverse worldviews before they establish their own identity and sense of self (pre-adolescent), it would follow that their trajectory of development may be considerably different from what would be expected of persons who are only exposed to privilege in their early years.

Given the central role of WRIAD theory in counseling and psychology literature and in multicultural training literature, the underlying assumptions of this theory can limit the spectrum of experiences and outlooks which are considered by researchers and theorists. The central assumptions of WRIAD include a parallel relationship between the development of dominant and non-dominant group members, development from less complex to more complex statuses, and a beginning point of obliviousness to race for white persons. I propose that these assumptions may impose artificial limitations on the extent to which experiences that fall beyond these assumptions are considered in research. In studying the phenomena of struggle with racism, it is important to consider these and other assumptions that may pre-define the phenomena and limit the full scope of the study.

Research Issues

Several problems have been associated with research on WRIAD. A primary area of concern has to do with measurement of the constructs. WRIAD statuses are internal states and as such are only inferentially measured through quantitative measures. Associated with the problem of measurement itself is that the majority of research into WRIAD had used the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), which has substantial limitations, especially in assessing change from one stage to
another. Another problem with the research on WRIAD is the continual use of group level investigations to understand what is primarily an individual phenomenon.

Helms and Cook (1999) state that “ego statuses are hypothetical constructs that cannot be measured” (p. 85). The WRIAS is intended to assess ego statuses through inferences from the attitudes and behaviors described in the items. The ego statuses that are predominant in a person are inferred from the behavioral expressions that are assessed as schemata. While internal psychological processes cannot be measured through positivistic quantitative strategies, a constructivist paradigm using qualitative methods is able to access an expression of these processes more directly. By asking individuals to reflect on their own experiences and responses, it is possible to obtain a closer description of the psychological realities of these individuals.

Research into WRIAD has primarily been conducted using Helms and Carter’s White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (1990). This scale has been criticized for several psychometric issues including low reliability, overlapping scales, and the lack of inclusion of the newer formulation of the model, especially the immersion/emersion status, in the scale (Fischer & Morandi, 2001; Pope-Davis, VanDiver, & Stone, 1999). In addition to these limitations, the WRIAS has no elements for assessing the process of change from one status to another. Although studies of WRIAD tend to show that various interventions cause change in-group averages over time (Kiselica, Maben, & Locke, 1999) they do not help to explain the process of change for individuals. As a result, although WRIAD is a developmental model, research into the model has been limited in its ability to understand actual change and development.

While WRIAD is a model for individual change, research on the model has primarily taken place in the context of group surveys and comparisons. “In research
on social identity and acculturation investigators in general have not examined ethnic identity at the level of individual change—that is developmentally” (Phinney, 1990, p. 502). The vast majority of studies on WRIAD are based on group level data and show change in the developmental stages of the group rather than the progress of individuals (Fischer & Morandi, 2001). As a result there is a great deal of knowledge about how various interventions lead to an increase in WRIAD statuses across groups of people, however little is known from empirical evidence about the process of development for individuals.

One of the greatest challenges to using WRIAD to understand a phenomenon such as struggle is the dominance of the WRIAD model in the literature. Helms’ model of White Racial Identity Development (1990, 1995) is often cited and used as the central process model for counselor development. One of the drawbacks of focusing on this one model is that the many possible complexities associated with emerging racial awareness that are not identified with the theory can be over looked. WRIAD has come to dominate thinking about white persons and racism in such a way that the theory has come to be used in a hegemonic fashion. Experiences and events are interpreted in light of the theory of WRIAD by counselors and psychologists, rather than allowing new and variant experiences to challenge the theory and invigorate the development of new insights and interpretations.

Summary

An additional tool in understanding the phenomena of struggle is Helms’ (1990, 1995) White Racial Identity Attitude Development (WRIAD). WRIAD seeks to describe the progressive ways that white people respond to racial stimuli in one’s internal and external environments. Although the theoretical work on WRIAD
addresses the internal states of individuals in various statuses of development, research with this theory has used self-report measures to compare group level data. As a result, the WRIAD research literature does not add greatly to understanding the internal processes that white persons go through in encountering new understandings of racism and white privilege. Additionally, WRIAD has become the dominant theory for understanding the development of white persons with regard to race to the extent that experiences that are not easily accounted for by the theory are dismissed or ignored because they do not fit with the reified theory. It is evident from the difficulty multicultural trainers have in moving white trainees toward new perspectives on race and racism that there is a need for new tools and perspectives.

D’Andrea and Daniels – Dimensions of White Racism

D’Andrea and Daniels’ (1999b) research on white racism is one of the few examples of a study that looks carefully at the psychological experiences of whites with regard to race and racism. Although the dispositions which D’Andrea and Daniels’ describe bear some similarity to the statuses of WRIAD, there are significant differences. Although not presented as a developmental model, D’Andrea and Daniels’ Dimensions of White Racism is discussed here as it presents progressively more complex ways white persons understand racism. Of the three models presented here, the Dimensions of White Racism model presents a level of development that goes beyond the other two models. This model describes ways of understanding and integrating racism and one’s participation as a white person that go beyond the Integration stage of Mio and Awakuni (2000) and the Autonomy stage of Helms (1995). Of the three models, only the D’Andrea and Daniels model is inductively grounded in an empirical investigation. In addition, the D’Andrea and Daniels model
goes beyond abandoning racism to describe the possibility of an anti-racist identity development. The Helms' model focuses primarily on the process of abandoning a racist white identity, however in a society in which racism is a continuing social force, the abandonment of a racist identity needs to be followed by the development of an activist commitment to social justice.

D’Andrea and Daniels (1999b) conducted a naturalist inquiry of the psychology of white racism including more than 1,200 participants over 16 years of data collection. Their study sought to understand the psychological underpinnings of racism among white persons. The researchers collected data as participant-observers in numerous group and individual settings in order to answer their question: “What are the different cognitive, affective, and behavioral reactions white people have to racism in the U.S.?” (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b, p.94). This study is based in the same data and uses the same methodology as D’Andrea and Daniels (2001). (See the discussion of D’Andrea and Daniels (2001) above for a critique of the research methodology). From their results, they were able to distill five distinct psychological dispositions to racism among their white participants. The five dispositions will be described here especially as the descriptions relate to the concept of struggle with race.

The first disposition described by D’Andrea and Daniels (1999b) is the Affective-Impulsive Disposition. This disposition is characterized by simple, hostile, and illogical ways of thinking about persons of color. The affective characteristics of people in the affective-impulsive disposition are hostility and aggression toward persons of color with no sense of shame or embarrassment about these feelings. Persons who display this disposition tend to engage in overt and intentional racist actions.
The Rational Disposition is characterized by a dualistic form of thinking, in which if one thing is seen as right, something that differs from it must be seen as wrong (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). People in this disposition have a greater knowledge of racial differences and historical oppression, yet they also hold tightly to racial stereotypes. Persons who exhibit this disposition typically discuss racial issues with a “superficial affective niceness,” which turns into hostility when racial issues become stressful. While persons in this disposition will speak more nicely about racial issues, they will give no support to groups of people who have suffered from racial discrimination and will be likely to participate in covert racist behaviors.

Persons from the Liberal Disposition are able to think about racial issues in more multiplistic terms and to identify the need for universal human rights, yet they still tended to think about issues in ethnocentric terms and to give more emphasis to values and attitudes which reflect a white, western worldview (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). The majority of participants in the study who were counselor educators, practitioners, and students were identified as holding a Liberal Disposition. These participants tended to express interest in learning about the needs of diverse groups however they were less motivated to learn about the effects of white racism. The overall affective stance of these persons was apathy and a lack of anger at injustices toward people of color and a lack of empathy for the challenges of those who are affected by racism. Persons in this disposition tend to respond to racial issues with inaction and a desire to avoid negative reactions, especially from other white persons.

Persons from the Principled Disposition display a much more complex understanding of racial issues and the ways in which white privilege helps to fuel the problem of racism (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). Counselors who were acting from this disposition were able to critique the counseling professions and identify how
members of the professions continue to function primarily from white, western worldviews and, as such, perpetuate racism. Persons acting from this disposition displayed a level of passion and hopefulness for reducing the level of racism in society, yet they also tended to express cynicism about the state of race relations and frustration with the unwillingness of other whites to address racism. Persons from this disposition were willing to raise questions and discussion about racism with colleagues but were less willing to approach issues of racism on a systemic level. Persons operating from this level expressed a certain level of isolation due to the negative reactions they would receive from whites and the suspicious reactions they would receive from people of color due to their active involvement in antiracist actions.

The Principled-Activistic Disposition was only evidenced by less than 1% of the participants and very few participants from the counseling professions (D’Andrea & Daniels, 1999b). Persons operating from this disposition had similar cognitive understandings as persons from the Principled Disposition yet with a more abstract and systemic way of looking at racial issues. Persons from this disposition differed from persons in the Principled Disposition in that they did not display the cynicism and frustration of persons from the Principled Disposition. Instead, persons from the Principled-Activistic Disposition had a greater sense of hopefulness and optimism, which they tied to a sense of spiritual connection and moral empathy. Persons from this disposition were consciously and consistently acting to combat racism in both personal and systemic ways.

The Dimensions of White Racism model described by D’Andrea and Daniels (1999b) gives great insight into the phenomena of white racism. It is the only schema for describing the differing ways that white people respond to racial material that is
inductively grounded in an empirical investigation. The Dimensions of White Racism model lends insight to understanding the various racist and anti-racist perspectives that whites may adopt. The model is helpful in outlining levels of awareness of racism beyond those described in the other developmental models. The D’Andrea and Daniel’s model does not deal explicitly with the phenomena of struggle or with the dynamics that lead to change from one disposition to another. This dissertation seeks to look not a white racism broadly, but more specifically at the experience of struggle with the development of awareness of racism among whites. This study will seek to understand the process of change as trainees are being asked to grow and develop in their understanding of race and racism, a focus that was not central to the D’Andrea and Daniels study.

Summary of Developmental Approaches

Developmental theories of racial identity development and white racism have proven quite helpful in understanding the experiences of many white persons as they grow in their awareness of race and racism. However, despite the heavy use of these theories, especially Helms’ WRIAD, in the development of multicultural training programs multicultural trainers continue to face resistance to multicultural training among trainees. Since there is such a heavy focus on WRIAD in multicultural training, it is possible that there are other constructs and ways of understanding the development of racial awareness that are obscured by focus on a dominant theory. Although developmental theories may assist counselors in training and their trainers in understanding some aspects of the struggle involved in coming to an awareness of racism, these theories do not provide a depth of understanding for the particular phenomena of struggle. It is essential that the struggle of developing racial awareness
among white trainees be understood in greater depth so that culturally competent, anti-racist counselors and therapists can become the norm for graduates of counseling and psychology training programs. In order to understand the phenomenon of struggle, I suggest that it is necessary to set aside these developmental theories, so that the experience of struggle can be understood in its own right, not as it is filtered through the lens of developmental theories.

STRUGGLE WITH RACISM: SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE

In this literature review, three streams of literature have been outlined: resistance to racial awareness, emotional reactions to racial awareness, and developmental models of racial awareness and racism. While each of these areas of literature lends insight into the phenomena of white trainees struggling with racial awareness, there are no studies that provide a focused and comprehensive empirically grounded description or explanation of the phenomena of struggle with racism. It is clear from the plurality of explanations for the difficult reactions white trainees have to racial awareness training that there is no consensus as to the origin of these reactions or consistency in conceptualizing the reactions. In addition to the vast variety of explanations for these reactions, there is no existent theoretical work that seeks to draw all of these various positions into a unified scheme. Although there is considerable overlap and agreement among the various perspectives presented, there is also a significant level of disagreement about how to conceptualize the phenomenon of struggle with race. The overlap among the perspectives can be seen in the focus on resistance to change, focus on negative emotional reactions to racism, and the ways in which these reactions are seen as part of the developmental process.
There is lack of attention given to positive emotional experiences or personal growth in the literature. This is highlighted by only one place in the literature, the work of D’Andrea and Daniels, where the characteristics of the Principled-Activistic Disposition are described. The diversity of perspectives on the phenomena shows two things: first, that the phenomena is generally recognized by scholars and practitioners and, second, that the phenomena is not yet well understood due to a lack of focused empirical attention.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to understand and describe the psychological experience of white counselors in training who find themselves struggling when learning about racial issues in an initial multicultural counseling course. This “struggle” is often referred to in the literature and by trainers as “resistance” (Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Sue, et al., 1998) however little is known about the internal experience of white counselors in training when confronted with racial issues. It is also important to note that this sense of struggle or discomfort is not necessarily negative, as might be implied by the term resistance. Derman-Sparks and Phillips (1997) claim that a certain amount of discomfort is central to the process of developing an anti-racist identity. “Uncovering racism’s dynamics and facing the institutional and personal contradictions it creates are vital to further growth. Therefore we must first provoke cognitive and emotional disequilibrium before we can guide students’ construction of a new paradigm about society and self” (p. 66). For the purposes of this study “struggle” refers to any experience of discomfort, resistance, or unsettling emotional or cognitive experience that occurs during the course of an initial course in multicultural counseling at the Master’s level, especially...
when confronting and learning about race and racism. Although counselors in training with many different cultural backgrounds have reported this struggle, white counselors have been selected as the focus for this study. This choice is due to reports among multicultural trainers (Mio & Awakuni, 2000; Sue, 2003) that the resistance or struggle of whites to multicultural training is often seen as most challenging in courses, programs, and the development of the profession and focusing exclusively on white persons allows the experience of struggle with racial awareness to be understood apart from the experience of racism directed against one’s self.

Through gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena of struggle with race, I hope that this understanding will inform the practice of multicultural training and assist trainers in developing more effective training interventions that will in turn lead to an increase in the racial understanding and awareness of white counselors in training and counselors in general.

Research Questions

The broad research question for the dissertation is stated as follows: How do white counselors in training experience “struggle” in dealing with racial issues in their early training in a multicultural counseling course? This question will be addressed from several perspectives: (1) the struggle students are experiencing while in the course, (2) the student’s motivations for incorporating or not incorporating the course content into their perspectives on race and racism, (3) the coping strategies the students use to handle discomfort they may experience, (4) any continued struggle the students experience following the completion of the class, and (5) the students’ reflections upon their growth and their experience following the completion of the class.
CHAPTER III. METHODS

This chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first part of this chapter I will present the theoretical framework for the study. In the theoretical framework I will review the chosen methodologies for the study and discuss how these have been incorporated into the study. Throughout the first part of the chapter I will outline the research issues that were considered in designing this study and explain the rationale for the decisions that were made. Because this is an emergent design, meaning that the next step in the process is determined during the research process and is dependent on the data itself, the first section also serves as a manual for decision making throughout the course of the study. I will present the principles and considerations that were consulted throughout the data collection process as decisions were made about the extent of data collection, the content of follow-up interviews, the process of analyzing data, and other emergent issues. In the second part of the chapter, I will outline the specific research procedures proposed for this dissertation. The second section serves as a traditional procedures section, outlining the procedures that were used in conducting the study.

The first section, the theoretical framework, begins with descriptions of the research methodology, philosophical paradigm, and data collection and analysis methodology for this dissertation. The dissertation uses grounded theory as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Charmaz (2000, 2003, 2006). The philosophical paradigm in which the research is set is constructivism, which is described below especially as it relates to qualitative research and grounded
theory. Data for this dissertation was collected through individual interviews and criteria for conducting sound interviews will be reviewed. The data analysis technique of grounded theory is the constant comparative method. Important issues in this analysis technique are also reviewed. Following the presentation of these methods, criteria for evaluating qualitative research and standards for developing sound qualitative research are presented. Finally, the section concludes with a discussion of the place of the researcher in the study.

In the second section of the chapter, the procedures for the dissertation will be described more sequentially and formally. This section begins with a brief discussion of the pilot study. This section will then review the research question, discuss participant recruitment and selection procedures, describe the participant demographics, and describe the data collection and data analysis procedures. In this section the place of the researcher as instrument in the study will be discussed. The section concludes with a discussion of steps used to insure the rigor of the study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section of the chapter I will first present theoretical or background information about a research issue, then for each issue discuss how this information applies to the research question of this study. This section begins at a general level with two subsections on the selection of the research methodology, which is grounded theory, and on the epistemological paradigm of the study, which is constructivism. The following two sections proceed to more practical matters including data collection issues such as the structuring of interviews for an emergent, constructivist study, and the method of data analysis, which is the constant comparative method of
grounded theory. In the fifth section, I will discuss issues related to the evaluation of research from this paradigm and the standards for a rigorous qualitative research project. Finally, in the last section, I will address the place of the researcher in this study.

Grounded Theory Methodology

Grounded theory, first described by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, is the discovery of social science theories through the systematic analysis of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). "Grounded theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23). This inductive process occurs through the interaction of data collection, analysis procedures, and theory development. A particular strength of grounded theory is that it is designed to generate theory from basic data and can be used to address questions that have not been researched previously. In this sub-section, I will describe the essential characteristics of grounded theory and then discuss the reasons for choosing this methodology for this particular study.

Grounded theory has become an increasingly popular method in psychology research and counseling psychology research in particular (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Recently, researchers have used grounded theory to understand the career development of highly achieving African-American-Black and white women (Richie, Fassinger, Linn, Johnson, Prosser, & Robinson, 1997), Latinas (Gomez, Fassinger, Prosser, Cooke, Mejia, & Luna, 2001), and women with physical and sensory disabilities (Noonan, Gallor, Hensler-McGinnis, Fassinger, Wang, & Goodman, 2004). Other recent investigations using grounded theory by counseling psychologists include studying the help-seeking behaviors of white male high school students.
(Timlin-Scalera, Ponterotto, Blumberg, & Jackson, 2003) and the coping strategies of female survivors of sexual abuse (Morrow & Smith, 1995). No published studies exist that apply grounded theory to the emerging racial awareness of white counselors.

Grounded Theory is characterized by simultaneous data collection and analysis, developing codes and categories directly from the data rather than from existing constructs or preconceived hypotheses (Charmaz, 2003). As a result, grounded theory is best used in an emergent design that allows the data to “speak” for themselves. The processes of grounded theory include the use of analytic memos to describe and explain the emerging categories, making constant comparisons between data, data and emerging categories and the categories themselves, the use of theoretical sampling, and the delay of literature review until after forming an analysis. These processes are the tools that structure this emergent process. The purpose of the grounded theory study is the generation of middle-range theories that are abstract theoretical explanations of social processes (Charmaz, 2006). While Glaser and Strauss advocate gathering and analyzing data and generating theory before reviewing the literature on a construct to allow the data to speak for themselves, Charmaz (2000) sees a place for a thorough grounding in the literature, referred to as sensitizing concepts. Charmaz notes that researchers are generally experts in the literature of the field that they are investigating and therefore, it is often more appropriate for researchers to consider carefully the ways that their grounding in the literature may predispose their thinking and assumptions.

Sensitizing concepts provide you with a place to start, not end. A thorough foundation in a discipline provides such concepts. Professional researchers already hold epistemological assumptions about the world, disciplinary perspectives, and often intimate familiarity with the research topic and pertinent literature. Yet every
grounded theory researcher should remain as open as possible to new
tviews during the research (Charmaz, 2003, p. 83).

Thus a thorough literature review before beginning the study, such as that provided in
Chapter 2 of this dissertation can be seen as appropriate to grounded theory.

Charmaz (2000) describes the strengths of grounded theory as including (a) a
set of strategies that guide the researcher through the process of analyzing data; (b) a
the data collection process that is self-correcting in nature; (c) a focus on inductive
theory construction; and (d) an emphasis on using comparative methods. The
strategies for analyzing data through constant comparative method are described
below in the section on the constant comparative method.

Applying Grounded Theory to the Research Question

I selected grounded theory as the methodology for this dissertation for three
primary reasons. First, grounded theory has great utility in understanding previously
understudied phenomena. Second, grounded theory emphasizes emergent theory that
is rooted in the data of the study rather than relying on existing theory. And, third,
grounded theory techniques have the capacity for studying dynamic processes rather
than static phenomena.

First, grounded theory is particularly helpful in understanding the questions at
hand in this dissertation, namely the struggle that white counseling and psychology
students experience when learning about race and racism. Although there is a great
deal of theoretical literature and some empirical literature on the development of
racial consciousness in white counselors, few investigations have focused on
understanding the experience of developing an awareness of race from the
perspective of those who are undergoing the experience. This perspective is essential
for understanding the varieties of this experience and the complexities of the struggles persons may experience. Grounded theory is one of the central techniques for understanding phenomena about which little is known. The inductive process of grounded theory allows the participants to speak for themselves and for their experience to then be understood from the perspectives that they bring.

Second, grounded theory assists in understanding the stories of the participants and their experience in their own right rather than through the lens of pre-existing theory. Numerous theories exist concerning white racial identity development, white racism, and white privilege. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, progress in developing racial awareness in white counselors continues to be slow. This dissertation comes out of the belief that there may be variables in the experience of white counselors in training that have been overlooked or possibly misinterpreted by the existing theories (See Chapter 2). The purpose of this dissertation is to more fully understand the phenomena of study and use this understanding to construct new theory or to further inform existing theory. Grounded theory is unique among qualitative research techniques in its placement of theory following the collection and analysis of data. This emic nature of grounded theory makes it the most logical choice for exploring the research question of this dissertation.

Finally, grounded theory analysis techniques were designed to allow an understanding of a phenomenon to emerge whether that phenomena is static and fixed or dynamic and changing. In designing the study it was assumed that the experience of struggling with race is a process of growth for persons who are experiencing it and that participants in the research will reflect change and growth, or even times of stagnation, in their description of their own experience. The use of grounded theory allows the nature of the participant’s experience to emerge and attempts to impose as
few restrictions as possible on understanding that experience. The axial coding procedure of the constant comparative method allows the researcher to understand the ways in which pieces of data fit together and to find the ways that the data relate to one another. Through the axial coding process, the codes that emerge from the research are analyzed according to their relationships with one another and there is flexibility to include change over time and other dynamic elements in this analysis.

The Constructivist Paradigm

Having selected a grounded theory methodology, it is next necessary to consider the epistemological paradigm for the study. Most psychological research exists within three paradigms: positivist, postpositivist, and constructivist (Morrow & Smith, 2000). The positivist paradigm is based in the belief that scientific investigation through quantitative hypotheses leads to verification of these hypotheses and a description of laws or facts in objective reality (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). A postpositivist paradigm moves beyond strict positivism in that it understands that there is knowledge which can not be derived from direct observation and measurement alone and that phenomena can be studied through qualitative means. However, both the positivist and the postpositivist paradigms share a belief in the objectivity of truth or knowledge and that there is only one reality. A constructivist paradigm differs from the positivist and postpositivist paradigms in the belief that knowledge is subjective and that there may exist multiple ways of knowing which are constructed within our social environment (Charmaz, 2000).

Grounded theory has traditionally been associated with the postpositive paradigm within which its creators were trained (Charmaz, 2000). Initially, the methods of grounded theory were developed by Glaser and Strauss to provide a
method for generating theory through qualitative induction with rigor that is analogous to the postpositivist perspective of quantitative studies. This initial formulation of grounded theory was focused on developing a rigor in the study so that a researcher could demonstrate that the results they obtained described an objective reality. Charmaz advocates using grounded theory in a constructivist paradigm, rather than the traditional postpositivist paradigm. While positivist and postpositivist paradigms share a belief in an objective truth or reality that we seek to understand through research, "constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understandings of subjects' meanings" (p. 510). Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda (2001) also state that a constructivist paradigm "assumes that knowledge is both individually and socially constructed; that is, instead of reality being something that is 'out there,' separate from the knower, it is constructed in the human mind in the context of interactions with others" (p. 579). The constructivist paradigm has become more common in psychology research and is the most commonly used paradigm in qualitative research in general.

A constructivist approach to grounded theory does not seek to develop a theory that describes the reality, but a theory that "addresses human realities and assumes the existence of real worlds" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 523). The goal of a constructivist grounded theory is to discover what research participants themselves define as real and learn where these definitions of reality take them. Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda (2001) describe the purpose of constructivist research as uncovering the meanings people construct or understanding how those meanings are constructed.

The constructivist paradigm recognizes that the investigator is a partner with
the participants in constructing the interpretations of the study through “mutual
construction” (Morrow & Smith, 2000 p. 203). The constructivist approach
recognizes that the products of the research, the codes, categories and theory are a
result of the researcher’s interaction with the material (Charmaz, 2000).

The constructivist approach also fosters our consciousness about what
we attribute to our subjects and how, when, and why researchers
portray these definitions as real. Thus the research products do not
constitute the reality of the respondent’s reality. Rather, each is a
rendering, one interpretation among multiple interpretations, of a
shared or individual reality (p. 523).

As the primary instrument of the research, the researcher is responsible for
engaging in a process of self-reflection throughout the research process to make his or
her own assumptions, experiences, and biases known and to assure that the meanings
attributed to participants are true to their experience (Morrow, Rakhsha, & Castañeda,
2001). Morrow and Smith (2000) recommend the use of processes such as a self-
reflective journal, a self-interview, peer reviews, or a research team to aid the
researcher in understanding his or her own subjective stance in the research process.

Constructivist grounded theory does not aim to generate generalizable theory
or truth. The value of a constructivist approach is in interpreting the meanings that
people assign to their experiences, lives and beliefs. These interpretations become
conditional statements that are not generalizable per se, but “constitute a set of
hypotheses and concepts that other researchers can transport to similar research
problems and to other substantive fields” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 524). The value of this
research is in its meaningfulness to the reader so that as others find the research
useful and meaningful in their own circumstances, it is of value.
Use of the Constructivist Paradigm

The constructivist paradigm has been chosen as the epistemological frame for this dissertation for several reasons. First, the construct of race is understood as a social construction itself rather than a fixed entity in an external reality. Second, the experience of struggling with race is an interaction between the individual’s understanding of reality and the social environment in which they live, which for the purpose of this research is a multicultural training course. Finally, the constructivist paradigm best reflects the worldview of the researcher.

First, as discussed in Chapter 1, race as a construct is understood to be socially constructed and is no longer understood from an essentialist perspective. It is quite appropriate to study phenomena that are social constructions through an epistemological framework that is consistent with the phenomena. Use of the constructivist paradigm will allow both the participants and the researcher to move beyond essentialist definitions of race and racism and explore the ways in which these constructs have been developed individually and socially.

Second, the experience under study in this dissertation, a sense of struggle with race, falls at the intersection of an individual’s personal construction of meaning and the social dialog concerning those meanings. Although the dissertation is looking specifically at the responses and constructions of meaning that occur within the individual, the precipitating event for the study is the social discourse around race that occurs within the multicultural counseling courses. The intent of the social discourse in multicultural counseling courses is changing the personal constructions of meaning of the participants. This intersection of individual meaning, social setting, and direction toward change in individual meaning makes a constructivist paradigm suitable for understanding the phenomena because it is an epistemology which
recognizes a variety in the way people make meaning of the world and their interactions with it.

Third, the constructivist paradigm also recognizes the researcher's place as a primary tool for the research. This essential honesty of a constructivist paradigm, which recognizes that the researcher sets the agenda, asks the questions, and develops the analysis, is consistent with my worldview. My own constructivist perspective leads me to the conclusion that a study that I construct, conduct, analyze and report will be greatly influenced by my perspective on reality and the world. The subjectivity of the researcher is taken seriously in this paradigm and is explored as part of the research transcript through the use of self-reflective journals or memos and the explicit discussion of the researcher's perspective throughout the development of the study. Rather than seeking to bracket the researcher's experiences and assumptions outside the work of the study, a constructivist approach allows for the researcher's perspectives and assumptions to be recognized throughout the course of the study and analysis process. The place of the researcher in the study will be discussed in greater depth below in the section titled, "The Place of the Researcher in the Study."

Interviews for Data Collection

Interviews are one of the most direct ways of understanding the cognitive and affective processes of other persons. Through the interview the researcher is able to enter a dialogue of exploration with the participants to gain insight into their construction of meaning. Interviews are one of the most common methods of collecting data in counseling psychology research and counseling psychologists are particularly suited to conducting interviews due to their skills in conducting
therapeutic interviews (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Qualitative research interviews need to be constructed so that they accommodate the emergent nature of the research. Morrow and Smith (2000) state that qualitative interviews should be flexible and able to be adjusted as the research process emerges. They also describe qualitative interviews as iterative, in that the interviews move from broad explorations to greater focus.

Kvale (1996) proposes six criteria for evaluating interviews in qualitative research. First, the participant's responses should be rich and spontaneous. Kvale also looks for responses that are specific and relevant. Next, the interviewee's responses should make up the majority of the interview. Third, the interviewer should clarify the participant's meanings in the course of the interview. Fourth, the interviewer should interpret the interviewee's responses throughout the interview process. Fifth, the researcher verifies participant meanings directly in the interview. And finally, the interview becomes self-contained in that it does not require much additional description or explanation. This means that explanations are sought for unexplained concepts during the course of the interview. Sound qualitative interviews result in rich data that inform the study. Charmaz (2003) echoes the call for rich data: "Rich data reveal participants' thoughts feelings, intentions, and actions as well as context and structure" (p. 87).

Interviews should be supplemented by the researcher's field notes through which the situation and interaction are described, including descriptions of the interviewee's affect and the interviewer's perception of the interview process. The researcher should "construct interview questions that allow participants to reflect anew on the research topic and look for and explore taken-for-granted meanings and actions" (Charmaz, 2003, p. 88). Interview questions should be constructed to go...
beyond superficial explanations and assumptions and seek to tap deeper meanings for both interviewees and interviewer. "We must look for views and values as well as for acts and facts. We need to look for beliefs and ideologies as well as situations and structures. By studying tacit meanings, we clarify rather than challenge, respondents' views about reality" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 525).

An important issue for counseling psychologists conducting qualitative research interviews is differentiating between these interviews and therapeutic interviews. Morrow and Smith (2000) recommend that researchers who are also clinicians have a clear sense of the boundaries between the two roles. This is especially the case if the interviews are likely to raise strong affective material in the participant. “The investigator must know what kinds of questions ‘cross the line’ into therapy, how to manage a crisis if it arises, and how the investigator’s role will be explained and clarified to participants” (p. 222).

Use of Interviews in this Research

The interviews in this dissertation were constructed to yield high-quality, rich data for analysis. The interviews began from an initial interview guide (Appendix B). This guide was designed to allow for broad, open-ended discussion of the dissertation topic. The focus of later interviews and the questions asked emerged from previous rounds of interviews so as to continually gain greater knowledge of the experience of the participants. Interview guides were constructed for each round of interviews based on broad themes that emerged in earlier interviews. Second and third interviews were also constructed in a manner that allowed for follow-up probes to gain the fullest understanding of the meanings that the participants give to their experience based on what they discussed in their prior interviews. Participants were informed from the
outset that the purpose of the interviews was to understand their perspective and their understanding of the topic of study. I also maintained a field journal in the form of reflective memos to record my perceptions of the interviews including my affective responses to the interview, the perceived responses of the interviewee, and the context of the interview.

To further improve the quality of the interviews, portions of the deidentified transcripts of the initial interviews were shared with experienced qualitative researchers in order to seek input into ways to improve the interview process and to gain a fuller perspective on the information shared by the participant. These consultants were asked to look for areas of assumed meaning that went unexplored and places where follow-up probes could have been used more effectively. The interview process was also evaluated and refined through the researcher's closeness with the data by transcribing the early interviews and auditing, proofreading, and deidentifying the transcripts of all of the interviews, the researcher was able to take note of elements of the interview style which serve to build rapport and open discussion and elements which limited or artificially guided the discussion. The review of the interview transcripts also helps to assure that the boundary between researcher and therapist is carefully observed in the interview process.

The Constant Comparative Method

The data from the interviews were analyzed using the constant comparative method. The constant comparative method is the data analysis strategy of grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In this method, data are "coded inductively, and then each segment of the data is taken in turn and (a) compared to one or more categories to determine its relevance and (b) compared with other
segments of data similarly categorized. As segments are compared, new analytic categories and new relationships between categories may be discovered" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 30). Charmaz (2003) notes that the practice of studying data as it is collected allows the researcher to be aware of "respondents' implicit meanings and taken-for-granted concerns" (p. 92) and to learn nuances of the participant's language and meaning.

The analytic and data collection methods of grounded theory are adapted to fit the particular research question (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded theory and the constant comparative method for analyzing data cannot be applied to a research question as a rigid system. Rather the principles of grounded theory guide decisions the researcher makes until the data becomes saturated and the theory emerges from the data. The research questions in grounded theory also deepen and change throughout the research process. As the researcher understands more about the phenomena under study, the design for the study emerges, "thus the research proposal identifies what the investigator intends to do in the course of the research, but the original design is often modified as the investigation progresses" (Morrow & Smith, 2000, p. 201). The techniques used in the constant comparative method will be reviewed here to provide background information and basic definitions of the terminology used. I will first review the four levels of analysis in the constant comparative method and then discuss two other analysis tools: analytic memos and theoretical sampling.

### Four Levels of the Constant Comparative Method

The constant comparative method consists of four levels of data analysis: open coding, axial coding, selective coding, and the conditional matrix (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These levels of coding begin with and continually return to the data,
yet analyze the data in higher and higher levels of abstraction. Open coding is “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” (p. 61). This is followed by axial coding which is “a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories. This is done by utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences” (p. 96). The next level of analysis is selective coding which is “the process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development” (p. 116). Finally, the end result of a grounded theory analysis is often referred to as a conditional matrix, “an analytic aid, a diagram, useful for considering the wide range of conditions and consequences related to the phenomenon under study. The matrix enables the analysis to both distinguish and link levels of conditions and consequences” (p. 158). Each of these levels of analysis will be described in more detail in the sections that follow.

Open Coding

Analysis in the constant comparative method begins with open coding. The process of open coding asks, “What are the general categories to emerge in a first review of the data?” (Creswell, 1998, p. 103). Charmaz (2000, 2003) recommends line-by-line coding where the researcher develops a code for each line of each page of the data. This method has less likelihood of missing important details than unitizing data because the researcher is not deciding the length of the units to be coded. Line-by-line coding also helps the researcher to avoid imposing preconceived ideas onto the data, and enables the data, and as a result, the participants, to speak for themselves.
Coding leads directly to developing theoretical categories, some of which you may define in your initial codes. You build your analysis from the ground up without taking off on theoretical flights of fancy. Line-by-line coding also helps you from inputting your motives, fears, or unresolved personal issues to your respondents and to your collected data (Charmaz, 2003, p. 94).

Categories begin to emerge from the data as the researcher compares each code with every other code and these codes begin to be integrated into concepts then into categories.

**Axial Coding**

Although described separately because they are separate processes, open coding occurs simultaneously with the next process, axial coding. In axial coding the researcher asks, “Given the phenomenon of interest, what caused it? What contextual and intervening conditions influenced it? What strategies or outcomes resulted from it? What were the consequences of these strategies?” (Creswell, 1998, p. 103). Axial coding is the discovery of the relationships between the codes identified in open coding. In this process the researcher looks for the ways that the data fit together, and seeks to understand the relationships between the various categories. These relationships also inform the further development of the categories in open coding.

**Selective Coding**

Through selective coding, the researcher seeks to bring the analysis together into an integrated whole. “Integration is much like axial coding. It is just done at a more abstract level” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 117). The researcher may assume there is a single story line describing a single phenomenon or discover interrelated stories. "The grounded theorist's analysis tells a story about people, social processes,
and situations. The researcher composes the story; it does not simply unfold before the eyes of an objective viewer" (Charmaz, 2000, p.522). This step of the process includes returning to the basic data to seek validation of one’s theory by seeking incidents that serve to both confirm and disconfirm the analysis.

**Conditional Matrix**

A conditional matrix emerges from the data analysis. In the conditional matrix, the pattern of relationships developed through open, axial, and selective coding becomes a theoretical entity where relationships and conditions are defined more generally for the experience. The conditional matrix may or may not develop from any particular grounded theory analysis. This is because the conditional matrix emerges from the data and some data sets do not lead to theoretical constructions.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define the conditional matrix as an analysis of the phenomenon as it relates to all other levels of transaction. This model is most closely tied to sociological analysis. In psychological uses of grounded theory, the phenomenon is not typically related to all levels of transaction such as international, national, and community. However, psychological uses of grounded theory will often relate the phenomena to various levels of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social interactions. These final results of the analysis are often presented graphically as flow charts (Morrow & Smith, 1995; Timlin-Scalera, et al., 2003) or as dynamic models (Gomez, et al., 2001, Noonan, et al., 2004, Richie, et al., 1997).

**Analytic Memos**

Analytic memos are an important aspect of the analysis process. Memo writing is an essential step following the development of each category as the
researcher notes the reasons for constructing the category in this particular way (Charmaz, 2003). Writing memos also prompts the researcher to elaborate on his or her thoughts and reflections. Charmaz (2003) recommends memo writing for many different purposes including:

Defining each code or category by its analytic properties, spelling out and detailing processes subsumed by the codes or categories, making comparisons between data and between codes and categories, bringing raw data into the memo, providing sufficient empirical evidence to support your definition of the category and analytic claims about it, offering conjectures to check in the empirical research, and identifying gaps in the analysis (p.102).

In addition to the more formal analytic memos, I also recorded my thoughts and reactions to the study as reflective memos. Reflective memos are the ongoing field notes and research journal of the study. There is not a clear distinction between analytic and reflective memos, however for the most part, analytic memos have to do with the analysis of the data in the study and reflective memos record my experiences in conducting the study. Reflective memos help in clarifying my part as the researcher in the study, while analytic memos are focused on understanding the phenomena under study as experienced by others. Both types of memos are part of the research transcript.

Theoretical Sampling

In addition to the analytic steps, a key feature of the constant comparative method is theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As concepts and categories begin to emerge from the initial data set, the researcher seeks further data from those who are in a position to inform the evolving theory. Questions to be pursued through theoretical sampling often emerge from analytic memos written by the researcher.
(Charmaz, 2003). The researcher may consult existing literature in the field, return to participants in earlier interviews for further insight on emerging concepts, or the researcher may seek out persons who are in a better position to flesh out various aspects of the theory such as experts in the field.

Evaluation Criteria and Qualitative Research Standards

Qualitative research differs from quantitative research significantly in the way that it is evaluated. While standards of evaluation for quantitative research have developed over time to include internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity, standards for evaluating qualitative research are still evolving (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Qualitative research scholars offer a variety of evaluation criteria based on various considerations and research philosophies. In this section, the broad evaluation criteria for qualitative research and grounded theory in particular will be reviewed followed by a discussion of standards for conducting rigorous qualitative research. In this study I am using the term “evaluation criteria” to refer to the criteria used to evaluate a research product and “research standards” to refer to the strategies used to develop a rigorous research project.

Evaluation Criteria

It is essential for the purposes of this study to find standards for rigor and credibility that are grounded in the constructivist paradigm in which the study is situated. Morrow and Smith (2000) recommend the standards of coherence, comprehensiveness and reader credibility in evaluating qualitative research from a constructivist perspective. Coherence has to do with the tightness of the argument: how well the study holds together and how well the conclusions are supported by the
evidence. Comprehensiveness has to do with the adequacy of the evidence in the study including the amount, type and variety of the data. In constructivist research, the credibility of the research product is determined ultimately by those who read the product and determine for themselves if the research has merit rather than on a set of predetermined criteria. In other words, the ultimate value of the project to the reader is determined by the reader him or herself.

In addition to overall evaluation criteria, there are specific criteria for evaluating grounded theory research. According to Charmaz (2000), Glaser recommends the criteria of fit, work, relevance, and modifiability for evaluating a grounded theory. The theory must fit the data, not necessarily the preconceived concepts of the researcher's discipline. "Any existing concept must earn its way into the analysis" (p.511). Charmaz (2000) describes the criteria of work, relevance and modifiability as follows:

A grounded theory must work; it must provide a useful conceptual rendering and ordering of the data that explains the studied phenomena. The relevance of a grounded theory derives from its offering analytic explanations of actual problems and basic process in the research setting. A grounded theory is durable because it accounts for variation; it is flexible because researchers can modify their emerging and established analyses as conditions change or further data are gathered (p. 511).

The evaluation criteria for qualitative research in general, and grounded theory in particular are offered here as goals that were pursued in the course of the dissertation project. The final determination as to the quality of the research product is made by those who read the product and determine whether it indeed has coherence and credibility from their perspectives.
Research Standards

In order to produce qualitative research that will be seen as rigorous, coherent, and credible, scholars have developed standards for assuring rigor in qualitative studies. In actual practice, no one study will observe all of these standards equally, however; the researcher needs to balance these standards with the particular research topic in question and seek for the greatest rigor possible within the parameters of the research process. Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda (2001) recommend nine core standards for qualitative research: immersion in the field, sufficient data, triangulation, immersion in the data, participant checks, disconfirming evidence, researcher subjectivity, thick description, and an audit trail. The criteria recommended by Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda have been integrated into the design of the study as fully as possible. Individual qualitative studies do not typically incorporate all of these strategies and Morrow and Smith (2000) caution against investing too much faith in the procedures alone. “These processes merely increase credibility and enlarge the interpretive perspective by casting more lines of sight on the phenomenon.” The integration of these criteria in the study is described below under the section on the “Rigor of the Study.”

The Place of the Researcher in the Study

The researcher plays a central role in the construction of the research and in what is learned through this research. I not only be constructed the research, and analyzed the data, but my own abilities to understand and elicit information from others were central to the type of data which was collected to analyze. My own personal limitations in perspective can serve to limit the data collected just as my own
creativity may influence the construction of models and theories from the data. My
own experience with racial and multicultural issues appears to be somewhat different
from many counseling trainees, and that difference leads to my questions about this
topic. I was raised in a multicultural environment and participated in many different
multicultural training and life experiences prior to beginning counselor training. My
worldview is also significantly impacted by a sense of call to work toward justice in
the world especially for those who experience oppression.

In preparation for this study I engaged in a self-reflective process of writing
out my own development of racial awareness. As I reflect upon my own experience
and realize how it is similar to and different from the experience of others, I will
record both the assumptions I hold about the phenomena of research and the personal
biases that I become aware of then throughout the course of the research. For
example, in writing a reflective memo on my desire to undertake this topic and how it
fits with my life's work, I realized that I was assuming that other counselors enter the
field with generally altruistic motives, the desire to help others (Reflective Memo 04-
02-14). This, of course, is not necessarily the case as persons enter a particular field
for a wide variety of motivations, both conscious and unconscious.

Personal Development of Racial Awareness

I was born at the very end of the Baby Boom and lived in Los Angeles,
California until leaving for college. My first thirteen years were spent in various
neighborhoods of East Los Angeles, neighborhoods that were ethnically diverse even
in the 1960's and 1970's. My pre-school and elementary pictures reveal that most of
my classmates were Hispanic and often I am one of only a few blonds in the picture.
My early memories are not of the difference that is in the pictures, but of friends and
playmates. At home, my parents and older brother also filled our home with many interesting and exciting people. My father was a college professor and regularly hosted students in our home, especially international students for their various cultural celebrations and holidays. My mother sponsored numerous friends of hers in their naturalization process. My older brother’s friends included musicians and artists from all over. My family was active in politics and civil rights. On Saturdays, if we were not at an art museum or the library we were at civil rights and Vietnam War protests. Our neighborhood poling place was in my family’s living room until I was eight or nine. My parents sought to teach my brothers and I about civic responsibility and to enjoy the various people around us.

My first memory of being different from other children around me was as a Brownie girl scout in second or third grade. The troop was planning to attend worship together. Every other girl in the troop was Catholic, but I was Presbyterian. The troop leaders decided not to have a Brownie Sunday because it wouldn’t be inclusive of all of us. I was vaguely aware that I was the different one.

It was in junior high that my classmates and I were much more aware of the differences in our racial and cultural backgrounds. My girlfriends were Mexican-American, Pilipino, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean. I didn’t have a different language to teach my friends, since we only spoke English at my house. We shared cultures with one another, mostly by complaining about the strange things our parents or grandparents did.

But junior high was not multicultural nirvana. Three gang territories crossed their paths in our school district. Several students in my school were killed by drive-by shootings, long before such incidents drew media attention. There were occasions when fights became violent just outside of the school grounds. Many of my
classmates were quite poor often missing school because they couldn’t afford the supplies for special projects.

A very confusing episode occurred when I was in eighth grade. I ran for student body Treasurer against another girl of a different cultural background. I had little hope of winning, but was running for the experience of it. The day of the election, I was “jumped” by a group of the tough girls in the school during Physical Education class, basically for running against their girl. I was more scared than in danger in that incident. However, I did discover first hand the anger of these girls based on ethnicity and my white privilege. While I could run for office just for the experience and trust in the democratic process, the office I was seeking was an important access to power for them, power which I presumably already had due to my ethnicity. From this event I was able to begin to be sensitive to the effect of white privilege on my interactions with white people and people of color.

In ninth grade my family moved to the suburbs, my new school was nearly 100% White. My first day at the new school, I found myself trying to convince my new school guide not to take LSD, "Just for the fun of it." Despite the poverty and violence at my previous school, I never ran into a student who purposely put themselves in harm’s way. In this new context, my own struggle with racism often occurred in relation to white expressions of racism around me.

A few years later, on a camping trip with my church youth group, my colleagues were entertaining themselves with racist jokes and slurs, a behavior that seemed to be condoned by our leaders. I was at first troubled and confused by this, but then spoke to our youth pastor about my concerns that racist behavior was condoned. He recognized that most of the students in our group had no real experience with racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. Following that we established
a partner relationship with a youth program in Watts, and other experiential opportunities.

My racial development continued while I was a college student. Although I attended a college that was largely white in its student body, an emphasis on understanding the worldview and contexts of all persons was central to the curriculum and the culture of the campus. The centrality of this commitment can be seen through the ethical eating program of the campus where our daily eating decisions were immersed in awareness of global issues of economics and justice and activism efforts. All students were required to fulfill an experiential multicultural requirement. There was a particular emphasis on understanding the context of the people of Central America and South Africa, generally through the lens of liberation theology. I prepared to fulfill my multicultural requirement for my bachelor's degree by spending an academic term studying and tutoring students in English in South Korea. Unfortunately, due to changes in the political context of South Korea this trip had to be cancelled. Instead, I fulfilled my multicultural requirement through an emersion experience in San Francisco, CA where I tutored Chinese immigrant high school students in an after school program and was trained to work in a youth center focused on teens who were involved in hustling and prostitution. By the end of my college experience, I had come to understand issues of oppression as systemic and sustained by both individual and societal influences. My own comment to work for justice in my life was deepened during my college years and became tied closely to my faith and spirituality.

Following college, I attended seminary where I discovered that many Christians did not have the same commitment to justice as I had developed. However, while in seminary I continued to study critical theologies (Latin American
liberation theology, feminist and womanist theologies, and black liberation theology). The campus experience was much more diverse with students from around the world and across the country. Our dining hall and dorm-room conversations were often filled with opportunities to understand the many cultures of our campus. During my years in seminary I developed a connection with a predominately African-American Presbyterian church where I shared in the congregation’s life, discovered through experience the differences between the white church and the black church, and learned to preach in the African-American style.

After eight years of higher education, where diversity was valued, I took my first professional position in a very white suburb of St. Louis, MO. At the time, St. Louis was the most segregated city in the United States on several different measurements. Through my work with church youth groups, I discovered that there were families who lived in their neighborhoods they did so that they would not have to interact with Black people and their children would be in White schools. The clash between my values and those of some families in this congregation made my tenure there very uncomfortable, but also opened my eyes to the depths and subtlety of white racism. I discovered that both the teens in my youth groups and their parents felt uncomfortable and unsafe driving through Black neighborhoods, volunteering at a community center in a Black community, and even having a Black person walk down the other side of the street from them. In all of these circumstances and many others, I did not experience the circumstances as being unsafe in anyway. What I perceived as the irrational fear of Black people on the part of these people stunned me and I found myself little prepared to cope with their reactions. I struggled to find ways to communicate and work with the families in my congregation across our very different worldviews. My stay in St. Louis was short, but its impact was great as I sought to try
to find ways to work with white people who have such fear of people of color, specifically Black people. It was in response to this experience that I began to do reading about anti-racism training and attend conferences and workshops focused on anti-racism efforts.

When I enrolled in a Master's program in Counseling, I was excited that the program focused on multicultural issues. However, I was again surprised at the responses of many of my white colleagues to the multicultural content of the courses. I had expected that persons who were going into a helping profession would share my values, and the values of the profession, which focused on respecting all persons. However, I heard and saw explicitly racist statements and actions from my counseling student colleagues on a regular basis. I also discovered that the basis for confronting racism and racist assumptions that I had learned in the context of the church was tied to a faith perspective and did not translate into a pluralistic setting easily. Therefore, I had to look for reasons and rationales for working against oppression and for justice that were not tied to my faith perspective. I also discovered that discussing racial justice issues was somewhat easier in the religious context because of the ability of draw on a common set of values.

I spent 10 years living in the northern plains, Minnesota and North Dakota; during this time, I developed a greater appreciation for Native American cultures. However, also during this time I had very little contact with other people of color. I had two very disturbing incidents during this period. The first, I think, was that while visiting in a large city I found myself in a predominantly African American area and felt myself becoming uncomfortable. At the same time, I realized that there was no reason to feel uncomfortable. I think that the lack of direct contact with Black people over a period of years as well as the constant negative media images I experienced
together caused me to lose perspective gradually without recognizing it. The second experience was when I was contacted by a gay man who was considering relocating to North Dakota from Texas. We had a long conversation about the gay community in North Dakota, but then he told me that he was Black. I found myself startled, that I had never thought of the possibility of Black people being gay as well as assuming that he was white if he was considering moving to North Dakota.

From these experiences, I decided to seek to live in a more diverse environment. While I decided on my doctoral program primarily on the basis of the program and its emphasis on GLBT issues, I decided on where to live partially due to financial limitation and partially due to a desire to live in a diverse neighborhood. In Kalamazoo I live in a neighborhood that is known for being low income, yet is really made up mostly of hard working families. The specific neighborhood in which I live (several blocks of houses) is composed of nearly equal numbers of whites, Blacks, and Latinos/as. This re-immersion into a diverse context has given me plenty of opportunities to consider my own assumptions and to see what day-to-day life is like for Blacks and Latinos/as in this community. I have been discouraged by the overwhelming weight of systemic racism in the community, especially when dealing with the police and trying to access services in the community. I have seen ugly racial incidents on an individual level as well, however on the individual level I have been more inspired by how neighbors with significantly different backgrounds can work together to support and protect one another from the challenging forces around us. Early on I struggled with the white privilege that was so obvious in this context. As a white woman I could discuss an issue with a police officer rationally, while my Black neighbors would not come out of their homes if the police were on the block due to the possibility of being harassed. However, as time has gone on, I have
discovered that I can use the privilege I have as a white person in the community to work for justice in the community. I can confront the “powers that be” in ways that others in my community are not able to.

Currently, as I engage in work for social justice in my position as a college counselor I find that my growing edges are in learning ways to help students, faculty, and staff identify the racist and privileged assumptions in our community and work toward a more just and inclusive community. During the writing of this dissertation I have been living for the first time on land that was worked by slaves and working in a higher education system which in the past was racially segregated by law. The differences in resources between the institution at which I work and the Historically Black Colleges and Universities continue to be easily recognizable. As a newcomer to this community, I find myself reflecting on our cultural heritage and it’s effect on our community and raising questions about these influences with coworkers and students.

Another aspect of my development of racial awareness comes from my experience as a lesbian. My experience as a member of one oppressed group has helped me to understand the helpful and harmful characteristics of people who see themselves as Allies. As a lesbian I have been frustrated, and hurt by the pseudo-allies, half-hearted allies, issue of the day allies, and it’s about me allies I have run into. Pseudo-allies are those who pose as allies but only work to further oppression. Half-hearted allies are all for working for justice, as long as there is no risk involved for them personally. Issue of the day allies are enthusiastic about work on one front today, but are on to the next hot topic the next day. And, it’s all about me allies work for their own glory rather than for justice. True allies are those who listen carefully to the needs, hopes and desires of those they advocate for and speak clearly with this
voice. They are committed and continually work as allies over long periods of time. And their commitment includes the courage to risk themselves and their reputations for the people they advocate for. Their work does not come out of a need for recognition, but out of compassion and a shared vision of justice. What I have learned about allies from one identity, informs my efforts as an ally on issues of race.

For me, countering racism and oppression is a spiritual calling. It is work in which I share with others who I may never meet and work on behalf of people I do not know in order to bring justice and peace into the world for all. As a spiritual calling this work transcends my daily tasks and responsibilities and influences all spheres of my life. The work is also fueled by spiritual resources and faith in both a vision and power that is beyond what I currently know.

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH METHODS

In this section of the chapter, the procedures for the dissertation will be described more sequentially and formally. This section begins with a brief review of the pilot study. This section will then review the research question, discuss participant recruitment and selection procedures, describe the participant demographics, and describe the data collection and data analysis procedures. The place of the researcher as instrument in the study will be discussed. The section concludes with a discussion of the rigor of the study.

Prior to the recruitment of participants, approval to conduct research with human subjects was obtained through the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (Appendix E). Research documentation that is required for the review process such as the informed consent process and informed
consent documents were completed as part of the HSIRB application procedure. The Informed Consent Form for participation in this research project is found in Appendix F. The flyer used to inform potential research participants of the study is found in Appendix G.

Pilot Study and Data

Prior to the initiation of this dissertation project two pilot interviews were conducted with counseling students on their experience in multicultural counseling courses. The pilot project was conducted with approval of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (Appendix H), including the provision that the research may become part of a dissertation. These interviews allowed for an initial testing of the interview protocol and a test of whether the topic of struggle with racism was an issue counseling students identified with. A summary of the pilot project is included in Appendix A. In both of the interviews the participants were able to describe several forms of "struggle" that they experienced in their multicultural counseling courses. The types of struggle they described included issues in the existing literature and issues that are not described in the existing literature. For example, one participant, who had been raised in culturally diverse contexts, stated that she found that her own learning and development was not represented in the theories for white racial development that she was learning about. The participants described affective reactions that appear to be more complex than what is described in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. These pilot interviews demonstrated two things: the basic interview protocol was an effective tool for encouraging participants to share experiences of struggle with racism and that the experiences they describe are not accounted for in the existing literature. The transcripts of these interviews are

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Research Question

The broad research question for the dissertation is stated as follows: How do white counselors in training experience "struggle" in dealing with racial issues in their early training in a multicultural counseling course? This question is addressed from several perspectives: (1) the struggle students are experiencing while in the course, (2) the student's motivations for incorporating or not incorporating the course content into their perspectives, (3) the coping strategies the students use to handle discomfort they may experience, (4) any continued struggle the students experience following the completion of the class, and (5) the students' reflections upon their growth and their experience following the completion of the class. The dissertation focuses primarily on intrapsychic cognitive and affective experiences described by the participants in the context of the social and interpersonal experience of the multicultural counseling course and will take into account the individual histories of the participants with respect to race and racism.

Participant Recruitment and Selection

The participants in this dissertation are white counseling students who were enrolled in a multicultural counseling course in a large counselor education and counseling psychology department at a mid-western university. Participants in this course are completing master's and doctoral degrees in many different counseling related areas of study: Counseling Psychology, Counselor Education and Supervision, School Counseling, Community Counseling, and Marriage and Family Therapy. The multicultural counseling course has been a part of the core curriculum required in all
departmental programs since the Fall of 2002, prior to that time the course was an elective for students in the masters programs. While some students who participated have recently completed their baccalaureate degree, the majority of master’s level students are returning to school after some career activity and most are also completing the degree on a part-time basis. Most of the doctoral students have completed a master’s degree in a related field, and a few doctoral students are admitted from their baccalaureate degree. Participants were drawn from three sections of a course in Multicultural Counseling and Psychology. Two of these sections were held at the main campus of the university and at one of the extension sites affiliated with the university. Two of the sections were offered in a seven-week intensive format over the summer term and one of the sections was offered during a 15-week semester. All three sections were taught by Black faculty members. The three sections had separate readings and assignments, however the course is designed to develop multicultural counseling competencies so that students are able to function as effective helping professionals with culturally different groups and individuals.

Because this study is focused on the students’ experiences and reactions and not on the course curriculum or the faculty member’s teaching strategies, specific information about the courses themselves was not collected from the professors. All references to assignments and class activities are through the perspective of the students. The faculty members who taught these courses are not participants in this study. In order to reduce the likelihood of connections being drawn from participant’s comments to specific faculty members, all specific references to the instructor of the course, including gender, have been removed.
Recruiting

The first step of recruiting involved securing permission from the course instructor to visit their class and recruit participants. All instructors who were contacted agreed to participate. The researcher personally visited the classes during the first third of the entire class at a day and time that was suitable to the instructor. The researcher presented the study to the participants and a flyer describing the study was distributed. Class members asked a variety of questions about the research project during the class presentation. In each class the instructor, on his or her own initiative, also encouraged participation by class members in this research and stressed the value of the research project for multicultural counseling education. Class members were instructed that the researcher would be available outside of the class over a break to collect contact information for participants who were interested in learning more about the study. Class members could also express their interest in the study by calling or e-mailing the researcher at their convenience. Class instructors were asked to remind their students about the research opportunity during class the following week.

No extra credit or remuneration was provided to students for participation in this study because the study was only open to white students. The primary benefit to participants in the study was the opportunity to discuss their experiences in the class in a safe and confidential manner. Because participation in the interviews themselves was perceived as a potential benefit and the study was only open to white students, the researcher also offered to be available to students of color in the classes if they desired to talk about their experiences in a confidential manner.

Contact information for students who were interested in learning more about the study was stored securely in a locked file case and a password protected and
encrypted computer database. Students who expressed an interest in learning more about the study were contacted by phone or e-mail, according to their preference. They were given further information about the study and an initial interview appointment was set if the students felt that they wanted to pursue involvement in the study. Several potential participants did not respond to phone calls or e-mails and several provided contact information that was illegible. A few potential participants, when contacted stated that they did not have time available to participate in the study and they were thanked for their time and their decision was honored. Table 3 outlines the numbers of students who responded to the research presentation and the number who consented to participate in the study from each pool. Each of the classes had 25-30 students enrolled, however attendance was not taken the evening of the presentation and no attempt was made by the researcher to identify which of the members of the class identified as “white” and were eligible for the study. As a result, there are no numbers for the amount of persons contacted about the study.

Table 3. Potential and actual research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Contact</th>
<th>Pilot</th>
<th>Pool 1</th>
<th>Pool 2</th>
<th>Pool 3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressed Interest</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted by researcher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreed to schedule an interview</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consented and participated in Interview 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in Interview 2</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in Interview 3</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All initial interviews were face-to-face interviews that took place in private rooms in the facility where students were taking their classes. At this first interview, I again explained the study and provided the potential participant with a copy of the consent document (Appendix F). After giving the potential participant an opportunity to ask questions about the study and their participation in it, I invited the potential participant to sign the consent document if they agreed to participate. Upon completion of the consent process, the interview then began and the recording equipment was turned on. All students who expressed interest in the study and agreed to setting a time for an initial appointment agreed to participate in the study and completed the first interview.

Sample Size

For the purposes of this dissertation, a sample of 12 to 20 participants was proposed. Most recent counseling psychology grounded theory studies have been able to reach saturation of the data with sample sizes of less than 20. Further, most of these studies have collected data at only one point from the participants through a single interview. This dissertation included a series of up to three interviews with participants, which allowed for a greater saturation of data from a smaller number of participants. Therefore, a goal of recruiting five to seven white counseling students from multicultural counseling courses in two to three successive terms was set, for a total of twelve to twenty participants. There were five participants in the first pool, four in the second pool, and six in the third pool, for a total of fifteen participants in the main study. Two persons participated in the pilot interviews and their responses were included in this study as a resource for theoretical sampling. Therefore there were seventeen participants from all sources. The 17 participants engaged in a total
of 33 interviews providing more raw data than had been available in most grounded theory studies in counseling psychology. Further discussion of the sufficiency of the data is provided below in the discussion of the rigor of the study.

Participant Demographics

Including the pilot participants, there were 17 participants in the study. There were 3 males and 14 females. Ages were not collected from the pilot study participants. Participants in the main dissertation study ranged in age from 23 to 53 with a median age of 28 and a mean age of 32, the standard deviation was 9. Six students were working on master’s level degrees in Community Counseling, Counseling Psychology, Marriage and Family Therapy or a combination of two of these programs. Five participants were enrolled in a master’s program in School Counseling. Four participants were enrolled in a doctoral program in Counseling Psychology and two were enrolled in a doctoral program in Counselor Education and Supervision. Among the master’s students, six were in the first half of their program and five were in the second half of their program. All of the doctoral students were in their first year of doctoral study at the time they enrolled in the study. All of the doctoral students and one of the master’s students were completing their program on a full-time basis; the other ten master’s students were completing their program on a part-time basis. Two of the participants identified as European international students. One participant identified as a lesbian.

The two participants in the pilot study and one of the doctoral students in the main study had completed a multicultural counseling course in their master’s programs. Nine participants had no previous exposure to multicultural training. Two participants had taken undergraduate courses in cultural studies. Four participants
had participated in significant multicultural training through their work and/or personal development. Only one master’s student was involved in practicum training during the term of the initial interview; all other master’s students had not yet entered this level of their applied training.

Participants were asked to list ways in which they identified themselves. Five participants identified themselves as mothers. Three participants noted that they had grown up in poverty and one identified as being financially affluent. Two participants identified themselves as athletes. Among participants who identified their religious background, three identified as Catholic, four as protestant Christians, two as spiritual, one as Jewish, but not religious, and one as non-religious.

Data Collection Procedures

Data for this dissertation was collected through individual interviews with participants. All participants engaged in the first interview, 11 participated in a second interview, and five participated in third interviews. There were a total of 33 interviews with the 17 participants. Participants in the third pool were not contacted for third interviews due to the observation that previous third interviews did not yield substantial new information and due to the level of saturation of categories at that point in the research. All initial interviews were face-to-face interviews and three of the second interviews were face to face. All other interviews were phone interviews. Participants were asked about their responses to the phone interviews and none reported a negative reaction. Several participants reported that they enjoyed being able to talk on the phone in the comfort of their own homes.

All interviews were scheduled to last an hour. The times recorded for initial interviews do not include the portion of the interview that focused on introductions,
explaining and answering questions about the research, and completing the informed consent process. The interview recordings ranged in length from 40 to 76 minutes with a mean length of 57 minutes and a standard deviation of 10.4 minutes. The initial interview recordings \((n = 17)\) ranged from 40-74 minutes with a mean of 55 minutes and a standard deviation of 10.4, while the follow-up interview recordings \((n = 16)\) ranged from 41-76 minutes with a mean of 59 minutes and a standard deviation of 10.4.

**Initial Interview Guide**

The interviews for this study were structured in accordance with the emergent design of the study. The initial interview guide (Appendix B) was developed with the goal of eliciting responses from participants about their experience of struggle with racism while not influencing participants to talk about their experiences through any of the pre-existing ways of understanding this struggle such as defensiveness or identity development. The initial interview also focuses on the participant's previous experience in confronting racism and their cultural background in order to ground the participant's responses within the context of their experiences. The interview was designed to be conversational, with ample follow-up questions and probes to clarify and explore the topics raised by the participant in depth. The interview guide was initially developed for use in the pilot study and yielded rich data from the two participants in the pilot study. A few modifications were made to the interview guide based on experience from the pilot interviews. The pilot interviews focused heavily on the participant's experience with multicultural training and their current level of awareness, however the importance of having a context for each participant’s story became clear in the pilot interviews.
The initial interview began with the consent process and collection of demographic information. Participants were then asked to describe their personal background with racial awareness. Many participants responded to this request by describing their own cultural context as they grew up and described their first significant encounters with people from other cultures. The interviews followed the participant's lead for the most part. Typically the participants talked for about a half-hour about their own cultural backgrounds and initial experiences with persons of color then the conversation was directed toward their experience in the class. At the end of the interview the researcher raised any areas that were not covered through an unstructured explorations of participant's experiences. Overall the participants were remarkably open and frank in their comments during the interview. This openness continued throughout the series of interviews.

Second Interviews

Participants were contacted for the second interview following the completion of their multicultural class. Although all participants in the main study indicated interest in the second interviews, four participants did not complete the second interview due to difficulties in scheduling, not arriving for the scheduled interview, or failure to respond to contacts from the researcher. The second interview occurred right after the completion of the course for the first pool of participants, approximately one month after the completion of the class for the second pool of participants, and a month and a half after the completion of the class for the third pool of participants. The range in scheduling was due to events in the researcher's life and time needed to complete the initial review of previous interviews.

In preparation for each of the second interviews, the researcher reviewed the
initial interview transcript or recording, took notes on the interview, and identified areas from the first interview that would be followed up in the second interview. Additionally, a list of areas to inquire about during the second interview was developed from the initial coding of the first round of interviews as a whole. The list of generic questions for the second interview is included as Appendix C. As a result, the second interviews covered the topics listed in the second interview guide, follow-up questions and clarifications from the first interview, and questions about emerging constructs, themes, and interpretations in the analysis process. Participants in the third pool were also asked to reflect on the emerging model during the second interview, a topic which was covered in greater depth in the second interviews for the first two pools as described below.

**Third Interviews**

The third interview was proposed to occur, if necessary, two to six months following the second interview. The lapse in time was to allow the researcher time to conduct initial analyses on the first two interviews. In actuality, the third interviews were conducted nine-months to a year after the second interview due to the time that it took the researcher to get to this point in the analysis. The third interview focused on items for clarification from the first two interviews of the participant, provided an additional opportunity for participant checks in which the participants are able to respond to the initial interpretations and constructs of the researcher, and provided an opportunity to ask participants about themes which emerged from other participants and whether these experiences are consistent or inconsistent with their own.

Each of the seven participants in pool 1 and pool 2 who completed the second interview was contacted for a third interview. Five of these interviews were
completed, and two were not completed due to scheduling difficulties. The participants shared little additional personal information in the third interviews. In several cases participants described the same incidents they had described in the second interview. The participants' responses to aspects of the emerging grounded theory were central to this interview. A sample of questions for the third interview are listed in Appendix D. Due to the saturation of data categories and the consistency of the emerging model with existing data in the third interviews for the first and second pools, it was decided that third interviews with the participants in the third pool were unnecessary.

Review of Participant Reflective Papers

The study design called for including participant reflective papers in the data set to provide an additional source of triangulation for the data. Only three participants in the first two pools were able to provide these documents. Others were not able to provide these documents because the professor did not return them or the electronic files or papers documents had been misplaced. In reviewing these papers it was discovered that these participants in their first and second interviews also discussed the themes in the papers. Although the papers provided another source for information from participants, there was little new in the papers and several participants appeared to talk more freely about their experiences in the interviews. One professor was reluctant to agree to this aspect of the research and it was decided that reviewing the reflective papers was not contributing in a significant way to the data set. Therefore, review of participant reflective papers was removed from the study design.
Preparation of Transcripts

Interviews were recorded with digital recording equipment. Seventeen of the interviews were transcribed by the researcher using Transana (Woods, 2004), a transcription and analysis program. A professional transcriptionist transcribed sixteen of the interviews. Interviews transcribed by the transcriptionist were listened to in their recorded version an additional time to provide further immersion in the data. All of the transcripts were entered into Transana and this program was used by the researcher to audit the transcripts and remove identifying information from the transcripts. Each of the transcripts was then printed and proofread and further examined for identifying information by the researcher. Several of the participants requested that significant portions or their interviews not be quoted due to the identifying nature of these comments and these were removed from the final version of the transcripts. The portions of the interviews that were removed from the transcripts were considered by the researcher in the analysis of the data. During the preparation of the transcripts, the researcher reviewed each interview three to four times.

Data Analysis Procedures

Each interview was analyzed through several separate and overlapping processes. The researcher audited all transcripts for accuracy with the recorded interview and further notes and memos were written during the auditing process. The interviews were then read through to de-identify and proofread the transcripts as well as gain further familiarity with the transcripts. This repeated reading and listening to the interviews allowed for an immersion in the data and a variety of analytical
categories emerged through this immersion process. Additionally, when a second or third interview was conducted before the transcription-auditing-deidentifying and proofing process was completed, the interview was listened to in its recorded state several times and questions and themes to be followed up on in later interviews were developed.

The initial interview with each participant and the second interview with participants in the first pool were coded using an in vivo coding strategy and HyperResearch software (Researchware, 2006). Due to the screen format of HyperResearch each line only contained four to five words, therefore a paragraph-by-paragraph rather than line by line coding strategy was adopted. Each paragraph of the interviews was coded, most with three to four codes representing different ways that the data could be meaningful in the analysis. The layers of coding included content, emotions, and actions or processes as well as seeking to code interesting language used to express processes and experiences. During the process of coding the importance of coding action and using gerunds was discovered through additional reading (Charmaz, 2006) and focus on active codes was developed. This process lead to an initial list of 1247 main codes referring to 4828 coded passages. The HyperResearch program became difficult to use after 1000 codes were created. The remaining interviews were coded by hand by taking notes on the interview transcripts. The interviews that were not coded in HyperResearch were also used to compare to the existing categories through the auto-code function of the program. They were also compared to the emerging categories and theory by reading and listening to the interviews while the analysis was being conducted.

The 1247 codes developed using Hyper-research were sorted through a formal process using an Excel (Microsoft, 2003) spreadsheet. These codes were reviewed
and six codes were removed due to duplication (for example: emotion hostility and hostility were combined into one code). Also eight codes had been created, but no data was linked to them and it was not longer clear where these codes were intended to be used. 34 codes represent demographic information about the participants. 54 codes represent comments and questions posed by the interviewer. 26 codes were not analyzed because they represented information that was deemed too potentially identifying to be included in the final analysis (13) or referred to research processes (13). The remaining 1119 codes were sorted into 116 categories in seven general areas: Journey and development (23), Factors that facilitate growth (10), Factors that limit growth (21), Examples of struggle (4), Emotions (13), Descriptive variables (58), and Thematic codes (8). Several categories emerged from this formal analysis as key categories around which many of the other categories could be arranged. Categories were rearranged and renamed several times before the final analysis was completed.

In addition to this formal and comprehensive coding, a less formal analysis was conducted through writing memos, diagramming ideas, and comparing interviews, codes, and categories throughout the research process. Initial ideas about the conditional matrix began to emerge prior to the completion of third interviews for the first two pools and second interviews for the third pool.

The conditional matrix went through several permutations before and after these last interviews. Initial ideas about how the data came together in the conditional matrix were tested out through the final interviews. After completing the final interviews, the informal and the formal analysis processes were combined and several versions of the final conditional matrix, the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW), were constructed. The final conditional matrix was
compared to the existing codes and categories and the interview recordings were reviewed for further clarifying information and possible contradictions. If an aspect of the conditional matrix or the themes within it was found to be contradicted by any of the data it was reevaluated and either changed or removed from the final product.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling was conducted in three main ways. Participants in the final interviews were asked about emerging insights in the conditional matrix. The data itself served as an additional source for theoretical sampling as the emerging analysis was continually compared to the data set. Finally, sampling was also conducted through reviewing the existing literature in multicultural training and through discussions with friends, colleagues, and experts in the field. Many of these conversations were informal presentations of the analysis, however the insights from discussion of the analysis with others who are informed about multicultural education proved to be valuable in clarifying points in the final analysis.

Analytic and Reflective Memos

Throughout the course of the research I recorded my reflections through analytic and reflective memos. Analytic memos have to do specifically with recording the steps of the analysis process, defining categories and recording rationale for decisions that are made in the process. Reflective memos consist of reflections on the construction of the research as well as how my own experience relates to the research. Over the course of the study, 38 reflective memos were written. Additionally, the analytic memos were recorded as annotations in the Hyper-research program. The program does not have a method for counting these memos, however
there were clearly more than 100 annotations written. Finally, each of the major categories was described in an analytic memo, the final version of these memos is the basis of the Results chapter of this dissertation.

Rigor of the Study

Throughout the study many steps were taken to assure the rigor of this study. The standards for qualitative research developed by Morrow, Rakhsha, and Castañeda (2001) will be reviewed and compared with the processes used in this dissertation. The nine research standards are: immersion in the field, sufficient data, triangulation, immersion in the data, participant checks, disconfirming evidence, researcher subjectivity, thick description, and an audit trail.

Immersion in the Field

Immersion in the field was attained through (1) my own participation in the process of gaining racial awareness, (2) my immersion in the literature on racism, white privilege and developing racial awareness, (3) through interviewing participants on several occasions, and (4) through recruiting participants over several academic terms and from courses taught by different instructors. One aspect of immersion in the research process is my personal experience of coming to an understanding of my own participation in racism. This is a process I have been actively involved in both as a student of counseling and counseling psychology and throughout the course of my life experience. Additionally, the study was designed with a longitudinal aspect to capture the experience of participants as they go through the multicultural counseling course. Data collection also took place over an extended period of time and over several academic terms allowing myself as the researcher the opportunity to develop
deeper understandings of the concept over time. The use of successive courses over
different term also meant that students in different terms experienced different
formats for the course taught by different instructors.

**Sufficient Data**

The goal for sufficient data is data saturation. It was projected that 12 to 20
participants would yield sufficient data. At the conclusion of the second pool, nine
participants had participated in the study and it was clear that more participants were
needed to strengthen and deepen the emerging categories and a third pool was
recruited. Data was collected for this study until the categories were reasonably
saturated, that is until no substantially new categories emerged. There will always be
new ideas that are idiosyncratic to the personal history of the participants themselves.
On a practical sense, the categories appeared to be saturated when interviews were
coded and I was searching for the existing code on a routine basis. When coding the
final interviews in Hyper-research, all of the additional codes were tied to unique
aspects of the participant’s stories. No new major categories were discovered from
the final pool of participants. One major construct, Sustaining Commitment, was
significantly less well saturated than the other final constructs due to the limited
number of participants who expressed this stance. This stance is the most complex
and sophisticated level of awareness of racism represented in the study. The current
research design did not include a focused sampling approach to access more
participants who may be exhibiting this stance.

**Triangulation**

Triangulation was sought through selecting participants from several different
multicultural counseling courses over different academic terms and taught by
different instructors. Participants were purposefully drawn from several different
sections of the course, taught by different faculty members. Through collecting data
from three pools of participants and the pilot participants, it was possible to compare
participant experiences across the four sets of data. Participants in each of these
pools were exposed to different multicultural training experiences. Participants in all
four groups represented the categories that rose to the level of inclusion in the
conditional matrix. Triangulation was primarily sought through comparison across
groups.

Another source of triangulation, review of student reflective papers, was
proposed in the study. This method of data collection was not pursued, as described
above, due to lack of availability of papers and the request of a faculty member who
taught one of the sections. The inclusion of the written work would have added to the
triangulation in the study. An additional source of triangulation is the comparison of
the findings of this study to existing theories in the counseling and psychology
literature. This comparison is placed in the Discussion chapter.

Immersion in the Data

The criterion of immersion in the data was achieved by engaging in analysis
of the data over an extended period of time both during data collection and during
analysis. The data collection and analysis for the main study took place over an
almost two year period of time. During this time I was conducting interviews,
listening to interviews, working with the transcription process, and reading and
rereading the transcripts for analysis. Each interview was read and listened to
numerous times during the course of the study.
Participant Checks

Participant checks were conducted through follow-up interviews with the participants in the study. The second and third interviews with participants included time to check the emerging analysis of their previous interviews and to assure that the researcher is describing the participant’s view of reality. Participants generally responded to these inquiries by providing more information about their own experience or view of an issue. At times participants responded with an “Aha” experience saying that they had not thought about things that way, but it really made sense with their stories. The emerging analysis was also checked against the existing data set on a continual basis throughout the study.

Disconfirming Evidence

Once the conditional matrix began to emerge, the data was reviewed for examples of disconfirming evidence. If there were examples of incidents that were at odds with the emerging analysis the analysis was reconsidered until there were no examples of disconfirming evidence in the final model. Due to this level of rigor, there are themes represented in the data that are not reported in this study. These minority themes are also important and would be useful to pursue in further research.

Subjectivity of the Researcher

The subjectivity of the researcher is an acknowledged aspect of this study. Charmaz (2006) notes that the task of the grounded theory researcher is to move beyond the main categories of the data to develop concepts. “The subjectivity of the researcher provides a way of viewing” (p. 139). The subjectivity of the researcher
was analyzed by writing reflective memos on the researcher’s own experience with the phenomena and her own reactions and analytic memos describing decision points in the analysis of data. During the development of the study I also wrote reflective memos including a personal analysis of my own development of racial awareness. The presence of the researcher in the process of the study is noted in the Results chapter under the “Reflexive nature of the study.”

The construction of the conditional matrix is a creative act on the part of the researcher. It would be expected that other researchers would construct different matrices. The value of the study is in the ability of the researcher to create a cohesive, comprehensive, credible, and original way of understanding the data that is grounded in the data themselves.

In this study the researcher is the primary instrument of analysis. As a result, the study may be limited by my own limitations in perception and awareness. While I believe that I have a highly developed awareness of racism and privilege, it is quite possible that participants in the study have a greater level of awareness than I do and I am not sensitive to this level of awareness.

**Thick Description**

Thick description is used in writing the results of the research, allowing the participants to speak for themselves through the research product. In order to achieve thick description, the context and personal histories of the interview participants with regard to race was included in the interview process and taken into account in describing participants’ experience. This contextual data is not included in the results due to sensitivity to the participants concerns for confidentiality. The data although contextually grounded, is reported in a manner that is intentionally anonymous out of
respect for the confidentiality of the participants.

Audit Trail

An additional source of information about the study is an audit trail. The audit trail is a listing of the research procedures in chronological order with links to the various research products (interviews, field notes, memos, and documents). Records of research activities were kept through a database, calendar program, and several spreadsheets. There are 252 research documents related to this project and data in the Transana and Hyper-research programs. Research documents were organized in a separate database to allow for ease of access.
CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

The product of this grounded theory study is a conditional matrix, which is a theoretical model of the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW). This model includes three developmental transitions, a defensive stance, and attention to the personal characteristics and environmental factors that serve to facilitate or limit development. In this chapter the overall model will be reviewed briefly and then each segment of the model will be discussed in greater depth with discussion of the major themes related to each aspect of the model. Grounded theory is intended to go beyond mere description of the data and to the level of generating theory. Charmaz (2006) states that, “A contextualized grounded theory can start with sensitizing concepts that address such concepts as power, global reach, and difference and end with inductive analyses that theorize connections between local worlds and larger social structures” (p. 133). In the discussion of the results of this study, theoretical connections will be included throughout the description of the results.

All of the participants in the study held the view that racism is a negative force and shared the belief that all persons should be treated equally and respectfully regardless of their racial or ethnic group. As a result this model addresses the development of an awareness of racism from an initial place of naive awareness of racism in society. This is an acknowledged floor level in the model due to the population that participated in the study.

DEVELOPMENT OF AWARENESS OF RACISM BY WHITES

All of the participants in the study engaged in a struggle as they came to a
deeper understanding of racism and white privilege. The nature of this struggle varied based on the level of awareness of racism that the participants had at the time of the struggle. The participants described experiences that can be divided into three different types of development or transition: The External Transition, The Internal Transition, and The Transforming Transition. Figure 1 outlines the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW) model and the transitions, stances, and tasks within it.

The three transitions are separate growth processes in which the participants undergo changes in their perspective toward racism. The transitions are sequential, yet they also are overlapping. These three transitions are sequential in that a person must have significantly engaged in one transition before being able to engage in the next transition completely. The transitions are also simultaneous in that participants evidenced attitudes consistent with two stances at once. They are also simultaneous in that the tasks of each transition are ongoing tasks. Additionally, participants were engaged in learning activities that focused on various tasks at the same time. The External Transition is focused on learning about racism outside of one’s self, the Internal Transition is focused on discovering racism within one’s self, and the Transforming Transition is focused on action toward changing racism within oneself and in society.

Within each of these transitions there are two clearly different parts, referred to as stances and tasks. For each transition there is a stance, a place of equilibrium toward racism that allows for a person to maintain their current perspective and view of the self and society. Each transition also has a task that is dynamic process of growth and involves various degrees of disequilibrium. Struggle with racism during the stances is focused on maintaining equilibrium while the struggle during the tasks
is often the result of disequilibrium. The External and Internal Transitions begin with a stance and then proceed to a task that is essential for moving into the next transition. The Transforming Transition begins with a task and then reaches a stance. There was no evidence for a stance or place of equilibrium between the Internal Transition and the Transforming Transition, instead, of a place of equilibrium there was a need for continued growth into the Transforming Transition. Participants who did not continue forward into the Transforming Transition, remained in their earlier stance. Figure 2 outlines the progression of the participants through the model.

The first transition is the External Transition in which participants went from a place of equilibrium where they saw society as being basically just and fair and having little awareness of racism (Believing in a Just Society stance) to the developmental task of Exploring Race in Society. In this exploration participants discovered the different experiences of people from other cultural groups and that racism exists in society. Participants in this transition were often pleased to explore cultural differences but also saddened to discover that people are treated differently based on their racial, ethnic, or cultural background. Having discovered that society in the US is not just and that racism is present in society, participants entered into the second transition, The Internal Transition. In the Internal Transition participants discovered a new place of equilibrium where they recognized racism in society but saw themselves as good people who are not racist (Being a Good White Person stance). The task in the second transition is to go from seeing themselves as being good people who are not racist to recognizing the part that they have played in racism and discovering the privilege that they have received as white people (Discovering own Racism and Privilege task). It is in this transition that participants became aware
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<th>Number of Interviews</th>
<th>Surviving Against Threat</th>
<th>Believing in a Just Society</th>
<th>Exploring Race in Society</th>
<th>Being a Good White Person</th>
<th>Discovering own Racism and Privilege</th>
<th>Integrating Commitment</th>
<th>Sustaining Commitment</th>
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R – Participant described this construct retrospectively.

Figure 2. Constructs of the DARW model represented in the narratives of participants.

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of themselves as white people. Having discovered the insidiousness of racism and the ways that they have bought into racism, participants then were ready to enter into the Transforming Transition. Growth in this transition does not begin with equilibrium, rather participants have the task of integrating their new awareness into their lives. This transition begins with the task of Integrating Commitment against racism and for justice and diversity into their lives. Here participants had a desire and a commitment and were in the process of developing the skills and direction that are necessary to be able to sustain this commitment over the long haul. Finally, participants described a new place of equilibrium, Sustaining Commitment stance, where they were able to deal productively with the challenges of working toward justice and have developed perspectives and skills so that the work is no longer as painful as it had been in previous perspectives.

Many participants moved through two of these transitions over the course of the study, but few of them traversed from the External Transition through to the Transforming Transition during the study. The participants who described the Transforming Transition tended to have entered the multicultural counseling class with prior experience and training and to describe themselves initially in ways that relate to the Internal Transition. Although the transitions are sequential, participants often engaged in activities and attitudes that are characteristic of two adjacent transitions simultaneously. As participants progressed into the Internal and Transforming transitions, they continued to engage in the tasks of Exploring Race in Society and Discovering own Racism and Privilege but from the perspective of later places of equilibrium.

In addition to these three transitions, there were also participants who described a defensive, retreating stance focused on surviving and maintaining their
sense of personal or racial power. This "Surviving" against Threat Stance developed
at all three levels of awareness in response to a state of disequilibrium that was
overwhelming to the participants at the time. There was not a clear difference in the
"Surviving" experience based on the transition the person had been engaged in,
actually there was a remarkable similarity between the comments of participants in
the External Transition and participants in the Transforming Transition when they felt
threatened or overwhelmed. The "Surviving" against Threat Stance appears to be a
constant possibility for white persons throughout their growth and development. The
"Surviving" against Threat stance is conceptualized as standing outside of the rest of
the model. It is an experience that appears to be superimposed on the participant's
development in their current status or task. Participants who described aspects of the
Sustaining Commitment stance also discussed ways that they guarded themselves
against becoming defensive, apathetic, or complacent.

Additionally, there were threads of personal characteristics and environmental
factors that served to facilitate or limit growth for the participants. Several
participants recognized that their own level of anxiety caused the course to be more
difficult for them. Participants who respond to new situations and unfamiliar content
with anxiety and fear found plenty of opportunity for their anxiety to flourish in the
class. In as much as these participants where aware of their anxiety as a character
trait, they were able to respond to the anxiety as something that comes from within
themselves rather than tying their anxiety to the other they were interacting with or
the situation. On the other hand, participants who saw themselves as generally open
and courageous, saw themselves drawing on these resources to engage in some of the
course experiences.

There were also environmental factors that participants cited as facilitating or
hindering their growth in their multicultural counseling class. The environmental factor that was most essential to student’s development throughout the course is a sense of safety for learning and growth. Participants were very sensitive to the response they received form people in the class, especially the professor. Those who felt that the professor dealt with all students with a deep level of respect and positive regard discussed feeling free to engage in discussions, take risks in and out of class, and explore their own assumptions, racism and privilege. On the other hand, students who either felt that the professor had attacked them or had witnessed the professor being disrespectful toward another student discussed their need for safe space to learn and explore and their fear of speaking up in class for fear of being shut down.

These results will now be discussed in greater detail. Each of the transitions will be discussed, first giving a general overview of the transition and the parts within it, then giving attention to the stance and task of the transition. The major themes that went into constructing the model will be discussed at the level of the stances and tasks. References to the data that the themes are grounded in will be presented within the description of the themes. For each stance there will be a description of the worldview and perspective on the self that is central to the stance. Attention will be given to the approach to racism that is unique to each stance or task and the manner in which persons in this stance or task relate to people of color. The discussion of each stance and task will also include a section called “Moving Forward” which will describe the factors that appeared to be important in participants moving forward to the next stance or task. Discussion of the tasks will focus on the growth challenges and struggles of people involved in this task. The discussion of each transition will conclude with a summary of that transition.

In presenting the results, participants are not distinguished from one another
and care is taken to avoid any identifying information about the participants other than an occasional reference to gender. This general approach to presenting the results is an effort to preserve the confidentiality of the participants. The categories and themes presented here are those that were consistent between participants in a particular transition. There are occasional places in the model where there are references to demographic differences between participants such as gender differences. These also are reported as group differences and are reported only when there is consistency between persons who represent that demographic variable. All participant references to faculty are reported without reference to gender to preserve the confidentiality of the faculty members.

THE EXTERNAL TRANSITION

In this section the characteristics of the External Transition will be described. First the transition will be described as a whole. Following this the stance of Believing in a Just Society and the task of Exploring Race in Society will be described in detail including discussion of the data categories used to construct these entities.

While some participants described themselves at later transitions as they entered their multicultural counseling class, many of the participants described themselves in ways that came to be described as the External Transition. Participants in the External Transition entered the class with a general sense of the world being good and just and a vague sense that racism in the US culture exists but is mostly a thing of the past. These students cited being aware of racism in the past, but that the abolishment of slavery and the civil rights movement, which were often described as
directly related, did away with racism. They recognized that there are still racist individuals in our society, but these are seen as bad or ignorant people. Racist acts are individual, by identifiable, people toward identifiable people.

These students were often excited to discover cultural differences and responded with enthusiasm to multicultural course assignments that asked them to learn about different cultures. When they were confronted with their individual part in racism and the idea of white privilege they either understood it in a superficial way, trying to incorporate these ideas into their existing worldview, or became angry and defensive, sometimes adopting the "Surviving" against Threat stance. Although these students saw a just society, it was a fragile worldview. To maintain this worldview they need to continue to see people of color as other than and different from themselves, therefore deserving of different treatment. They needed to continue to be blind or unaware of their assumptions and stereotypes and how these attitudes lead to discomfort around people of color. This blindness is often seen through contradictory statements where they described themselves as not having racist stereotypes, yet perpetuated these stereotypes through their actions or words. They were ready to begin to understand racism as a force in society, but were not ready to take the further step of coming to terms with their own part in this force. They responded to experiential activities with fascination at the way that members of other cultural groups function, but they also talked about their own discomfort at the task of placing themselves in these situations. They were not comfortable with being the only white person in a setting or engaging a person of color in a discussion of their own experience of race and racism. They completed experiential assignments often focusing on how positive it was to spend time with people of color, how they were welcomed, or how impressed they were with the openness of the person they talked
to. They were discovering racism as a thing outside of themselves. In this discovery they talked about feeling sad, broken hearted, and discouraged that people of color have to face these realities.

Believing in a Just Society

The description of the Believing in a Just Society stance, and all other constructs in the model begins with an overview of the stance and then proceeds to a discussion of the themes that are within the construct. The perspective of Believing in a Just Society is the most naïve perspective on racism represented in the study. Persons who hold this perspective understand racism as a negative thing, however they understand racism only as overt racist acts. In discussing racism they talk about Hitler and slavery. They see racism as a historical issue and believe that racism is currently only expressed by people such as Klan members and white supremacists. Racism is an individual moral failure. They see contemporary society as basically just and fair and do not recognize differences between groups. Persons in this status maintain this perspective by holding to a “Code of Silence” which dictates that one does not talk about race, does not see racial differences, and does not hear any evidence that is contrary to their perspective.

Because the interviews began at the midpoint of the multicultural class, many of the participants described this perspective retrospectively. However, a few participants held this perspective throughout their multicultural class and the series of interviews. The participants who maintained this perspective did not resist the new information that they received from their multicultural course, rather they incorporated new information into their existing worldview with little struggle. As a result they would sound informed on racial issues yet discuss issues and events in
ways that continue to support the status quo.

The themes of the Believing in a Just Society stance will now be presented. First, I will address the worldview of this stance, which is the belief in a just and fair society. Second, I will discuss the approach to racism in this stance, which is a denial of the reality of racism. Third, I will discuss the nature of relationships with people of color for persons in this stance, which is described as a focus on similarities and fear of differences. Fourth, the dynamic that keeps persons in this stance, the “Code of Silence” will be described. Finally, I will discuss the dynamic that enables persons to move forward and abandon this stance, relationships with people of color.

**Worldview: Belief in a Just and Fair Society**

The first theme of the Believing in a Just Society stance is a worldview of a belief in a just and fair society. A central feature of the stance of Believing in a Just Society is the belief that life in the United States is fair and just to all people. This includes beliefs that all people have an equal chance and that opportunities in society are open to all people. For example, believing that everyone has access to college, “And you think, oh, everybody gets to go to college and graduate, but to think that that doesn't happen.” Many of the participants in the study recalled times in their past when they held the perspective of a just society and they tied this to minimal exposure to cultural differences and naivety about the presence of racism and discrimination. “But in terms of different races and stuff like that, you know. I, I really don't remember thinking that one, they were different, people were obviously all different.” Although the participant recognized obvious differences, she did not see people from different cultures as being any different from herself.

Many of the participants grew up in towns or neighborhoods that they
described as all white or mostly white. If they did have students of color in their
schools, those students were often not part of the participant’s central experience in
the school. It was common for students to remark that the Native American kids or
the Black kids or the migrant worker kids hung out together and that they seemed to
have little in common. Most participants were from mostly white communities and
neighborhoods and they came to see the students of color as just separate from the
majority group. The participants did not recall seeing this separation as a problem.

Approach to Racism: Denial of the Reality of Racism

The approach to racism in the stance of Believing in a Just Society is a denial
of the reality of racism. This theme includes two sub-themes that are described
below: (1) that racism is in the past and (2) that racial issues are resolved on TV. The
view that society is just is supported by the denial of the reality of racism. White
people holding this stance deny the existence of racism in order to hold to their views
of themselves and the world. “Because then I mean, like many of my Caucasian
friends it is easy to deny that, deny that, deny that, deny that. And when we deny that
we see all people as being treated equal and so it is easy to go there and so maybe this
is the design of it.” The ease in denying racism is also seen in the discussion another
participant relayed,

Because I was talking with my neighbor about it too and she said, “I
just have a hard time believing that people are racist, because I am not
and I don't have friends who are.” And I said, “Well, I understand
what you are saying, but I also can respect the fact that it does happen
because I talk to handfuls of people who tell me that it happens and I
know they are credible people. And I also know that a lot of people
realize that it is not nice to be racist, and it is not the first thing that
people tell you.”

The denial of the reality of racism in the examples above also illustrates that these
participants were aware of the possibility of acknowledging racism yet were making subtle choices to deny it's reality and be blind to the existence of racism.

Another way that participants denied the reality of racism is in their desire to focus on cultures with European origins. Participants described the assumption that they would be learning about their own cultural origins in the class.

And I think that this class, it's multiculturalism, and I think that [the professor] is touching on the cultural issues, but a lot of it so far seems to be the racial issues. Just because of the logs we have to do, they have to be, [the professor] told us they have to be five different colors, that is how [the professor] defined it. We couldn't do someone who is Dutch or German because they are white; they are the majority, which makes sense. But it is just; it's just a different look at it.

Racism in the Past

The first sub-theme in the denial of the reality of racism is the belief that racism is in the past. When participants reported their belief that racism is no longer an issue they discussed the belief that racism is only in the past. Several participants discussed believing that the Civil Rights movement resolved race issues in the United States, a few of these participants connected the Civil Rights movement with the abolishment of slavery.

And I think part of it might've been I came through learning about the Civil Rights Movement, learning about the Civil War, learning about Roots, learning about Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and I guess I honestly thought the Civil Rights Movement and inequities were done. And, that was previous generations, and it wasn't in my generation. This isn't still going on. So, it was really kind of a wake up call finding out that's not reality.

There is an acknowledgement of historical inequities, but a denial of current racial realities of racism and white privilege. Participants described learning about slavery and the Civil Rights movement in their education as the central examples of
racism in the United States, as one historical unit, and as a historical issue of the past. Referring to the civil rights movement and the civil war, which were separated by 100 years, as if they are the same movement, collapses the racial history of the United States and makes it more remote. This particular point was raised with Lonnie Bunch (2007), Director of the Smithsonian national Museum of African American History and Culture, who stated that racial issues are often taught in a “rush to get to the Civil Rights Movement,” and this is because there is a desire to “look for times when we all get together.” The belief that racism is a thing of the past relieves people from the responsibility of working to alleviate racism. And, as observed by Bunch, focus on the abolition of slavery and the Civil Rights movement allows for an emphasis on the times in history when people “all get together.”

**Racial Issues Resolved on TV**

The second sub-theme in the denial of the reality of racism is the recollection that racial issues were typically resolved on television programs. Many participants who grew up in mostly white communities learned about people of color from television. Depending on their age participants referred to the Jefferson’s, The Cosby Show, or Different Strokes as their guidance on the state of racism in the United States. In these shows racial difficulties were seen as humorous if they were acknowledged at all. They also recalled watching after school specials where difficult racial problems were always resolved in less than an hour, indicating that such problems are easily resolvable “So in my mind people overcame racism because in all of those programs there was a good ending.” Participants recalled these shows and the assumptions they had from these shows as a basis for their beliefs that racism is no longer an issue in society.
Relationships with Persons of Color: Focus on Similarities and Fear of Difference

The next theme in the Believing in Just Society stance is relationships with persons of color characterized by a focus on similarities and a fear of differences. Participants in this stance described two seemingly contradictory ways of relating to persons of color. First they described themselves as having no difficulty with relationships with people of color and that they tended to not see any differences between themselves and people of color. However, they also described vague fears of people of color, especially black people. This can be understood as a conscious and public perspective that they are not racist coupled with a private reality that includes a fear of difference.

In discussing their relationships with people of color, participants focused on examples of getting along well with people of color including phrases like “I don’t have a problem with black people,” or “I’ve never had a problem with diversity.” Other participants focused on the importance of learning to “live with diversity” because it would be important for white people in the future to be able to know how to act around “diversity.”

You know and I just, I mean as the world gets more diverse and a lot of it is because people are a lot more accepting. You know we are a lot more accepting now than we were you know 20 years ago, 40 years ago. I’m sure that people out there could testify to that, you know and there are some who would be like we are going to hell and the world is a lot worse off because of it and those kinds of things. ...Because we meet people from different races and you know we can look past you know the automatic look differences and you know we can get along and love each other and attempt to raise a family and that.

Inherent in this perspective is a denial that differences are significant, and a belief that this participant’s perspective as a white person is normative while people of color are “other” and increasingly accepted or tolerated by white people.
Focus on Similarities

A sub-theme of the nature of relationships with persons of color is a focus on similarities. When people hold to the belief that society is just and racism is in the past, they typically do not recognize that the experiences of people of color are different from their own.

I had a couple of fairly good friends in my peer group, you know one African American, one Asian, I would say in our high school for the most part, there was a pretty good size group of African Americans that kind of hung out together more and then there were a few that were more mixed in with the peer groups, with the white peer groups, and that kind of thing. Didn't think a whole lot about it really, I remember kind of having that oh he's just like me. That kind of feeling.

This same feeling is echoed in another participant's description of herself as she went off to college. "You know the person who grows up thinking well you know everybody looks like me walks like me talks like me and then she goes off to college and goes, huh." Actually, not noticing differences between one's self and others can be a source of pride and a reason for seeing oneself as not racist. One participant with this perspective recalled that her parents were proud of her that she had friends of various racial backgrounds.

One theme that was quite common among participants as they described their own discovery of racial difference is that their college years were quite significant in helping them to see that all people are not the same and to discover the different experiences faced by people of color. The exposure to personal relationships with people of color, often in college, is what helps participants to move into an exploration of cultural differences. For participants who grew up in all white or mostly white neighborhoods and school systems, college was the first opportunity to
live with people of other racial groups.

**Fear of People of Color**

The second sub-theme of the nature of relationships with people of color is a fear of people of color. Relationships with people of color are shaded with an underlying fear. Participants discussed fears of race riots in the sixties, high crime rates in certain neighborhoods, and fear of being in an urban environment rather than fear of people of color, however these fears are tied to people who do not have white skin.

I grew up in [city] which is a pretty segregated area. Where the neighborhoods and schools are very segregated. And you know through my education, it was always kind of talked about in slavery and everybody should be equal, but on like an ideal level. Practically, you know it was very segregated, there were a lot of comments about the bad part of town which was also the African American part of town. You know sports teams, we were always afraid to go play and their school and there were always comments about that.

Participants in this category described feelings of fear about people of color, especially blacks, and angry blacks.

I guess that kind of solidified my thinking that, I'm really not racist, because I didn't feel differently towards these people and these African American men. But, you know I would always be more uncomfortable if you know a strange African American man came through, you know some body I didn't know, or if I was alone, so....I can quickly intellectualize it and realize, but that instinct, it's still, it's still down there... but it still just that, the stranger on the street, avoid certain parts of town and be more fearful, you know it's still.

This participant describes herself as having a fear of African American men. She describes herself as “not really racist” and at the same time describes her fear of African American men. She also describes this fear as instinctual rather than attitudinal, enabling her to continue to see herself as not racist. This fear is often
justified by whites based on some general sense of danger. Fear of people of color is also described as fear of the unknown. Participants stated that they had never seen or known a Black person or they had little exposure to diversity, therefore they were afraid of the unknown. They did not see the unknown about people of color as good or interesting, or even neutral, rather as “something to be feared.” Most participants did not identify where this fear of the unknown came from. One participant who had never known a black person personally recalled the predominant attitude in her high school.

Yeah, we all had these, were like closet racists, basically. That, that there was this sense of... And I guess for me it was that African Americans were dangerous, Men, more so. Um, so it's just kind of this, not lesser but just, more prone to violence, I guess.

On the other hand most participants recalled race not being spoken about by their parents and only hearing stray comments about avoiding parts of town and high school friends being nervous about playing schools with a high number of black students. Another participant identified in retrospect that negative media images of people of color were the source of her fear of the “unknown.”

Theoretically, the barely acknowledged fear of people of color serves to support the belief in a just society. The belief, especially the unexamined and unspoken belief that people of color, especially blacks are aggressive or dangerous leads to a justification for the social limitations and separations that are inherent in racism. Within the stance of believing in a just society, it can be seen as just for dangerous people to have limited opportunities. This fear keeps “the blinders” on so that people are less likely to see their own stereotypes and assumptions and to understand the realities of racism from a broader perspective.
Resistance to Change: The “Code of Silence”

The fourth theme is the dynamic that keeps persons in this stance, the “Code of Silence.” The stance of Believing in a Just Society is a place of equilibrium, a worldview that people can support and sustain. Participants in this stance were resistant to changing their perspective and becoming more aware of racism.

And you know that happens sometimes in adults but you know a lot of times with adults you know I mean they are so set in their ways, they notice it, they recognize it, maybe accept it, but that doesn't mean they, you know change or want to change.

This worldview seems to be sustained primarily by a “Code of Silence” to borrow a term from a participant. When in this stance, participants avoided discussing race. Some noted that race was never discussed in their families, “I don't remember my parents or anything using any real derogatory words or anything, um it just wasn't talked about.” While others stated that they feel that it is not polite to mention or to notice race. If they were aware of tension based on race, they would be silent and hold themselves apart from it. “So I don't really know, it makes it uncomfortable. So, I was kind of walking that line, should I say something, should I not say anything, how honest can I be? What can I get out of this, how can I?”

Many participants discussed their fear of speaking up in class or speaking about race in general. Having learned about race and racism in her multicultural counseling class, one participant states that she has continued to not discuss race with her family in any intentional way. “Whereas I don't think it doesn't come up and I can't say that I've gone and been proactive and start a dinnertime discussion about it so it probably hasn't changed my parenting with the older kids much at all at this point. You know, unless it comes up which isn't that often so.” She is continuing the norm of silence.
The "code of silence" is maintained by active resistance to information that would expose racism and privilege. This participant recalled her experience of recognizing that she was intentionally not looking at social inequities: "And so, it was like you stop seeing it as much. It was almost negative, like the blinders started going on, you just stopped noticing people. Because there was so much homelessness, and so it is almost like the blinders started coming on because you just don't notice anybody." Another participant describes the effort she felt herself putting into maintaining her worldview in the midst of her multicultural class as she was learning about racism and white privilege: "Yeah, it jumps out because you just learned about that and you are like OK. And you have to like almost work twice as hard to not see that. Even though you didn't believe it. It is very frustrating for me." From an outside perspective, another participant described her awareness that white people "turn off their listening" when confronted by the realities of racism, "I thought maybe people turn off their listening when my friend who is the [occupation] who is African American goes to my school and says what will you do about this. Maybe they begin to just hear him. They don't hear him talk anymore they just hear words." Each of these examples displays a silence or an unwillingness to see racism that is intentional: "You have to work twice as hard to not see that." For persons who are in this stance, their struggle in a multicultural counseling class is to maintain their current perspective and worldview.

As participants move past this stance and into exploration and discovery they have to overcome the code of silence and will come to recognize that the code of silence is what supports white privilege. After discovering the systematic nature of discrimination one participant recalls her earlier perspective:

So I'm just not, just oblivious kind of to what is going on and you
know it is kind of, I became more educated and things, it was obvious that racial discrimination is built into our system and that was becoming more apparent but, you know I'm not really a part of that, you know there is nothing I can do about it, it doesn't really affect me. So just kind of an obliviousness, I don't know how else to describe it.

Undoing the code of silence, and learning to talk about race and privilege are challenges that will need to be overcome in the development of awareness of racism.

Moving Forward: Personal Relationships with People of Color

The final theme in the Believing in a Just Society stance is the dynamic that moves people forward into engaging in the next task, developing relationships with people of color. The ability to abandon the stance and take up the task of Exploring Race in Society was often spurred on by genuine contact with people of color. The task of exploration begins due to moving to a more diverse setting, such as college or a larger city, participating in the Multicultural Counseling course, or developing relationships with people of color. Activities such as cultural immersion field trips and interviews with people of color about their own experiences were cited as important to this new awareness. However the participants who were in the stance of Believing in a Just Society were not able to make the leap to examining their own racism and white privilege, the task of the Internal Transition. Participants who felt forced to examine their own racism and white privilege while being in this stance often retreated into a defensive stance of trying to survive through the class and maintain themselves and their perspectives. (See “Surviving” against Threat)

Exploring Race in Society

The central task of the External Transition is to Explore Race in Society. In this task participants described discovering the rich variation of different cultures,
learning that the experiences of people in different cultural groups are different from
their own cultural experiences, and becoming aware of racism and discrimination in
society. As participants explored other cultures they described excitement,
enthusiasm, and wonder. However, as participants learned about the pervasiveness of
racism they were saddened and discouraged as their perspective of a just society is
shattered. In this task participants tended to continue to discuss members of other
cultural and racial groups as people who are “other than” themselves. In the process
of development of awareness of racism by white people, the task of the external
transition is to learn about racism and its effects in society.

The themes of the task of Exploring Race in Society will be discussed. First,
the learning task of exploring cultural differences will be described. This first theme
includes sub-themes of exploration as a positive experience and focus on the
“otherness” of people of color. The second learning task is developing an awareness
of racism and discrimination in society, which is the approach to racism in this task.
This theme includes an emphasis on idealizing people of color. The final theme is the
dynamic that allows persons to move forward into the Internal Transition, to begin to
question own racism.

Exploring Cultural Differences

The task of Exploring Race in Society includes the learning task of exploring
cultural differences. Included in this theme are two sub-themes: exploration as a
positive experience and focus on the “otherness” of people of color. Exploring
diverse cultures is often a major focus of multicultural counseling courses. For
participants who were in the External Transition, course activities such as cultural
immersion experiences, interviews with people from other cultures, and lectures and
discussions focusing on cultural differences were exciting learning experiences. Participants were surprised to discover that other people’s lives are not as much like theirs as they had previously assumed.

Well, um, I think that it took me a while to kind of see that there were differences in people. I am always looking, well I was always looking until now, when we are kind of trained to look at the dissimilarities. But I always looked for similarities and commonalities. ... I mean sure they looked different than me and they had different stuff that they did but otherwise, I just thought that their life was like mine.

On the other hand participants described being fascinated with the lives of those who were different from them whether it be discovering the differences between hair care for blacks and whites or being inspired by the worship in predominately African American or Latino churches. Although participants enjoyed the immersion experiences, they also found that they were pressed to go beyond their comfort zone, going places where they normally wouldn’t go.

Well, um, knowing that you are trying something different, something new and coming along side of people and entering a place where you normally probably wouldn’t go you know and just recognizing that as important. You know to step outside of your area you know that you are so familiar with. To know that the, you know, existence of the world goes beyond what we know and so I guess that.

Persons who are exploring other cultures tended to focus their description on positive experiences and discoveries. They discussed the experience of making friends with a person of a different background, feeling welcomed by those who were different from them, and enjoying hearing the perspectives of a person from a different racial group.

The first class trip we went to was the African American church, at [name of church] and um, I don't know. You know everyone was very friendly and I arrived early with another classmate and we stood inside, I guess the vestibule for lack of a better word, and a number of people streaming past you know welcomed us and you know said good
morning and I thought, oh that's good that they are not shocked that we are here because you know we were the only Caucasian people standing there, she and I.

**Exploration as a Positive Experience**

The first sub-theme in exploring cultural differences is that the exploration is seen as a positive experience. As participants who had minimal exposure to cultural diversity began to discover cultural differences, they described this experience, whether it is current or past, as a positive experience of discovering new things about new people. Many participants talked about “eye-opening experiences” when they discovered that people from other racial or ethnic groups had different life experiences and cultural values than their own. “OK, well then I had done all of those things after the first interview. So those were all very interesting. Very eye-opening to me.” These eye-opening experiences have an excitement and an optimism about them. There is a sense of wonder and discovery at discovering the ways that different people live.

**Focus on “Otherness” of People of Color**

The second sub-theme in exploring cultural differences is the focus on people of color as “other” than white people. For example, at it's furthest extent, one participant wondered if her excitement in learning about culture was problematic.

I think that is exciting. You know right now I am working with [describes co-workers]...And I don't know, there is a term that I have heard, exoticizing, you know and that makes me wonder, exoticizing even their background, you know I wonder if I do that sometimes, which I probably do a little because I think that that is exciting. But you know I hope I don't do that to, I don't know how to say that, to, oh I don't know how to explain this, to their detriment or to I mean I seek what is exotic myself.
The excitement about learning about other people and other cultures can lead to a focus on "otherness" and as in the quote above, to the detriment of the other. The tendency to view culturally different people as different and to objectify them is an issue that arose among participants who were actively involved in cultural exploration during the study. The participants here discussed their interest in working with diversity and exploring diversity, but it has a focus on the difference between themselves and "others." The others seemed to be objectified in a way that keeps them at a distance and dehumanizes them, for example: "And they probably came in like five different times and I liked it, because I want to work with people that other people won't touch. I just, groups that other people have issues with, I'm like, they need counseling too and it shouldn't be a problem to work with any certain population." Explorations that allow participants to keep other's experience at a distance and treat them as "other" may lead to limited results and the problem of perpetuating stereotypes and justifying the stances that white people are already taking toward race.

Approach to Racism: New Awareness of Discrimination and Racism

The second learning task in Exploring Race in Society is developing a new awareness of discrimination and racism in society. The approach to racism in this task is to learn about racism and discrimination, systems in society that were denied in the stance of Believing in a Just Society. Central to the task of Exploring Race in Society is becoming aware of the presence of discrimination, prejudice, and racism in the lives of people of color. For participants experiencing the External Transition, class activities such as interviewing a person of color about their own experience of racism, viewing movies such as "Black Like Me" and "Crash," and hearing the stories of
classmates and invited speakers helped participants to discover that racism is active and alive in today's society. Participants discussed examples of racism that they were learning about such as the high level of incarceration among black men, differences in educational opportunities based on race, and housing and mortgage discrimination. As the reality of racism in society became clear to participants they described feelings of sadness as their previously held view of a just and fair society was disturbed. The transition from Believing in a Just Society to awareness of racism in society is described clearly by this participant:

I mean I want a happy world, I want all happy, you know, you'd like to think that we have this wonderful egalitarian society and we'd all mix and mingle and blend and preach each other's cultures but let each other into our worlds back and forth and that everyone would have the same chances and the same, you know, same opportunity you know and all that kind of stuff. The inner city schools would do it; they'd be able to do what they need to do for these kids you know and all of that. So, no it's sad and I think the more you learn about it the more, the bigger the problem, you realize the bigger the problem is to a point it's sort of overwhelming and discouraging.

The awareness of racism here is focused on discovering social and systematic racism, rather than one's personal participation in a racist society. This participant came to see that racism is active in society, external to herself. Her previous "happy world" was no longer a reality that she could believe in and the change in awareness was "overwhelming and discouraging."

Idealized View of People of Color

One particular sub-theme emerged in the approach to racism in the task of Exploring Race is Society. As participants were exploring other cultures they were also faced with complexities that could be difficult to deal with. Participants in this transition tended to have an idealized view of people of color. As they discovered the
realities of racism and discrimination, there was a tendency to see people of color in only positive terms. This is yet another way that people of color were objectified. With an idealized perspective of people of color, participants struggled to reconcile conflicts in conversations or cultural norms that are inconsistent with this positive view. One participant found it difficult to reconcile her desire to view a culture positively with risky sexual behavior.

Yeah and that the down-low can happen in any culture. It doesn't matter what color these people are. It can just happen wherever. And it is just a stereotype of African American society and so they not only have to deal with the color issue they have to deal with that they are promiscuous and that they are like giving HIV and AIDS to everybody and that is not the case, so.

While this participant was saying that risky sexual behavior can happen in any culture, she denied the risky behavior of the African American men she was studying. This tendency to idealize people of color continues on into the stance of Being a Good White Person.

Moving Forward: Questioning Own Racism

The final theme in Exploring Race in Society is the dynamic which moves participants forward, to begin to question their own racism. Having discovered that all people are not the same, learned interesting things about other cultures, and discovered that racism is alive and well in the United States, participants are able to move into the next transition, The Internal Transition. The next transition begins with a stance, a place of equilibrium, where white people are aware of racism in society and even enjoy cultural differences, but see themselves as having no particular part in racism and do not see their responsibility to change it. The next level of depth in discovery, the next task, is for people to discover that racism is not only “out there”
but is part of one's own life as a white person in the United States. As participants begin to question their own place in this society they begin to discover their own racism and privilege. “So it is a lot of food for thought. Again I think that it leaves more questions than answers, but I think that is life in general, so I think that is a positive. It is just you know opening that box up a little bit more.” With the new awareness, participants also expressed questions about their effectiveness as counselors. “If I am working with a client of a different race or a different cultural background because I am, I am more aware of how much of an issue it is, but I don't feel like I am more capable of being effective.” It is with these questions that participants move into the “Internal Transition” of confronting their desire to be seen as a good white person (the stance) and discovering their own racism and privilege (the task).

Summary of the External Transition

The External Transition begins with the belief that society is just and that racism is a thing of the past. This perspective is closely tied to color-blind racial attitudes and is common in social discourse in the United States at this point in history. Their perspective has been supported by media images and their educational experiences. The Belief in a Just Society is supported by denial of the reality of racism, fear of people of color, and a code of silence that regards discussing race as impolite.

As participants begin to discover the differences between different cultures and come to know people of color, they are also able to discover the reality of racism. The exploration of different cultures and the new awareness of racism occur within a context of distance form people of color. There is a tendency toward focus on the
“otherness” of people of color that can include objectification, exoticising, and idealism of persons who are perceived as different. The recognition that racism is a reality brings with it feelings from sadness to being overwhelmed as the previous worldview of Believing in a Just Society is no longer tenable.

THE INTERNAL TRANSITION

Having described the External Transition, the Internal Transition will now be described. The focus of the Internal Transition begins with a view of one’s self as a good white person and then moves forward to discovering one’s own role in racism and privilege. While the focus of the External Transition was on a worldview and discovering racism outside of one’s self, the focus of the Internal Transition is on one’s self perception and discovering racism within one’s self.

The Internal Transition begins with the stance of Being a Good White Person. Participants in the Internal Transition have engaged in some multicultural exploration and have come to see that all is not right in the world. However knowing that racism exists and recognizing that they have been complicit in the dynamics of racism are two different things. Students who entered the course at this transition often believed that they already knew what they needed to know about multicultural issues. They were content with their knowledge or were interested in learning some more intriguing details about other cultures. They saw themselves as good white people who are caring, compassionate, open-minded and wanted to be able to help anyone regardless of their race or cultural background. While they stated that they wanted to be able to help anyone, they also did not feel comfortable talking about race or racism.
The task of the Internal Transition is Discovering one’s own Racism and Privilege. As participants in this transition engage in experiential activities and class discussions they come face to face with their own part in racism. These students were sensitive to criticism of white people, and often took this criticism personally because they were resistant to seeing themselves as participating in the dynamics of racism. The transition for these students was an internal and a challenging journey. Coming to terms with the reality of white privilege and their own racist assumptions called on them to change their views of themselves. They had previously tied being a good white person to not being racist and as they discovered their own complicity they reevaluated their own sense of morality and goodness. Participants tended to struggle the most with this transition when they felt that they had little social support and a high amount of self-judgment. When the challenge was too high they could become defensive and/or disengaged from the experience whether it be a discussion, an experiential activity, or the class as a whole. Some then retreated to the “Surviving” against Threat Stance (described below) while others struggled to remain engaged in the growth process. Participants were able to manage this transition more successfully when they were assured that all people have assumptions and stereotypes. However, even in a supportive environment, participants struggled with intense guilt, confusion and pain. In reflecting on this pain, participants felt that their struggle and pain was necessary to the process and that they would not have been able to develop a new level of awareness without this struggle. As an observer of their experience it seemed that the participants who entered the process with a sense of their self worth tied to their humanity or their personhood negotiated this transition with less angst than those who tied their self-worth to their actions and moral correctness or found their esteem in the eyes of others.
The Internal Transition contains the stance of Being a Good White Person and the task of Discovering one's own Racism and Privilege. These two constructs will now be described with reference to the data categories out of which they were constructed. The section will conclude with a summary of this transition.

Being a Good White Person

The stance of "Being a Good White Person" is characterized by participants who are informed about cultural differences and who see themselves as responsible citizens. These people know that racism and injustice exist, but do not see how they, by their action or inaction, participate in the perpetuation of racism. It would be expected that this stance is common among new counseling trainees, and it was common among the participants in this sample. Persons who presented themselves primarily with this stance toward racism were aware of cultural differences between groups of people, they considered themselves well-informed on social and political issues, and often saw themselves as open minded or tolerant of differences. They saw that there are problems in the world, racism and discrimination among them, and they wanted to help people deal with these problems. They did not have the naïve, all is good in the world, perspective described under the stance of Believing in a Just Society. They knew that there are things about society that are not fair or are just plain wrong. Often as counseling students they were motivated to do good and they saw themselves as good people. They sought to inform themselves on issues and engaged in some cultural exploration or had a variety of multicultural experiences in their lives.

The stance of Being a Good White Person includes several themes. The first theme is the view of the self as a good white person. This theme includes three sub-
themes: entitlement, moral action and white guilt, and the need to not appear racist. Second, the approach to racism in this stance is to understand racism as a reality in society and an example of moral failure. The approach to racism includes the sub-theme of unexamined personal racism. Participants in this stance relate to people of color with an uncomfortable niceness. The uncomfortable niceness includes sub-themes of difficulties with negative stereotypes and difficulty with negative experiences with people of color. The third theme is a desire on the part of participants in this stance to grow in the skills area of multicultural competencies. Finally, the dynamic that moves participants forward to begin to truly engage in a discovery of their own racism and privilege is beginning to see their own privilege as white persons.

**View of the Self: A Good White Person**

The first theme of the stance of Being a Good White Person is the view of the self as a good white person. Central to the stance of Being a Good White Person is a view of the self. White counseling students described themselves in moral terms and had a moral code of goodness that they tried to live up to. They sought to be polite and respectful and learned along the way that race is not a nice thing to talk about. The Code of Silence from the previous stance is still very much in effect. They continued to hold the belief described in the stance of Believing in a Just Society that to discuss race is to be racist. They have not yet discovered that the code of silence that they have retained as they have begun to explore other cultures serves to protect them from seeing their own privilege.

The view of self as a Good White Person is expressed in several ways. Participants in this stance tended to see themselves as entitled and to recognize this
expectation of privilege. They discussed race as a moral issue and expressed feelings of guilt for racism. The also expended considerable energy into trying to not appear to be racist. Each of these themes will now be discussed in greater detail.

Entitlement

Having not yet confronted their white privilege, participants who exhibited this stance entered discussions of their own racial awareness with a sense of entitlement to knowledge about race and racial issues. Several participants expressed dismay that they were not exposed to the concept of white privilege in their education. They expressed a certain level of trust in the educational system, that it would provide one with all of the knowledge that is needed to become a good citizen.

Well, [pause] I wonder, um, I guess just that you know I didn't have a chance to recognize it earlier or I wasn't given the opportunity to understand it and then, um to really have a respect for the type of power that comes with that.... So, I just. I hadn't realized the extent of it, I really hadn't. I couldn't believe that you know I went through my entire college education and this was never brought up. And I don't know how that happened. I was educated in the college of Liberal Arts, you know, could someone have mentioned this? I would have thought it would have fit within the parameters.

I use the term entitlement because of the sense in which these participants felt that they were due this knowledge, that it was someone else's responsibility to provide this knowledge to them. However, the power of white privilege is that it is not spoken and exposed

Moral Action and White Guilt

In this stance, participants saw themselves as highly moral people. They sought to do what is good and right. This participant tied this desire to be a good
person to her desire to be a counselor:

I think to be a more effective counselor and just a human being in general. You know I feel like I want to live out lives with myself and my family in such a way that we are making it better than when it started. You know I just want to be a good wife to my husband and lift him up and raise my kids well and be a proactive and productive and contributing member of society and I think this is a big social problem right now and I think that we have responsibilities as individuals and as professionals as well and that is the piece that I didn't know so much about what that would mean.

This sense of moral rightness is tied to the difficulty participants have in discovering racism within themselves as they make the transition toward an internalized level of awareness of racism. Participants who were invested in being good white people kept their sense of being wrong or guilty at a distance:

You know I just I feel bad, I would feel bad if I was you know black, Hispanic, you know from Europe or you know Japanese or Australian, I'd still feel bad, just basically because I am compassionate and I know that is not how you treat people. But, you know and I can't call it guilt or shame necessarily in me, but you know I feel bad that I was, that I am labeled or recognized as someone from the group who, you know did treat people the wrong way and stuff like that.

Another participant described this sense of feeling bad and guilty as a teenager.

And I remember also just being really aware of how socially outcast they were and like, never really, there was never really a mix of like the white kids and the "Indian" group which was really migrant workers and Native Americans. And just kind of feeling really like guilty and like bad about that and not really knowing why it was that way and not really knowing what to do about it, but just realizing that there was a separation.

When in the stance of Being a Good White person, participants discussed racism in personal moral terms, “good” and “bad.” They saw racism as a social evil and although they do not see themselves as racist, they described themselves as “feeling bad” or “guilty” about the existence of racism.
Need to Not Appear to Be Racist

The second sub-theme in the view of self as a good white person is the need to not appear to be racist. Participants in this stance did not want to appear to be racist. As a result they were cautious in how they used language about race and how they talked with people of color, they were quite concerned about offending a person of color, and they focused their attention on trying to not be racist.

Language about race is a challenge for participants who are in this stance. There are not right and wrong answers to questions about how to use language, yet these participants were trying hard to get it right. Their struggle with language is clear:

My husband and I have some friends who are a biracial couple, I don't know if that is the right word, he is black, she is white, would that be the right word?

Um, in terms of the black students, if I can say, can I say that?

Like I didn't know. I have no. That is a term that the US government gave anyone who speaks Spanish, so people from Spain are Hispanic, people from Mexico, Columbia, Nicaragua, Peru, whatever, are all Hispanic. And so like people from Mexico like to be called Latino, and, OK, I didn't know that.

Concern about using the right language can lead to anxiety and constrain a student’s participation in class discussions and other learning activities. Several participants discussed not speaking in class because they were afraid that they would say the wrong thing or use the wrong language. For others, there was a good deal of energy put into finding out the right language to use.

And there were two other students that are writing about African American issues and they knew that I was going up to ask and so they got behind me and they were like "Oh, you ask [professor]" and "I
want to hear what [professor] says." So I didn't care that I was the one asking because I'm like well we've got to find out, so. I didn't have a problem with it, but I thought it was funny because I a had a little team behind me.

The uncertainty about language is closely related to the concerns that these participants had about offending a person of color. This participant described his struggle over being "out of line":

I feel like they can be, racial minorities can be very open with me because they don't have the racist comment hanging over their head. Um, as soon as I maybe bring something up that is out of line and I maybe do bring things up that are out of line, there's that. There is that comment that is very hard to listen to that I am a racist.

The concern about being offensive limited participants' interactions. "It would probably depend on the topic, I mean I said I'm not super confrontational. I'm not going to say something that might offend somebody or hurt somebody in a class because to me there's not a point to it. It's class." Another participant described her concern this way, "I just don't want to offend anybody. I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings and it gets easier to just not say anything about it."

At the root of these comments are concerns about not appearing or being seen as racist. The desire to not be seen as racist often arose as participants were describing how their concern about appearing racist affected interactions with people of color.

Honestly I don't, I don't, [pause] there are some of the things with the professor that I just don't like. And it is like I'm just almost afraid to talk about it, and I think ick, I could not write that on an evaluation because, it'll just be assumed that I am targeting [professor] because [professor] is African American.

I know my behavior is, I can't say very racist, but were racist in the past. My thoughts, I have been trained to believe this way. I don't know if people see me as being racist, but they see me as being white. And when you are seen as being white, in my opinion there is a lot of
racist thoughts that come with that...I'm not ever sure that it is going to get much deeper than that. I can't really start asking the questions that are important.

Or if it is an issue for somebody, like with her and this other student, it is like they have obviously had some rough experiences and I don't want to add to it. I don't want to minimize it and I don't want to add myself to the list of people that they feel have discriminated against them. So, it's all that fear of saying the wrong thing and my intent not being understood.

This need to project themselves as not racist was reflected in the way they interacted in relationships, participated in class, and thought about the work of counseling. Their focus was much more on themselves and preserving their own self-image than on coming to know and understand the person who they saw as different. This approach to race served to limit their exposure to new information and growth and also limited their effectiveness as multicultural counselors.

Approach to Racism: Racism as a Social Reality and Moral Failure

The second theme in the stance of Being a Good White Person is an approach to racism that sees racism as a social reality and a personal, rather than systemic, moral failure. Participants in this stance had some knowledge of racism in society and recognized that racism is a reality for people of color. They were able to recognize overt acts of racism and discrimination, identify these as wrong, and at times take action when they see overt acts of racism occurring. On the other hand, participants demonstrating this stance tended to underestimate the level of racism in society and expressed confusion and difficulty when they had negative experiences with people of color. It appears that the emphasis on being a good white person makes it difficult for these people to be able to understand and respond to their own negative
experiences with people of color. They also discussed the difficulty they had in dealing with negative stereotypes about people of color.

Participants often discussed times when they had witnessed overt acts of racism at work, in school, or in the community. They also expressed dismay at systematic levels of discrimination such as red lining in housing or the incarceration of black men. They often discussed the need for affirmative action in the context of providing access to institutions for those who are disadvantaged.

Some participants described the temptation they faced of underestimating racism. “Yeah, or just it is easy to underestimate the number of times it happens, I guess. I guess I wouldn't anticipate it at the level of um, aggression or hostility is smaller than it is. But I get the sense from the people that I have talked to that it's not so small.” While other participants who had developed a deeper understanding of racism were able to recognize this tendency in their peers, “Yeah, they always make it smaller and more insignificant than it is.”

In this stance, racism is about people of color, it is an issue that is personal to others. The actions of participants in this stance against racism were part of their goodness. One participant described how she was disturbed by racism, but it was not about her:

I think it was like shattering but at the same time it is still like really hard for it to like really shatter me because I wasn't the one... And it's shattering to me in a way but still, it's not my, its not me, it's not, so you know so it's hard to fully understand.

Another participant described a similar sentiment, she had gone beyond her previous level of “obliviousness” to racism but now that she is aware of it, feels that there is nothing she can do about it and that racism doesn’t affect her.

So I'm just not, just oblivious kind of to what is going on and. You know it is kind of, I became more educated and things, it was obvious
that racial discrimination is built into our system and that was
becoming more apparent but, you know I'm not really a part of that,
you know there is nothing I can do about it, it doesn't really affect me.
So just kind of an obliviousness, I don't know how else to describe it.

These participants recognized racism, but did not see their own relationship to
racism. They were caught in a tension, feeling that their previous worldview had
been “shattered” and that racism did not affect them personally. If there was no
personal connection to racism, then abandoning the previous worldview of a just
society would probably not be as difficult. They may have heard of the concept of
white privilege, but they had not yet dealt with the implications of white privilege for
their own lives. They were aware of racism and discrimination, but they had not yet
discovered that they participated in racism without intentional action. The increasing
awareness of the effects of racism, of white privilege as something they benefit from
personally, and of themselves as white persons led them toward the discovery of their
own racism and privilege. This occurs in the task of Discovering one’s own Racism
and Privilege described below.

Unexamined Personal Racism

Beneath the overt approach to racism described above is an unexamined
personal racism. While these participants are able to recognize overt acts of racism
and even some subtle racism in the actions of others, they are not able to see the
racism in their own attitudes and actions. One participant discussed making hiring
decisions and deciding to hire a white woman because she “looked friendly.” The
participant below described trying to support a black student he was working with
who had experienced an overtly racist incident. In his response to the young man he
implied that the young man may not have been in the right in the incident and denies
the racism in the incident.

And who knows I mean, you know he may have jumped the gun or been out of line. I mean maybe that person does it with any young individual that walks in there, you know they are afraid they are going to you know steal or whatever. You know maybe it wasn't just because of the color of the skin or anything like that. You know you still don't know it all from the other person's perspective.

The participant while trying to be empathetic and supportive of the young man also mentioned that he considered the possibility that the incident happened because of the young black man's actions and justified the actions of the white storekeeper saying that perhaps he reacts that way to all young people. These attitudes reflect the participant's own racial assumptions, or his unexamined racism.

Relating to People of Color: Uncomfortable Niceness

The third theme of the stance of Being a Good White Person is relating to people of color with uncomfortable niceness. Participants in the stance of Being a Good White Person have not examined their own racism, as described above. As a result, these participants had a variety of difficulties in relating to people of color. The first of these challenges is difficulty in dealing with holding negative stereotypes of people of color and viewing themselves as good people simultaneously. The second challenge is difficulty with negative experiences with people of color. Participants in this stance were often able to recognize that they were afraid of people of color, however they were not able to recognize that this fear had it's source in themselves. It is also important to note that throughout this section, participants referred to their experiences with black people specifically. The program in which the participants are enrolled has numerous black faculty members, but few faculty members from other non-white groups. The demographics of the student body and
the community are largely on black-white lines. Therefore it is difficult to determine whether these trends are significantly stronger for white people relating to black people or participants simply have less access and experience with people from other groups, or a combination of these possibilities.

Difficulty with Negative Stereotypes

This category focuses on the challenge that people have in holding to their view of themselves as good when they hold views of people of color which are negative or when they have difficult experiences with people of color. For people in this stance, to have negative feelings about a person of color is to have racist thoughts and to be racist is not good.

When these participants discussed issues related to negative stereotypes of people of color, they often struggled and hesitated. They struggled with negative attitudes and experiences with people of color, looking for ways to see people of color in a light that is solely positive. For example, this participant described the difficulty she had in working with black students on group projects.

In both cases, I had an African American woman in the group and in both cases, their writing was pretty poor in terms of the way I judge writing which is you know your standard...[pause]...the way I was taught. You know, the writing was poor, incomplete sentences and just bad grammar and that kind of thing and I remember being you know rolling my eyes being pretty frustrated with it. And kind of questioning, especially early on, I mean how did this person get into the program when they can't even write? And I sort of worked my way around that well you know what who cares if she can write if she can counsel, it quite frankly that wasn't important. And she's going to be able to counsel an African American woman probably better than I am so you know I kind of worked my way through that a little bit.

The participant hesitated when she was describing her own language skills as "standard." These hesitations are common as participants are learning about racism.
and discrimination and are trying to say and do the right thing. This participant went on to discuss how she came to an understanding based on the background of these students.

You know, I think [long pause] initially I looked at that poor writing as kind of a deficit in them and their background and all that. Where I was listening to this one gal, young girl, talk about how when she decided to go to college, she had to totally relearn how to talk and how to write and just how difficult it was. It really kind of hit me that you can't learn if you're speaking almost a different dialect, or you know, I was raised with a father that stressed good grammar. So, I learned to speak that way.

This participant in coming face-to-face with a person of color who matched a negative stereotype of African Americans, struggled to find a way to reconcile her real experience of two African American women whose writing skills do not meet her standards.

When these participants had difficult interpersonal experiences with people of color they described themselves as confused or misunderstood. One participant discussed having difficult experiences with black professors in her program. Her focus in her discussion of these incidents is not on having difficult interactions with professors, but having difficult interactions with black professors.

Well, it just kind of sucks that the negative experiences have been with black professors. I mean you can't help but notice in your mind that they are black and I am white. I can't help but pay attention to that. And it just kind of sucks that I have had some bad experiences.

The participant was concerned that her negative feelings about her black professors were centered around their being black. This is the case, she was thinking of them as black first and recognizing her challenges with them as difficulties with black people. She also stated that this was disturbing because she wanted to have good relationships with black people. Rather seeing her professors as people who she may or may not
get along with, she was caught by the challenge she had in relating to them and their blackness and described having high hopes for this class based on her professor's race. Another participant who had a difficult experience with one of her black professors discusses her frustration in her response: “Well, because I said that I connect hate and black man together for him... I'm saying I sound terrible.” In each of these situations the participants described situations in which there were genuine misunderstandings between themselves and the professor and quite possibly situations where the participant was hurt by the other person. However the participants had difficulty expressing emotions such as hurt and anger in regard to these incidents with people of color, feeling instead that to be angry at this person is to be racist.

Difficulty with Negative Experiences with People of Color

The second challenge in relating to people of color is a difficulty with negative experiences with people of color. These experiences are often associated with expressions of anger by people of color. One participant described her difficulty in dealing with the anger of African Americans that she interviewed for her assignments.

And then some of the [class assignment] with some of the people I interviewed there is just so much anger and bitterness that was coming out, particularly just a few of the African Americans that I interviewed. Just anger at, I don't know how to deal with that.

Although she did not describe her response to the individuals she interviewed as fear, per se, she described her own reactions in these encounters as cringing, withdrawing, and even feeling attacked by her interview participant. This participant went on to say that she was able to end the interview on a nice note, so that everything was alright in
the end.

This difficulty with people of color was described by another participant in response to the motion picture, “Crash.”

Yeah, I like it, it was hard. From like the first 15 minutes of it, I was like why are you guys so angry? Like why is this movie so angry. And I think that my [interview partner] really brought that part home for me because we talked about it and I wrote a paper on it.

This participant described the people of color in “Crash” as angry and went on to discuss how she felt that the movie was demonstrating extremes. She was very bothered by what she saw in the movie. On the other hand she described her log partner (a person from a different gender and racial group) as not seeing anger in the movie.

It is difficult to grow, learn, or have authentic relationships when one’s interactions are based in fear of people of other races. Participants at this stance were able to identify their fear of people of color in the interviews and were able to see this fear as problematic. However, they also tend to look to explanations outside of their control for this fear or discomfort whether it be an “instinctual” fear or the anger of people of color.

Multicultural Competencies: Desire for Growth in Skills Area

The next theme in this stance is a desire for increased growth in the skills area of multicultural competence. Participants in the stance of Being a Good White Person were aware of racism in society, yet were not aware of their own participation in racism. As a result of this approach described above, these participants felt that they had adequate knowledge and awareness about multicultural issues and express an interest in learning skills for multicultural counseling.
Participants who were focusing on being good white persons and good white counselors were most interested in developing their knowledge of counseling skills and increased knowledge of other cultures. These participants felt that they had developed awareness and they described themselves as being aware of racism because they have an awareness of racism in society. Participants in this stance tended to be highly interested in ways that they could help people who have a different life experience from themselves as illustrated by the following participant:

I think because once you begin to know a little bit you realize that there is a lot that you don't know. You know I am thinking that I should probably learn a lot more about the agencies and the different resources and the help that is available to people who find themselves limited and resources for any number of things, you know housing, food, services of any kind. You know I don't tend to be a wealth of knowledge of that type of thing. That would definitely be an area I would definitely need to grow in, so that if someone came to me I would be able to help them with that. Because right now I don't have a clue.

The knowledge this participant sought was important to her work as a counselor. However, she was not yet aware of the depths of her own assumptions that people of color are different from herself in terms of poverty and wealth. She framed her work with people of color as helping those who have fewer resources than she does and needing help with “housing, food, and services.” There is a stereotype here that when working with persons from other racial groups, this student will need skills in working with poverty.

Another participant expressed her desire for more skills in working with persons of color. She found the emphasis of her class on personal awareness of race and privilege to be tiresome.

Tell us what to do, or tell me what to do if a client walks in, or let's do some role-plays, or let's do something. I can only take so much sitting here and listening to this. It's like the most miserable three hours of
my week, and I actually am very interested in multicultural issues. I'm fine with talking about race. I wish that there was a broader variety of things that were covered, and more practical solutions, more than just like this is just awareness, you know. I'm supposed to have knowledge, skills and awareness. This is just awareness, and right now, okay, I'm aware. Now I need some skills to go with it. I have a little bit of knowledge, I could even take more knowledge, but not more awareness, not right now.

This quote illustrates the level of awareness of racism for a person in this stance. While this participant is very willing to be aware of racism outside of the self, the awareness of racism within the self, the focus of this particular class, is threatening and unwelcome. For participants in this stance focus on awareness of their own racism was a challenge to their self-concept as good white people capable of becoming good white counselors. To focus on knowledge and skill aspects, as this student requests, is more comfortable for students in this perspective. However, for white counselors to be effective, it is essential that they discover their own racism and privilege.

Moving Forward: Beginning to Recognize Privilege

Finally, the dynamic which appears to help participants to move out of this stance and into the task of Discovering their own Racism and Privilege is to begin to recognize privilege in society and in themselves. Participants move out of this stance as they begin to understand that as white persons they benefit from privilege and as they begin to question their own participation in racism. One participant describes privilege as a way forward in understanding racism.

What can I do? I can't change what's been done, I can support affirmative action and I can try to not be racist myself, and I can try to bring up my son in that way....And so, this class has just made me think a lot and I guess kind of going back, that is how I wish we would have talked about the white privilege idea a little bit more. Because I
feel like that is kind of like the door to figure out a little bit more, it kind of summed it up.

It is as participants began to see that their attitudes and reactions were based in their own racist assumptions that they were able to consider the possibility of moving forward. The awareness of oneself as responding to persons of color by pulling back helped this participant to recognize that she was not consistent in her approach.

And then like, aside from how they look at me ignorance wise, I think that I do feel like I have made it my dream to help out people who are of disadvantage and by pulling back and them perceiving that I don't care about that. That is kind of like a disconnect with who I am and how they perceive me. That is all anxiety provoking.

As this participant was able to recognize that there was a “disconnect” between her self-perception as caring and the perception of people of color that she did not care, she faced anxiety. Her choice in dealing with that anxiety was to ignore this dissonance and hold more strongly to her self-perceptions, or to enter into a new phase of discovery. The next phase, discovering one’s own racism and privilege is what allows white students as they proceed forward to realize that their own self-perceptions are inaccurate and, as in the case above, the perceptions of people of color are more accurate than they would have liked to believe.

Discovering Own Racism and Privilege

The task of Discovering one’s own Racism and Privilege is the task described most often by participants in this study. For those participants who began their multicultural class at the External Transition, this is the task they confronted as they engaged further in the multicultural class and moved from external to internal awareness. On the other hand, participants who entered their Multicultural Counseling class already at the Transforming Transition in their own development
returned to the task of discovering their own racism and privilege and sought to learn and grow further. This return is partially due to the subject matter of the classes and also due to the life long nature of developing personal awareness. All participants were challenged with this task by their course. Some of the participants engaged deeply and thoughtfully in the task of discovering their own racism and privilege while others felt overwhelmed and ashamed by the challenges they faced and retreated into a more defensive stance, The “Surviving” against Threat Stance.

The first theme of the task of Discovering one’s own racism and Privilege is the importance of the ability to be self-reflective. The second theme is confronting one’s own racism and this includes sub-themes of choosing to engage in this reflection, recognizing the unintentional harm of racism, using one’s own experience as a point of reference, and discussing race with a person of color. The third theme is to discover one’s own white privilege including developing an awareness of whiteness, experiencing guilt and shame about their whiteness, and being overwhelmed by these discoveries. Finally, participants move forward into the Transforming Transition by engaging in action against racism.

Self-Awareness as an Essential Skill

Self-awareness is a personal skill that is central to the ability to engage in the task of Discovering One’s Own Racism and Privilege. Self-awareness, the ability to reflect on one’s own experience and develop an awareness of one’s self in interpersonal situations, is also central to development as a counselor. To discover one’s own racism and privilege, counseling students are called to look within themselves, become aware of their previously unexamined beliefs and assumptions, and recognize the ways that they have intentionally and unintentionally participated
in, and benefited from, a system of racism and privilege. One participant commented, “I think just thinking about how I come across to people; what I think about, what I talk about.”

The skill of self-awareness is necessary for true engagement in this task. Some participants who were at an early place in their master’s program, their first or second semester of taking classes part-time, had not yet sufficiently developed this skill. These participants could talk about racism and privilege as subject matter, but had difficulty responding to self-reflective questions or describing their own struggles, growth, and development. As a result these participants described learning about privilege rather than discovering their own privilege.

Confronting Own Racism

Discovering one’s own racism and participation in racism included several factors for participants. They recognized that as white people, they had a choice to confront racism within themselves or to ignore it. Having made this choice, they had to confront the reality that their actions and attitudes as “good white people” were not as good as they imagined and were at times harmful to others. The two activities that were most helpful in this process were using their own experiences of discrimination as a point of reference for understanding racism and engaging in discussions of race with a person of color. Each of these themes, choice, recognizing unintentional harm, own experience as a point of reference, and discussing race with a person of color will be described in the sub-sections below.

Engagement with own Racism as a Choice

As participants were challenged to confront their own racism and participation
in racism, there was the awareness that engaging in this journey was a choice that they made, a choice that exists for white people but not for people of color. Overcoming the temptation to keep things as they are in one’s perspective was a decision point for many of the participants.

I vacillate between I live in my nice little world and I can go happy, happy back to denial and just not deal with it pretty easily, you know unfortunately that's the sad truth is that I live in a world where it is very easy for me to just shut that door and not worry about it because it does not affect me day to day.

In order to truly engage in discovering one’s own racism and privilege, participants needed to take this on as their own goal, as the following participant has.

You know, I know that I don’t have a corner on the market on understanding, I’d like to try, but I know that I have got a lot of work to do, because I want to do my best some day when I am a counselor. So, I guess that I have the desires to learn and be open minded because I realize that I don’t have it all sewn up right here.

Recognizing Unintentional Harm

Having chosen to engage in the task of discovering one’s own racism, participants faced many difficult realities about themselves and the world in which they live. On a personal level they discovered that while they have been seeing themselves as “good white people” they have been engaging in behaviors that have been harmful to people of color, including those whom they worked with in a counseling relationship.

Interviewer: Sometimes you find out you did something that didn't help.

Participant: Right. Or, unintentionally hurt. Okay, I want to be open to hearing that. Okay, you know, I really fucked this one up. Now, tell me how I can do it better.
Own Experience as a Point of Reference

Participants often cited their own experience of being in a minority or "less than" status as a way of understanding the oppression of people of color and the impact that their own attitudes and actions can have on others. Yet they were also cautious about drawing comparisons between their experiences and those of people of color. Some participants commented that they had learned that they could not make direct comparisons between their experience as white people and the experiences of people of color.

I'd say though not saying like sexism is the same as racism but those are the times when it's been personal and I've gotten really, really upset. But I guess, I've seen it and I see it in the workplace and I've seen how people respond or react. And it's shattering to me in a way but still, it's not my, its not me, it's not, so you know so it's hard to fully understand.

However, it appears that the more "points of reference" that participants had where they could connect their experience with that of people of color the more accessible a realistic picture of the experience of people of color is. Women participants repeatedly cited their understanding of discrimination from their experience as women, and participants who were immigrants or who are from lower economic statuses also drew connections between their experience and that of people of color. The male participants and participants who described themselves as financially affluent actually cited their lack of experiences of discrimination as a difficulty in understanding racism.

Discussing Race with a Person of Color

One of the central means that participants used for gaining perspective on
their own racism is through discussions of race with people of color. Participants from all three pools had some variation on the assignment of discussing race with a person of another racial group. For some participants their assignments focused on variety, having several different types of conversations, for others the assignment focused on depth, having repeated discussions with one person over the duration of the class. Through these discussions participants were able to discover the effects of racism in the midst of interpersonal connection. Participants were able to see that their own daily actions could feed into the experiences of racism for their friends, neighbors, coworkers, and classmates. The understanding students achieved through these activities was described most poignantly by this participant whose first interviewee was unable to continue to help him with the assignment:

The reason being, the first person became - it was so difficult for her to talk about race or racially charged issues that she found she just simply couldn't continue on. Which, actually in itself was very moving for me. It never, prior to this, it never would've crossed my mind that somebody would have such a difficult time addressing race because of the pain that it caused them to talk about it. And, certainly for this [interview partner], that was the case. So, I had to really respect that.

This participant discovered that discussing race with a white man was too painful for this black woman. In this process he discovered in much greater depth his own assumptions about race. Unfortunately, this participant’s experience also illustrates the possible cost of these assignments to people of color. Several participants described incidents that occurred while completing these assignments where their own ignorance of racism became harmful or difficult for the person being interviewed.
White Privilege

The third theme of the task of Discovering own Racism and Privilege is becoming aware of white privilege. Many participants had no previous awareness of the concept of white privilege, including many participants who had been involved in multicultural training in the past. Accepting the reality of white privilege involved more struggle for participants than confronting their own racism. Discovering that they carried racist assumptions and beliefs and acted upon these was difficult but gave participants ideas of ways to grow and change. The concept of white privilege upsets their view of the world and themselves. Participants went from believing they had worked their way into college to recognizing that the path to college was much easier and clearer for them as white people. As participants become aware of privilege in their day to day lives they were caught by the numerous times they saw privilege at work in their lives and the lives of those around them. Some described discovering for the first time that the freedoms they take for granted everyday such as walking into their children’s school or helping themselves to a tool in their friend’s garage are not freedoms available to all people.

And we were building a house and the woman [who is white] of this couple said, “Oh I stopped by your house and peaked in the window and oh it is so cute, I am so glad I got to see, blah, blah, blah.” And her husband [who is black] said, “Yeah too bad I can't do that because our neighbors would think that I am casing the place.” ...Oh my gosh, it is true, that is probably true. He could not go look in our windows even being a friend of ours, because just by the way he looked, I am sure somebody would have thought, "What is he doing there?" And we were sharing like we don't know what that feels like, we will never know what that feels like to be, to have to think every moment about what the color of your skin is. So that is, that really got me thinking about white privilege, just that moment of him saying that to me.

This realization was often followed by astonishment and frustration. As students
engaged in the discovery of their own racism and white privilege, they found it necessary to adopt changes in their worldview. Their understanding of how the world works, their place in it and how they engaged in ethical or moral actions changes.

Well, no and you know but I saw myself as an open minded person before, you know, ... And I thought that I had a number of things factored in there but I guess that my awareness, I guess is just increased a little bit more. ...Well I think it is going to help to not take things for granted and not assume that there [are] these givens in this world. It is not a given that it is as easy in this world as it has been for me.

On the other hand, not all participants who learned about their white privilege saw privilege as something to be changed. For several participants, undoing white privilege meant giving up the privileges they have come to value, and they were unwilling to do this. These participants were able to see that white privilege exists and that they experience personal and social advantage from privilege, but responded to this awareness with a resigned apathy, accepting that this is the way that society works and it will not change.

It changes my worldview to know that it is there because I didn't know that it was there before. I am not really outraged by it. I mean obviously it is bad that I have the privilege just for being white. But I am not a white male so I don't have as much as they would have. So that is at least something. I think it would be nice if we were all on equal levels but I really don't ever see it happening. I know that is very pessimistic of me. But, the only way I see it just going away is all of the white people were willing to.... Well first recognize that it was there and then give it away and you know I don't want this upper hand. And it is just not in human nature to give away your power. I mean in some it is but, in a larger societal view, no, power is everything and something to be strived for. And I don't think that people would be willing to give it up.

This acceptance of privilege in society leads to a foreclosure in development rather than engagement with this task and continued growth. A person who holds the
view that white privilege is an unfortunate necessity in society is willing to act in "good" ways interpersonally, however without truly confronting white privilege, their development is stalled at the level of "Being a Good White Person" and the Internal Transition is not completed.

In the remainder of this section, specific themes related to the discovery of white privilege will be discussed. Participants described their new awareness of being white, experiences of shame and guilt about whiteness and white privilege, and a sense of being overwhelmed by their new awareness.

**Awareness of Whiteness**

As participants discovered white privilege, they also discovered their own whiteness. Participants responded to this new awareness with a variety of responses from curiosity, to frustration, to seeking a positive white identity. Seeing one's self as white was novel for this participant:

Yeah. Well, the class did quite a bit about that, too. The thing is, I guess I had sort of taken for granted that - as a part of white privilege that never crossed my mind, I think one of the most startling being, you know, waking up in the morning and this concept of considering your own race when you look in the mirror. I never really did that.

However, discovering the implications of whiteness was daunting for another participant.

It just seemed like so much is just how terrible the white people are and then where can we go, where to go with that. So there is this guilt underlying everything, but I didn't really know how to. OK how does this translate into what I need to do to be a more effective counselor. You know what? If I just feel really guilty, you know where does that go. So it was just kind of like a frustration there.

While all participants expressed some amount of guilt and shame about their whiteness, some participants were able to deal with these emotions more resiliently.
than others. The way that participants responded to the new awareness of their whiteness seemed to be associated with their general self-concept. Participants who tended to base their value on their actions and external “goodness” had more difficulty with discovering their whiteness, discovering white privilege, and seeing the connections between these societal systems of oppression and their own identity. On the other hand, participants who were more able to see their worth and the worth of others as an unquestionable feature were able to use their new awareness more constructively and were able to move forward toward a more positive white identity. “Yeah, and I anticipate that I am going to need to change, even if I don't see myself as some type of, you know, devilish person. I don't have to see myself in a negative light to know that I have to change.”

Guilt and Shame about Whiteness

The second theme related to the discovery of white privilege is feelings of guilt and/or shame about whiteness. The emotional content of the External Transition is largely painful and uncomfortable. Participants described feelings of discomfort at the realization of their own racism and privilege and being overwhelmed by the changes they were called on to make in their worldview. It is at this transition that shame for one’s whiteness, which was previously avoided as one identified as the good white person, is addressed. This perspective includes a greater sense of guilt at being white and frustration with learning about “how terrible white people are.” Participants were more likely to use the word “guilt” to describe their experience, however their description typically has more of a sense of “shame.” Participants described guilt at recognizing their own racism.

Interviewer: So, you struggle - you said you felt guilt about those sort
of things.

Participant: Yeah. I mean, I want those - potentially I want those thoughts banished from my head, but they're not going away.

Participants also described the difficulty they have with feelings of shame, or "crumminess" over being white.

Ah, I think that is pretty crummy too...Because it is true and it is something that goes on without you knowing and once you are made aware of this, like it hits you like a brick wall. I mean there are so many things that I have taken for granted. I assumed you know, this is how you go through life.

Grappling with this guilt and shame is one of the main hurdles participants needed to get past to come to a positive white identity and be able to respond to racism and privilege out of their strength rather than from guilt and shame. Having come to terms with guilt and shame is a central difference between persons in the Transforming Transition and those in the Internal Transition. During the Integrating Commitment task, described below, participants focus on developing a positive white identity beyond this sense of guilt or shame.

**Being Overwhelmed**

The third theme of discovering white privilege is that the discovery is an overwhelming experience. For many participants the challenge to their existing worldview and the need to develop and adopt a new perspective that takes into account their new knowledge of white privilege was an overwhelming task. Participants described themselves as exhausted and tired by the task. As their existing worldview was challenged they stated that their heads were swirling, or they felt punched or sick or saturated. Some participants stated that they felt so overwhelmed that they needed to shut down emotionally and disengage themselves.
from the class or contemplate leaving the program.

But it has really shaken me up, it has really challenged everything I have ever known and when that stuff starts to happen you feel like now that I know about this. It is not, the easy way out is to quit. And I to be honest I have had these thoughts a lot about maybe I shouldn't be here, I think I will be financially stable without getting this degree. So maybe I am not the person who is like, you know I could get through anything, maybe that is not me.

This quote and the struggle of the participant highlights one of the central challenges with regard to the struggle of white counselors in multicultural training, namely the level of challenge that will lead to growth rather than to disengagement. The dynamics of challenge and support in developing multicultural awareness are addressed further under Environmental Factors.

Moving Forward: Awareness Leads to Action

Finally, the dynamic that helped participants to move forward from the task of Discovering their own Racism and Privilege to Integrating Commitment was to move from awareness to action. As participants completed this transition and its difficult realizations, they were ready to move forward when they sought to take action based on their new awareness. Awareness of white privilege and discovery of one's own racism left the participants in a place of emotional intensity. While their previous view of themselves and their world had been deconstructed by this new awareness, they have not yet developed a new perspective that is congruent with their new awareness. The Transforming Transition consists of working to find a new, positive worldview and self-perspective and to integrate this new perspective into one's life. The way forward calls for developing a sustainable view of racism and privilege and adopting an activist stance against racism and privilege.
Summary of the Internal Transition

Participants begin the Internal Transition with an understanding of the existence of racism and discrimination in society and an appreciation for diverse cultures. However, in the initial stance of "Being a Good White Person" participants do not see their own role in these dynamics. The task of this transition is to discover their own racist assumptions and attitudes and the ways that they participate in perpetuating racism through white privilege and other systems of society. As a result of their task their view of themselves is challenged and they must find new ways of understanding themselves and the world around them. This will be a central aspect of the Integrating Task of the Transforming Transition.

THE TRANSFORMING TRANSITION

Participants in the Transforming Transition have a solid understanding of racism and white privilege, although they recognize that they are on an ongoing journey and have more to learn. They have a desire to work against racism, but often do not have the skills to accomplish this. They have discovered the value of discussing race and have broken the code of silence. But these students have not yet developed the ability to maintain and sustain their commitment to an anti-racist identity and anti-racist actions. Unfortunately, these students typically did not find support for the challenges that they face in the course structure or the course readings. Their discoveries and emerging awareness are typically an individual affair.

The Transforming Transition begins with a task, Integrating Commitment. As students complete the Internal Transition, they have an awareness of racism and white privilege. They now need to continue in the Integrating Commitment task and
develop a view of themselves and of the world that is congruent with this awareness. This new perspective is focused on themselves as responsible for making change to confront racism in themselves and their social world. The task of Integrating Commitment is focused primarily in two areas, developing a perspective on racism in themselves and in society which is sustainable and finding ways to express their commitment against racism that they can integrate into their lives. The Integrating Commitment task leads to the Sustaining Commitment stance in which participants have a passion for making change in the world and are confident in their ability to take action. This confidence stems from a recognition that their actions against racism are systematic rather than individual. In the Sustaining Commitment stance participants are able to engage in genuine relationships with other persons and understand the racial component of social interactions. At the Sustaining Commitment stance participants were able to have a broad perspective on racial issues and view the naïve statements of other whites from a developmental perspective. The task and stance of the Transforming Transition will be described and related to themes from the data in the study.

Integrating Commitment

Students who entered their multicultural course at this transition had great hopes for the course, they wanted to learn more and discover ways to truly make a difference in the world. Participants in all three classes who began their multicultural course at this transition were discouraged by their multicultural counseling course due to the course curriculum being targeted at students at the first two levels. They would acknowledge the need for other white students to gain this awareness, however they were also discouraged as they saw the responses of their peers to the course material.
Students engaged in the Transforming Transition became frustrated with their peers and often struggled with ways to engage in the class discussion without losing their temper or being overly critical of their more naïve peers. For these students the multicultural course hits them right at their vulnerable point in their own development. They were quite sensitive to racism and privilege and they were in a situation where the majority of the students in the class were stumbling, often awkwardly toward a realization of racism. Their challenge in the class was to observe and discover the development of their peers, to begin to understand their own actions as part of a whole, and to find a way to find hope in change beyond themselves.

With their deeper understanding of racism and white privilege, persons at this point in their development were able to have more genuine relationships with people of color and to value others. Participants involved in this task however often expressed frustration with other white people, especially as they noticed racism in other white people. They had few role models available to demonstrate ways to respond and to act in this transition. They were also engaged in learning how to take action against racism. In this process they discovered some of the risks of advocacy and realized that they did not know how to work for change. During this task, participants also discussed the temptation to abandon their commitment to work against racism.

The first theme that will be addressed in the Integrating Commitment task is developing relationships with people of color that are based in truly valuing the humanity and uniqueness of all people. The second theme in this task is difficulty or frustration with white people who have less awareness of racism and privilege. A related sub-theme is the need for white role models who have a highly developed racial awareness. The third theme to be addressed in this task is the responsibility to
take action against racism and the related sub-themes of integrating action into one's personal life, discovering the risks of taking advocacy, and not knowing how to act on behalf of justice. Finally, the possibility of abandoning commitment to act against racism will be discussed.

Relationships with People of Color: Valuing Others

The first theme of the Integrating Commitment task is developing relationships with people of color based in valuing the humanity and uniqueness of all people. Persons who belong to other cultural groups were not seen in limited dimensions and white people were able to interact with people from other racial groups based on the individual's identity rather than based on preconceived stereotypes. As these participants discussed their interactions with persons of color whether they were friends and neighbors, interviewees for class assignments, or counseling clients, they talked about listening and hearing the story and perspective of the other and holding this perspective above any preconceived ideas or assumptions that they may hold.

Well I think that preconceived stereotypes you have of people. It is easy to make assumptions and you just move right along in life then, You know what I mean? Like you, OK I know about them, I know about them. I know how I am going to interact with them, I know how I am going to interact with them. And you know that is, it is a reflex almost I think of human beings as you try to simplify your way through interactions. Um I think that in education it is dangerous and I think that is probably the hardest thing for anyone in the field of working with kids and the educational system because you have a mass amount of them and you are trying to streamline you know. Um, but I think that you know whether it be their academic ability or their race or whatever or their disability or their issues that are coming in with every kid, I think that you have to just look at every kid with a clean slate. I mean I think that is the focus of it, definitely. And it would be difficult for me to do too.
Having discovered the influence of stereotypes on her own thinking and perceptions, this participant was contemplating the importance of valuing each of the children she will work with as a counselor while also recognizing the importance of cultural differences. The focus in this task is on knowing and understanding another person based on their self-understanding and accepting people as they are.

Well I think it might be more just the attitude though, I mean like an attitude of ... maybe its curiosity,... maybe that's,... or realizing um,[long pause] I don't know, like I'm not better than anybody else, I mean maybe that is it. And, or, and my religion is not necessarily any better than anybody else's and you know I guess just more accepting of whatever people are, and where they are at that's where they are at,

**Difficulty with Actions of Other White People**

The second theme in the task of Integrating Commitment is having difficulty with the naïve perspectives of other white people and developing an ability to work with more naïve white persons. Participants who were in the process of integrating their new racial awareness were frustrated with the racist actions and comments of other white people. They were acutely aware of racism and privilege and they had little ability to be patient with those who have not come to this awareness or are not open to developing it.

Ah, racist comments, ah things like um, in my class, that was what was that Counseling Methods, we somehow got into the discussion of race and this lady was just, couldn't understand why African Americans and other people can't be white. And I just, you know you are in the end of your program and you are going to get out of there next year and with attitudes like that. You know just inability to understand the basic things, basic things like that, not appreciating other people, cultures, not accepting it.

Participants noticed the racist comments and beliefs of friends and family members more easily. Those whom they used to assume were well informed and open-minded,
they are were beginning to wondering about.

And I also know that a lot of people realize that it is not nice to be racist, and it is not the first thing that people tell you. You could know somebody for a while but maybe not know them well enough or not know enough about them but they still have the potential to be racist, you know you can't just assume that because this person goes to church with you or this person comes to all of the PTA meetings in your school and volunteers in the classroom, that they are as well rounded as you think they are.

As participants saw classmates respond to the multicultural counseling course with defensiveness, they also wondered about the future of these counselors, their clients and the profession.

But I've had them in other classes too and they have always had these very conservative comments about things and people and so that worries me. And like how can you go into counseling if you, you know you have your beliefs, but how can you be so firm in a certain way that that is going to make you angry when some one says [specific reference to something the person does not believe]. And I thought wow that's got to be tough to be a counselor and have people sitting in the chair and they are going to talk about things that you are not going to believe in, how is he going to be able to get past that if it made him that hot in a group session with other counselors?

Participants discussed the intense anger they felt at other students and at injustice in general. Their anger was at a level of intensity that some participants were concerned that they would not be able to discuss issues in class without loosing their temper. Others were frustrated because they felt alone in their level of understanding. For many participants as they went through this transition, their anger was at in intolerable level.

I am angry at everybody. I am angry at those people who are not making progress in my class. But I am angry with the people who are making progress just because they are so far behind. You know I am sitting in that class in that [Multicultural Counseling] class and they are, "Oh I understand now that I have to be more aware." You are almost 30 years old and only now you understand that you have to be
more aware? I just get, I have to sit in there and talk to people who are just for the first time in their life realizing that maybe being racist is bad. And it is like please you don't live in this only white neighborhood or only white city.

In addition to this frustration, participants at this level of awareness typically found themselves as a minority in the class. They may have only one or two other white students, the professor, and the students of color who shared their perspective.

**Need for White Role Models**

A related theme to difficulty with more naive whites is the need for white role models who have a greater degree of racial awareness. One reason for this frustration may be that the courses that these students were enrolled in where taught by black faculty and the students did not have a role model with in the class of a white person who had undergone this transition. One participant found support from her professor through his responses to her journals and her sense that he was understanding her comments and her struggle in the class sessions. On the other hand, other students, did not feel they had access to other faculty members who could help them navigate the transition.

Like [white professor] is someone I can really relate to because he shared his experiences and I feel like he has gone through many experiences that I have, but I also look at his way that he is role model for me. He has worked very hard. He [details obscured], and I am guessing that he has worked through these issues as I am right now. It would be great if I could sit down and talk to him.

Doctoral students discussed conversations they had with other professors and examples they saw in the approach of white faculty members and more advanced doctoral students. The participants at this level desired more role models in their program who could model for them how to act on the new awareness that they have
Responsibility to Take Action

The third theme in the Integrating Commitment task is taking on a responsibility to take action against racism. Learning to take action includes three related themes: integrating action into one’s personal life, discovering with risks of advocacy, and struggling with not knowing how to act effectively on behalf of justice. Participants came to recognize that as white people they have a role to play in the dismantling of racism, “I believe there must be something unique and purposeful about a member of the supposed majority speaking up for people who are not part of that majority.” Participants wanted their actions to make a difference and to be a part of dismantling racism. Several participants discussed using their research to help others understand racism and white privilege, while others wanted their volunteer efforts to make a difference. However with this idealism is a degree of frustration. The task seems insurmountable: diversity committees make little progress, research is often only read by those who already agree, co-workers seem entrenched in their attitudes. It is difficult for participants who have idealistic beliefs to maintain their enthusiasm in the face of resistance to confronting racism.

Integrating Action into Personal Lives

Participants described changes that they needed to make in their personal lives based on their awareness of racism and privilege. These changes included re-evaluating the churches and social groups in which they participate, activism in school and community organizations, and parenting decisions. Several participants considered finding a new faith community to associate with so that they and their
children would be able to participate in a more diverse community. Some participants expressed the desire to advocate for diversity on their children's school Diversity Committee or Parent Teacher Organization. Others described speaking up for diversity at work or in clubs and organizations they belong to. The participants who were also parents expressed the need to raise their children to appreciate diversity.

And so it was just like a non-issue and first I want my children to have more diverse experiences and I want to talk about it more. Because in my education it was like slavery happened before there is no racism anymore, whereas it is very different. And I want to educate and live, model my life differently for my kids. So I feel a responsibility and I feel that is one real way that I can make some changes. Is just through how I live my life, role model for my children through what I expose them to and what we talk about. So it is a responsibility I think to be different to um you know. To raise them to think more openly and just differently. So that is kind of my role as mom.

**Risks of Advocacy**

Although participants felt a responsibility to be advocates for diversity, they were also discovering the risks to themselves of advocacy. They felt that others responded to them as too serious, as a "weirdo," or as a traitor. The following participant described the frustration of trying to share his new awareness of racism and privilege with people who are significant to him.

They are um, maybe even very guarded and defensive. And they are like very educated people and I tell them, I tell them that it wasn't by chance that they got this far, there was more to it than just that they are smart people who have tried really hard and worked their butt off to get where they are at. But they say no, no that is not the case. You're um, you are taking their side in everything, their side as racial minorities, or maybe, racial minorities I guess mostly. It is frustrating.

For some participants friendships with their white friends were tested due to their new
perspective and approach to racial issues. They found themselves threatened with loss of social support from friends or having their own credibility questioned.

Participant: I don't think I've arrived. At some level I've had some private conversations with some other students, both in the program and other similar programs, who have kind of made this reference of "Okay, but we're still the white people" thing, and that makes me uncomfortable, just the notion of...

Interviewer: What do you mean by "We're still the white people?"

Participant: Well, they're still - I guess the way I think about it is there's still a club of - there's us and there's them. And we're going to stick together here.

Participants did not yet have many strategies for dealing with this type of criticism. They did not want to revert to silence, but found that as a temptation. They also found themselves avoiding some friends and seeking relationships with white people and people of color who have a similar level of understanding.

Another source of hesitancy for participants who were engaged in integration was a degree of uncertainty about themselves and their own level of knowledge and awareness. These participants were keenly aware of their own racism and privilege and were generally new to this awareness, as a result when they did speak up or take a stand they did so with a degree of uncertainty. At the sustaining stance there is a higher degree of experience with these encounters and a greater level of self-confidence in one's actions.

Not Knowing What to Do or How to Act on Behalf of Justice

Participants also felt frustration that they do not know what to do or how to act effectively against racism.

I think, sometimes it feels like that in every class. We're talking about racism in every class. We're talking about white privilege in every
class. We're talking about, that it exists. And it almost feels like, you know, that's - maybe that's as far as this department has gotten, is recognizing that there's racism and that it exists. But, I find myself frustrated with that and wanting to really take another step.

Participants were unsure of whether they should confront another person about their racism, when it is appropriate to speak up in class, and how to make lasting change. As participants were in the process of integrating they were looking for new ways to act in the world. Some participants were involved in a multicultural counseling practicum experience the semester following their multicultural counseling class and they found this hands on experience helpful in putting what they had learned to work.

Abandoning Commitment

The final theme in Integrating Commitment is the risk of abandoning commitment. Integrating Commitment is not a place of equilibrium, rather it is a task in which participants have several challenges to resolve. If these challenges are resolved to a sustainable level, participants are able to move forward to a sustaining level of commitment. However, without this resolution there is a possibility of loosing enthusiasm and abandoning one's commitment to work against racism. Participants discussed the temptation to give up on their commitment and return to a place of hopelessness and apathy regarding racism and privilege. It appears to be a genuine risk that if white counseling students do not develop their awareness to a place where their commitment is sustainable, where the frustration they experience no longer seems to be in vain, and where they have hope to carry them along. One participant described her realization that she had “wimped out” on her commitment over the past several years.

Yeah and that is kind of what my struggle has been the last few years is that, kind of wimping out on that whole thing. You know like I'm
not, I say that I care about those things, and I do, except if I really wanted to get more involved then why wouldn't I just up and move everybody to a more diverse neighborhood. And then for sure we would get more diversity. Um, I'm either a wimp or I am lazy. But I mean it is it's that to me would say I am really committed ...Um, but there is a comfort zone, you know, and if you are in that comfort zone then you feel guilty. [laughter] You know what I mean though, I mean that if I am really serious then why wouldn't I do that.

Summary of Integrating Commitment

The Integrating Commitment task is a time of finding ways that the new awareness that participants have developed can be integrated into their lives and perspectives. While working on this integration there is an easy frustration with white people who have not yet arrived at this level of awareness and a need for direction and role models, although these are not always available. In the Integrating Commitment task there is a recognition that one has a responsibility to take action against racism. Participants take action, sometimes tentatively, sometimes in fear of the reaction, and usually experiencing discomfort. At sustainable commitment there is more ease and confidence in acting on this responsibility.

Sustaining Commitment

The Sustaining Commitment stance is less fully populated than the other stances. There were only a few participants who articulated this perspective, however the perspective is notably different from the earlier stances. Participants here displayed a greater level of confidence in their beliefs and actions, they continued to be angry at injustice and frustrated with racism, however they have found a more productive way to deal with this frustration and anger. They have come to an understanding of the development of other whites and function from a positive white
Passion for Making Change

The first theme of the Sustaining Commitment stance is that persons in this stance have an ongoing, passionate commitment to undoing racism. Sustaining commitment to dismantling racism involves a deep level of commitment to change as well as an understanding that one’s own actions are part of a larger framework. Participants in the Integrating Commitment task focused on the importance of their individual actions, in the Sustaining Commitment stance there is an understanding that individual actions work together, systemically for social change.

I think I am beginning to understand it. Because when I was growing up I had all of those idealistic ideas, thinking I can make a difference. Well, I think now I am understanding that the difference I might be able to make will be on a very small scale. And some people could not be convinced and I should just narrow it down and stop being so upset about it and it is always going to be there.

These participants valued forward progress and sustained commitment, but the expectation that they alone will change society was no longer present. Participants have come to understand that overall change will not be immediate but continuous effort is necessary. They have a greater repertoire of responses to racism and they discussed implementing these strategies in a more strategic fashion. Although they remained angry at injustice, they could take a more detached stance toward individuals and groups and work toward increasing the understanding of those who appear to be close-minded or racist.
Confidence in Taking Action

The second theme is that participants who have developed a Sustaining Commitment have a confidence in their perspective that allows them to demonstrate assertiveness. This assertiveness is likely partially related to having developed confidence in their perspective on racism and white privilege and also related to having a general skill of assertiveness. It is important to note that the male participants spoke more assertively and confidently regardless of whether they evidenced sustaining commitment and that developing assertiveness was seen more clearly in female participants. For participants at the Sustaining Commitment stance, there was a willingness to take action and speak up for justice regardless of the possible costs to them personally.

I don't think that I will let certain comments go without saying something. Not at all. Ah, but I'll just have to be more diplomatic. If there was something real blatant, I just wouldn't let it slide. I mean then I am just as guilty as they are just perpetuating that same behavior.

Awareness of Development of Other Whites

The third theme is that, having worked through their own awareness of racism, participants who reflected a Sustaining Commitment were able to recognize earlier developmental patterns in other students. The recognition of these patterns led to hope for the development of white people and also served as a guide for further encounters.

I think it was even though, like, I don't think I've learned as much as I wanted to. It was interesting to see people interact. And, I guess it's all about the people and it was nice to see the change happen because if I didn't take the class, I would still feel the people just get stuck in their opinions and that's safe. So now I would definitely give people more
credit and more room to - more room to myself to not be so narrow-minded when it comes to other people’s ideas.

This participant who was in the Transforming Transition throughout her participation in the study, was initially very frustrated with the naivety of her classmates and disappointed in the content of the class because it did not help her with her current challenges, the challenges of the Integrating Commitment task. Here she described how she was able to observe and discover the development of other whites.

**Understanding of Complexities of Inequality.**

The third theme of the Sustaining Commitment stance was an ability to understand the complexities of inequality. From this perspective, participants did not deny or cover over social inequities. Rather they had a realistic perspective of inequalities and look to social structures for explanations of cause and solution. When discussing differences in academic achievement or performance on standardized tests, from this perspective participants were able to take into account oppressive systems, historic differences, and cultural values to seek a deeper understanding of issues. This participant, who reflected the Transforming Transition, describes her discussion of strategizing with others to increase the understanding of diversity in her children’s school district.

Um, actually I was having dinner with my son's teacher and the art teacher from his school and someone that is on the school board in the district that my kids are in, ..., we were talking about the change in demographics in the school district that my kids are in and the last couple of years, I was saying that I had heard things that para-professionals say and um, parents and things, that we need to do some education because it is just not setting up in a nice pattern for these kids who are African American kids mostly.

Participants in the Sustaining Commitment stance were able to see the systematic
nature of racism and privilege and to look for ways to work systematically to make changes.

The ability to deal with complexities would hypothetically extend to the ability to deal with negative experiences with people of color in realistic and productive ways. This would be different from persons in earlier statuses who responded to people of color with fear or uncomfortable niceness. Participants in the study did not discuss this particular issue.

Motivation Based in a Positive White Identity

The final theme of the Sustaining Commitment stance is a motivation to act based on a positive sense of one’s self as a white person. Rather than acting based on guilt, action came from internal commitment to do justice and a positive white identity. There was no longer the need to make up for who one is, but the desire to work for justice for self and others.

Yeah, I think like you that it is more of like doing it for myself now. Like I will do a dissertation on something related and at least I will feel better about it. And maybe someone will read it and that will be helpful to someone. Because it seems to be like minority issue, not racial minority, but people who do not fit the bigger culture.

To establish a Sustaining Commitment participants became aware of their own participation in racism and systems of privilege. They came to a place where they no longer act out of guilt or shame, but for justice for themselves and for all people. Awareness of racism and privilege is an ongoing process for white people and these participants realized that they will continue to learn and understand more about the dynamics of racism and their own part in it.
Summary of the Transforming Transition

Although few participants described perspectives that reflect the Sustaining Commitment stance of the Transforming Transition; these participants present a perspective that considers complexities, takes confident action, and is based in a positive identity. The ability to genuinely connect with and value people of color that was developed in the Integrating Commitment task is coupled with an ability to understand the development of other white persons. As a result, counselors who are in the Sustaining Commitment stance are able to be confident, compassionate, and strategic in their actions against racism. The participants at this level of development, did not see themselves as having all of the understanding and knowledge that they need, rather they are aware of their need to continually grow in their understanding of themselves and of the issues that support a racist society.

A DEFENSIVE STANCE: "SURVIVING" AGAINST THREAT

The core of the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites model is in the three transitions described above. However, alongside this developmental model is an additional defensive stance, "Surviving" against Threat. This is a defensive stance focused on maintaining one's perceived status. Participants in each transition adopted this stance. The only place in the larger model where this stance was not observed was in persons in the Sustaining Commitment stance. Participants engaged in the task of Integrating Commitment actually discussed the temptation of giving up and abandoning their commitment and one participant who entered the Multicultural Counseling Class at the Integrating Commitment task retreated to the Surviving stance. The Surviving Stance is observed when participants are feeling threatened.
Participants retreat to this stance when they feel that they need to regain power. If they seek to regain power through power over others, this can result in a racist response and resistance to growth. However, if they seek to regain power by reconnecting with themselves and trying to find new ways to engage in the journey it can be a place of reestablishing equilibrium and then re-engagement with the growth process. These two responses are illustrated in Figure 3.

Participants adopted the “Surviving” against Threat Stance from several different starting points. One participant entered the class in a state of complete naivete, Believing in a Just Society, and was challenged to come face to face with his own privilege and racism. His response to this was to find himself struggling to survive and unable to remain as open to the new information as he would like. Another participant also entered the course with naivete, but his initial perspective remained by incorporating the material about racism and white privilege into his existing view. For example, he could see the need to get along with people of color, but mostly so that white people could maintain their place and their status. For other participants the retreat to the survival stance was much more personal. One participant, who is white but holds another oppressed identity, felt that her own experience of discrimination and oppression was so devalued by the professor that she felt that she was trying to simply survive through the class. In this case, the participant did not experience the professor as responding to her with respect or honoring her identity. Although this participant described herself as entering the course in the process of integrating her commitment and hoping that the class would give her space to continue to grow in her multicultural awareness, she quickly retreated to a place of survival.
Figure 3. Responses to threat
The "Surviving" against Threat Stance is evident when participants were disengaging from their class, the first theme described below. Some participants also entered the class in this stance and with the belief that they already know what they need to know, the second theme. The third theme is that the "Surviving" against Threat Stance is adopted by participants because they felt harassed or attacked or because of their fear of the implications of what they are learning. Finally, participants were able to move out of the "Surviving" against Threat stance by taking time to rebuild their sense of self and reengaging in the growth process. Each of these features of the "Surviving" against Threat Stance will now be described.

Disengaging from Multicultural Experience

The first theme of the "Surviving" against Threat stance is disengaging from the multicultural learning experience. In response to feeling threatened, persons who resorted to the "Surviving" stance disengaged from the Multicultural class. Some described being silent and bored during class sessions, while others described having difficulty in even attending class.

Well, I used to bitch about it more, but that didn't really help, so I just dread it all week, suffer through it while I'm there, then try to forget about it. I don't actually dread it all week, because I just pretend like I'm not in this class, so I just basically dread it [day of class]. I try to just ignore it all the rest of the time.

In addition to this dread and withdrawal during class, a few participants reported that they had not engaged in the experiential experiences and had "made-up" the experiences that they wrote about for their papers.

The desire to withdraw or disengage from the class was often tied to avoidance of difficult feelings about one's self as seen in the participant's statement below:
Yeah it does, I mean it this class gives me such a guilt trip, like I have never known [laughter]. I go home and I feel bad after the class is over and I read the books and I feel bad and I know the point is to get you to see differences and to get you to really realize that this is out there and stuff, but. It just ends up. I mean I realize but it just takes such a deep cut into me that it is hard for me to, like move past that point, like all right I know about it now, I mean I just, part of me wants to withdraw.

These participants did withdraw, although they did so at different extents. Some would withdraw following class, find friend or family members to support their perspective and attempt to reengage in the next class. Others disengaged from the class as far as they could to still gain class credit and submitted reports of assignments they had not completed.

**Already Know What I Need to Know**

A second and slightly different style of defensiveness expressed by several participants is the feeling that they have already achieved multicultural competency and therefore felt bored or disengaged from the class and the material.

I don't think that this happens in my other classes, so I would say that, um, that it has been pretty much specific to this class. There will be conversations that are being had between the instructor and a student or between two students and um, I'll just kind of zone out like it doesn't apply to me because I have already been there and done that. Which is kind of a weird, it is a weird feeling to have.

Participants who took this stance toward the class also seem to have little openness to growth and change as a result of the class.

**Feeling Harassed or Attacked**

The third theme in the “Surviving” against Threat stance was feeling harassed or attacked. The participants described several reasons for withdrawing to the
Survival stance. Participants described feeling the need to retreat or to struggle for their survival in response to events or information that they found to be threatening. From the participant's point of view, they felt that they as individuals were being harassed or attacked in their Multicultural Class or in multicultural encounters. Although this threat is not necessarily intended to be personal (a general comment about white people) the participants take these comments personally.

Before I actually felt more like willing to explore and everything, and I really think I came into this with a relatively open mind, and now, he's got me so shut down, that I'm just like, whatever. Do you think I'm terrible now?

Some of the participants felt attacked based on their ignorance of issues. Not yet knowing how to discuss race and multicultural issues in a way that is acceptable, this participant described feeling trapped.

And I am really, really, like I am trying to learn and trying to understand and trying to grow. But at the same time I can only say a little bit to somebody before I am told, you don't say that. So I am kind of like cut off, but yet they want me to understand this more than anybody, but I am still, in my opinion, very extremely limited of what I can say.

Once a participant was feeling vulnerable, the heightened sensitivity could lead to the situation of this participant who recognized that almost any comment about race is going to "push her buttons."

I just felt like she was trying to push my buttons more about this class, and my buttons are already so pushed at this class, so it's like, don't challenge me about this class. Don't challenge me about my realities in this class. I don't know. Don't push me about it, when it's like, you can push me about other stuff and later you can push me about race and white privilege and all that. Just not right now.

Although feeling harassed and attacked is likely not the only response available to these participants, it was a response that led participants to retreat from
the multicultural experience. At this point of struggle some participants were able to see that their response was at least in part due to receiving information that contradicted their self-view or world-view, but others saw their response solely as a reaction to being threatened by others.

In addition, if participants did not feel that their own group membership was appreciated in class they responded with feelings of being dismissed or attacked. Several participants described seeing other students respond to the class by disengaging, withdrawing, or arguing when their religious beliefs were threatened in the class. The survival response was more powerful when the group membership that was not given attention is an oppressed group. Several students discussed the response of GLB students to a multicultural class focused solely on race and were sympathetic of the struggle of these students.

Yeah. I just want to be, like, well, what about me? That's one of the things that I don't like about this class here because everything's black, white. There's not even that much discussion of other racial groups and no discussion of like GLBT or people with disabilities or different religions or anything else. It's just race, and primarily black and white.

Participants felt threatened when their own self-view or worldview was challenged in the class, and this threat was compounded when it includes an oppressed identity.

Fear: The Threat that Separates

Related to feeling harassed or attacked is a theme of fear. Beneath the external dynamics of actions or comments that are taken as threatening and the response of disengagement, participants were likely responding out of fear. The role of fear was described here by a participant as she described one of her interviews with a white person about race.
And I said do you think that you were threatened by different beliefs, and like as soon as someone professed a belief that was different from yours did that fear become the threat that separates you and he said that he thought that there was a lot to that. You know that the person who is feeling threatened that someone is different because somehow they perceive that as taking something away from their own identity. And I think there is something to that.

Fear of losing one’s own identity, status, self-perception or worldview, as well as fear of the unknown in the other leads to acts that separate the self from the situation. Participants also described the fear of loss of status. As society in the United States becomes more diverse, one perspective that was expressed was intimidation at the prospect of white people becoming less of a dominant group.

Oh, just, I mean in one sense it makes it tough and it is intimidating, that eventually, probably before my career would be over, you know the make up of our country would be a lot different and depending on you know where I take a job or you know something like that. You know the school make-up could be pretty diverse I could be a minority there. I mean that has happened, you know places that I have been, places I have lived where it has been like that.... You know ex-number of years you know like European Americans or like people from Europe with their background that is going to be a minority. You know that is going to be the reality of it, you know me not being that again I'll have to be you know ready to do that. I will have to put the shoe on the other foot and so it will be a lot easier for me to relate to those minority groups now. Just because you know they might not be the minority anymore and it might be me.

Similarly this participant dealt with demographic changes in his hometown by seeing the newer residents as infiltrating the town. “Where I grew up there was a [farm] and they happened to employ quite a few Hispanic people so I mean, you would say our town was infiltrated with Hispanics.” This participant then approached the need for multicultural training as a necessity for survival in this new and different culture. He was engaged in the class and easily discussed the material in the class, but did so from the position of maintaining as much of his status as a white person as
possible.

Moving Forward: Needing to Rebuild

Finally, the dynamic which participants cited as enabling them to reengage in the growth process was re-building their self-perceptions and worldview. Participants adopted the stance of "Surviving" against Threat in a response to a sense of disequilibrium. Participants described feelings of personal threat or fear of loss of self-perceptions or worldview. Some participants described needing to take some time to establish their stability and the desire to re-engage in the process of growth.

I'm not all that sure because I have to get a little distance from the class and then do an inventory of where I am and what needs to happen. I think I might need to rebuild to get back to where I was before the class started. That's really frustrating. I don't want to think that you can just unlearn like that.

To move forward from this stance, participants expressed the need for enough stability in themselves or the situation to reengage in learning and development.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In addition to the core DARW there were personal characteristics and environmental factors that facilitated or hindered the participants' development. The ability to proceed through the three transitions described above and the level of struggle one experiences in this process is affected by some of the personal attributes that participants bring to the process. Participants who engaged in the multicultural course with attitudes of openness to change and curiosity about themselves and the world experienced less struggle than those who came into the class with high degrees
of anxiety or a desire to project a positive impression of themselves on others. The participants who described characteristics of openness and curiosity will be described first, followed by participants who described characteristics of anxiety and impression management. The third personal characteristic is previous exposure to diverse groups of people and previous multicultural training. Previous exposure affected the level of development participants were at as they entered the class, but background in these areas did not appear to increase or decrease the struggle participants experienced as they engaged in the course. Fourth, participants who had difficulty with engaging in conflict or tolerating interpersonal tension describe their experience as being more difficult than those who were able to see conflict and tension as potentially growth producing.

Openness and Curiosity

The first personal characteristic is openness and curiosity. Participants who held attitudes that change is exciting and growth is worthwhile were more able to engage themselves in the difficult work of discovering and owning their own racism. This openness to change was based both in a positive self-regard and a curiosity about the world around them.

Well, I guess my understanding that I don't have all of the answers. You know, I mean I, when I started this course I thought, well I'm probably in for a ride here, you know this is going to be a lot to take in all at once because I assume that I have a lot to learn. You know I know that I don't have a corner on the market on understanding, I'd like to try, but I know that I have got a lot, a lot of work to do, because I want to do my best someday when I am a counselor. So, I guess that I have that desire to learn and to be open minded because I realize that I don't have it all sewn up right here.

This participant described her approach to the course as expecting to be challenged
and to learn. She knew she was “in for a ride.” This open and adventurous attitude allowed her the flexibility to consider new perspectives and engage herself in tasks of personal exploration. Participants who approached the unknown with an attitude of curiosity or inquisitiveness found that this attitude helped them to approach new experiences and ideas with wonder rather than fear. This participant described her experience of living and working with a largely African American group of people:

Yeah, what are we eating? We'd always, I mean even eating was different. Like when I was with them, they'd always want to go to a buffet. But yeah I guess there's just like little more moments here and there and you're like— kind of check yourself and oh, that's new, like what's going on? But I'm like inquisitive in general, I feel like, so it comes more across as like a question then a like, what?

The participants who described themselves as intentionally curious and open in response to multicultural training were also intentionally engaged in learning and personal growth. As students who expected to be changed by the class experience and their multicultural class they were able to describe a consistent growth process throughout the interviews. For these participants their openness was also grounded in a positive self-image that allowed them to experience change as positive growth rather than as a criticism of themselves. One participant in pondering her classmate’s caution in speaking up commented, “Because I was the one who talked. Or just looking like foolish or all the reasons why people don’t talk in class. Um, I guess I’m not afraid of looking foolish.”

Anxiety and Impression Management

The second characteristic is anxiety and impression management. Several participants described themselves as generally anxious people, while other participants described their response to the challenges of their multicultural class as
anxious. A focus on creating and maintaining a positive impression was closely related to the experience of high anxiety by these participants. The participants who described anxious responses and who were concerned about impression management also described their experience in the multicultural course as difficult and experienced a great deal of struggle, regardless of the transition they were engaged in. Although their anxiety and impression management caused them to experience greater struggle, in general it did not limit their growth.

It makes, well as I started to discuss before, it makes me see the differences and take almost [pause and sigh]. Just like I take in other people's feelings, I take in the knowledge that I have learned and try to experience it in a real way. And so, by learning these things I am almost exhibiting the stereotypes By learning the stereotypes I am exhibiting the stereotypes, even though I, I mean I may have been doing it before and not realized. And that is a strong possibility, but now I am almost overly cautious about everything I say and do and that, that is probably not so good for me. Seeing as how I am overly cautious anyway.

Several participants described themselves as being very sensitive or highly aware of criticism and the difficulty they experienced in engaging in development of multicultural awareness as a result of their sensitivity. For example, this participant who described an interaction with a professor that was difficult for her:

Now the one thing that [professor] is, I wonder if [the professor] caught me too, like if I was too early and kind of naive to really handle the way, [the professor's] harsh tone with me. Like I think, I am definitely a very sensitive, sensitive person, no matter who is talking to me, like I take things really personally. So maybe it really wasn't about early on, like I could have maybe received [the professor's] message, [the professor's] same message if it had just like been a different tone.

Many participants described struggling to try to present a good impression in the class and in general. Although impression management is a general response in the desire to be seen as a good white person described in the internal transition above,
for these participants impression management is generalized and evident throughout all levels of development. The participants who struggled with impression management were often quite critical of themselves and highly sensitive to the effect of their actions on others. They found themselves wondering, “How it is going to be taken,” or commenting in the interviews, “You must think I am terrible.”

One participant who was engaged in the Transforming Transition stated that she felt uncomfortable speaking up because other students may see her as an idiot or a weirdo, this focus on the impressions of others is central to the way that other students choose to participate in class as well. It is important to note that only women participants discussed the fear of speaking up and anxiety about what others will think about what they say even though the participants were confident in their own beliefs. When the male participants expressed caution about what they said to others, it was based on their sense that they were not yet confident in what they are talking about.

Previous Exposure to Diversity and Diversity Training

The third characteristic is the level of previous exposure to diversity and diversity training. Overall, previous exposure to diversity and previous multicultural training did not have a great effect on the struggle that persons had in developing multicultural awareness. The background that participants bring to the course did have an effect on the level of development they had achieved previously. There were participants who had very limited experiences with diversity before the course began and who engaged themselves in the course and in their own growth and accomplished all three transitions over the duration of the study. There were other participants who had worked in diverse contexts for decades and who had extensive multicultural
training who found that their worldview is turned upside down by the new awareness that they developed.

Difficulty with Conflict and Interpersonal Tension

The fourth personal characteristic is difficulty with conflict and interpersonal tension. A source of struggle for many participants is discomfort with conflict and a desire to avoid interpersonal tension. Many participants described this as an overall characteristic for themselves, they avoid conflict or are extremely uncomfortable when faced with anger or aware of interpersonal tension. For these participants the conflict and interpersonal tension that is often inherent in discussions of race and privilege was a source of stress and discomfort. The difficulty with conflict was cited as a reason that participants did not ask questions in class, did not engage further in a multicultural immersion activity, or struggled with a discussion of race. Difficulty in dealing with anger is intensified if the participant is also involved in the internal transition and discovering their own racism and privilege.

Um, because people, people are so hurt, like we are watching The Color of Fear today, well we saw some of it before, and the anger there and the hurt and everything that they have experienced is so overwhelming that it gets to me. I am almost tearing up now just talking about it.

If a person does not have the capacity to hold anger, it is difficult to truly engage in an exploration of racism and privilege.

Additionally, when participants experienced interpersonal tension as the result of a racial faux pas many had limited skills in reconciling themselves with the other person. This participant describes an interview she conducted for her class with an African American woman and her reaction after the woman expressed anger at her naïveté on race.
You know I just don't get into those discussions. So I wouldn't have. But in my head that was what was going on. It was just like, we just can't have this discussion and I don't know what to say and so. And it was really, I mean that was a hard one. Even by the end of it, you know when we left, it was like OK you know see you next time and you now, how is (son's name) doing and is he sleeping any better? So.

Students who had skills to cope with anger and interpersonal tension were more able to engage in the challenging tasks of developing multicultural awareness and were able to engage in these tasks with less emotional turmoil. Several participants stated that they did not feel like they had the skills to deal effectively with the conflict that arose as a result of discussions of race both in the classroom and in personal conversations.

Each of these personal characteristics played an important role in the development of awareness of racism. These characteristics appear to play mediating and/or moderating roles in the development of individual students and were consistent across participants. The Personal Characteristics are described outside of the main model because although they effect individual development, they are not central to the process of development.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

In addition to personal characteristics, participants also described environmental factors that served to hinder or facilitate their development of multicultural awareness. Participants identified difficulty with their professor, a lack of social support for their development, and lack of discussion and processing time as factors that hindered their growth. Their growth was facilitated by having a “Safe Space” to explore and develop. This “Safe Space” included experiences of positive regard from other students and the professor, a supportive class environment.
characterized by respect for all persons and openness to naive questions or comments, and trust in a supportive professor. Participants also found that engaging in the interviews for this study gave them safe space to explore and understand their own experiences.

Environmental Factors that Hinder Development

Several factors emerged as environmental issues that hindered the development of participants. These factors included difficulty with the professor who taught the Multicultural Counseling Class, a lack of social support for the changes that participants were making in their lives and their views, and a lack of time to process what they were learning in the class discussions or other forums.

Difficulty with the Professor

Participants in all three pools cited the professor’s behavior as a limiting factor in their own growth. On the other hand, other participants in all three pools also cited the professor’s behavior as facilitating their growth (see below under environmental factors that facilitate growth). The behaviors that students felt limited their ability to grow and develop included responses to the participant or other students which the students found to be disrespectful, the professor confronting the participant or other students, and the professor not engaging the class in discussions on a sufficient level.

Actions which were perceived as disrespectful included not learning the student’s names, misunderstanding or misinterpreting student’s comments, and the professor insisting that the professor’s perspective is the only correct perspective. One participant described her experience this way, “In this class I feel like [the professor]
has shut me down so much, I've just given up. ...[the professor] doesn't know my name. [The professor] calls me [other name] because ...Why do I have to answer to [other name]?” One of the central reasons this student gave for shutting down and not growing during the class was the professor's response to her during the class that she found as disrespectful. Throughout the interviews white students were very sensitive to whether they felt respected by their professors. As in supervision and training in counseling skills, a focus on basic respect in responding to students most likely facilitates their openness to growth.

**Lack of Social Support**

Several participants described a lack of social support for their growth. For some participants this was related to limited support for their graduate studies from their husbands. Other participants found that their friends and families were not willing to support the participants in the discovery of their own racism and white privilege. Several participants wanted to have the opportunity to talk through what they were learning with trusted others but did not feel that they had relationships with other students or other professors that would allow for these conversations. Many participants lacked friends or faculty role models who they could look to for support as they sought to engage in development of their awareness.

**Lack of Processing Time in Class**

Some participants felt that they did not have enough opportunity in class to discuss their reactions to the experiential activities they participated in and the movies that they watched. They wanted the professor to encourage them to engage in a deeper level of reflection or suggested that the course include a small group
component so that students who were not comfortable talking to the whole class of 25-30 students could have more safety to express themselves.

Environmental Factors that Facilitate Growth

Participants described a growth-facilitating environment as “Safe Space.” This Safe Space was characterized by positive regard and a supportive and respectful environment both of which are facilitated by the professor. Participants in all three classes identified the professor as providing a “Safe Space” for them to grow and explore. Additionally, participants reported that they found the interviews for the study to be a safe space to process their experience and grow, indicating that participation in the study had a reflexive effect on the participants.

Positive Regard

The first factor that facilitated growth was a sense of positive regard in the multicultural class. Participants who felt that the professor demonstrated respect for members of the class and encouraged a respectful environment in the class described the class as a safe space in which they were able to grow.

He puts himself on the same level as human like we are all human, we all do this, it is natural. If we are going to be counselors we need to keep it in check though. You know like it is always we, he doesn't put himself up here. And that just makes it safe for me because it doesn't make me feel so dumb or so much like I am wrong. It is just like I am human and it is not right to have those assumptions but we are human and we do and so let's take a look at them together. So that like feeling has stuck out to me.

This humanistic approach allowed participants to feel confident in exploring their own racism. It also gave participants permission to express their realities and ask honest questions.
Supportive Environment

The second factor that facilitated growth was a supportive environment in the class. A supportive environment included respect for differences, respectful class discussions, and outlets outside of class where participants could explore their growth. “Just because I mean I think people in the class are pretty honest and open. And [professor] has facilitated that pretty well. And made us feel comfortable with that. Just you know some of the things that they say have happened to me too.” Participants found that journaling assignments were helpful for exploring their own responses and experiences, especially when they knew that the professor would respond to their writing assignments with supportive and reflective comments.

The feeling of safety in the class allowed students to engage in a fuller discussion of their thoughts and feelings as expressed by this participant:

And the one thing I would say that has stuck out like over all, not necessarily an experience but just, [professor] makes it very safe to say whatever you are thinking. Like I feel very safe disclosing anything in that class or like really even inside feelings like to think about something, you know it is just like the format and the way [professor] talks, [professor] discloses [professor’s] own assumptions and [professor’s] own experiences. It makes it really safe for me to do that and learn about my own assumptions. Because [professor] doesn’t put [professor’s self] on a different level. Not necessarily, like professor student, like be on time, I’m not talking about that. [Professor] puts [professor’s self] on the same level as human like we are all human, we all do this, it is natural.

Participation in Study

The third factor that facilitated growth for participants was participation in the study. The participants were asked about their own experience of the interview and all participants expressed that the interview had been enjoyable and helpful. The
participants who engaged in two or three interviews also stated that the process of engaging in the study gave them a safe space to process their own growth and that they had learned more about their own experience through participation in the study,

But right now I feel more comfortable kind of hiding in my shell and when I have a chance, to explore. Like right now, with you, you know having a chance to explore and I am grateful for it. But I am not going to do it on a wide level.

The reflexive nature of the research is an expected outcome of qualitative research of this type, however the consistency of comments on the value of participation in the study also makes it clear that it is possible that the extent of growth achieved by participants in the study was also facilitated by the study. Since several participants longed for other opportunities to talk about what they are doing with a safe person who is further along the journey, the opportunity for mentoring by more advanced students or outside faculty members may be a valuable component to include in counseling training programs.
CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will reflect on the study as a whole from several different perspectives. First, the results of the study, described in depth in chapter 4, will be reviewed in a brief manner. Second, the study will be discussed in comparison with existing theories of development of white racial awareness. Third, attention will then be given to the implications of the model developed in the study for improving multicultural training in counseling and psychology programs. Fourth, the study will be evaluated giving attention to the usefulness of the research question for a grounded theory study, the strengths and limitations of the study, and the criteria for evaluating constructivist grounded theory: coherence, comprehensiveness, credibility, and originality. Fifth, directions for further research based on the data from this study and other research extending the edges of this study will be suggested. Finally, in a summary of the study I will offer my personal reflections on the study and concluding comments regarding the value of this study.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

This study resulted in a grounded theory that describes the development of awareness of racism among white counselors in training. This model, the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW) consists of three developmental transitions. Each transition contains a stance, a place of equilibrium or defined worldview, and a task, a developmental or learning objective that is necessary to proceed to the next stance. The DARW is outlined in Figure 1. The first transition is the External Transition. Participants begin this transition with a naïve view of
racism referred to as Believing in a Just Society stance. In this stance racism is believed to be a thing of the past and cultural differences are rarely acknowledged. The task of the External Transition is Exploring Race in Society. In this task participants explore differences between cultures and discover that racism is a consistent aspect of social life in the United States. The focus of the External Transition is on learning about racism in society outside of one's self. The second transition is the Internal Transition. This transition begins with the stance of Being a Good White Person. In this stance people recognize racism in society but are resistant to discovering racism within themselves. The task of the Internal Transition is Discovering Own Racism and Privilege. In this task people discover that they hold racist assumptions and beliefs and learn that they participate in and benefit from systems of racial privilege. In the final transition, the Transforming Transition, people commit themselves to work against racism and privilege. The transition begins with a task of Integrating Commitment to anti-racist tasks and actions. The transition concludes with the final stance of Sustaining Commitment, in which participants have integrated their new worldview into their lives and are able to act for justice in ways that are sustainable.

In addition to the core of the DARW model, there is an additional stance of “Surviving” against Threat. This is a defensive stance that white persons may resort to when they feel that their status is threatened. When participants are “Surviving” against Threat they feel overwhelmed by new information or are unable to adapt their current perspective to the new information and perspective.

Several Personal Characteristics also contributed to the development or lack of development of participants. Participants who described themselves as having a sense of openness and curiosity were able to engage in the growth process with
excitement and exhibited consistent growth through the transitions. On the other hand, participants who described themselves as anxious or concerned about impression management tended to experience more struggle as they engaged in multicultural training. Previous exposure to diversity training was a personal characteristic that did not have an overall effect on how participants engaged in the three transitions or on the degree to which participants struggled in the multicultural course. On the other hand, participants who described themselves as having difficulty with interpersonal tension or conflict described themselves as struggling with the tensions and conflicts that they faced in their multicultural training.

Finally, there were several environmental factors that influenced the process of development of awareness of racism. Environmental factors that participants described as hindering their growth were difficulty with their professors, lack of social support for their new awareness and development, and limited time in class to process new information and perspectives. The central environmental factor that participants cited as facilitating growth was “safe space” to grow and learn. The characteristics of this “safe space” included positive regard for all persons and a supportive and respectful environment. Participants saw “safe space” as being facilitated by the professor. An additional environmental factor that participants cited as facilitating their growth was participating in the interviews for this research project. They found the interviews to be opportunities to process their experiences in a non-judgmental setting.

INTERSECTION WITH EXISTING THEORY

This section addresses the intersection of the grounded theory developed in this study with existing theory. The ways that the grounded theory reflects existing
understandings and provides potentially new insights will be discussed. The results of this study, especially the DARW model, intersect with several existing theories of racial identity development and racism awareness. In this section the DARW will be compared to the three developmental models discussed in depth in the Literature Review of this study: Mio and Awakuni’s (2000) Majority Identity Development, Helms’ (1995, 1999) White Racial Identity Attitude Development, and D’Andrea and Daniels (1999) Dimensions of White Racism. The DARW will first be compared with each of these theories and then the unique contributions of the DARW to racial awareness and racial identity theory will be discussed. Table 2 contains a comparison of the constructs in the DARW and the three existing models. This table indicates similarities between the models; it is not intended to indicate that the constructs are equivalent.

Comparison with Existing Developmental Models

The DARW presented in Chapter 4 and summarized at the beginning of this chapter will be compared with the three developmental models described in Chapter 2. Although terms from the existing developmental models are described here, for a fuller description of the existing developmental models please refer to the Chapter 2 section on Developmental Models of Racial Awareness and Racism.

Mio and Awakuni – Majority Identity Development

Mio and Awakuni’s (2000) four stage Majority Identity Development model has several similarities to the DARW. The Pre-Exposure stage is characterized by a denial that racism exists or a minimization of it’s existence and an emphasis on “people are people.” Their Pre-Exposure stage is similar to the Believing in a Just
Society stance of DARW model.

Mio and Awakuni’s next stage is Exposure in which white persons are confronted with the realities of racism both in society and within themselves and often respond with anger and guilt. The Exposure stage appears to be a combination of the Exploring Cultural Differences and Discovering Own Racism and Privilege tasks of the DARW model. A helpful addition of the DARW model is the recognition that many white persons engage in a three-step process, the three transitions, as they become aware of racism. Mio and Awakuni do not describe a stance similar to the Being a Good White Person stance where persons are aware of racism and discrimination in society, but have not yet come to understand these dynamics within themselves.

Mio and Awakuni’s Zealot-Defensive stage proposes two responses to exposure to racism. In the Zealot stage individuals are focused on “doing more” about racism and seem to be reacting to their guilt about their own naïve acceptance of the racial status quo. In the Defensive stage participants seek to surround themselves with and defend themselves by their own majority culture. The Zealot stage has similarities to the Integrating Commitment task with the focus on activism. However the Zealot stage is different from the Integrating Commitment task in that the understanding of the Zealot stage is that activism is an effort to defend against one’s own racism while in the Integrating Commitment task, persons are aware of their own racism. The Defensive stance is similar to the Surviving stance in that both of these positions involve withdrawing from engagement in multicultural development to support one’s self and worldview. The Surviving stance is conceptualized differently than Mio and Awakuni’s Defensive Stage in that it can occur at any time in the process.
Mio and Awakuni's final stage is the Integration Stage in which individuals no longer have overly strong feelings of the Zealot Stage and have developed a more balanced view of racism and culture. In the Integration Stage there is a sense of security and self-confidence in understanding culture. The Integration Stage is similar to the Sustaining Commitment stance in that there is a tempering of the strong feelings of the earlier Zealot or Integrating Commitment positions and an increased ability to appreciate one's own culture. An essential aspect of the Sustaining Commitment stance, which is not described in the Integration Stage, is an ongoing and sustainable commitment to working for social justice.

Mio and Awakuni focus more on identity than on actions and attitudes in their description of various stages. The DARW is drawn from the experiences of persons who are engaging in multicultural training and therefore focuses on how persons come to understand racism, including their actions and attitudes, rather than who they see themselves as, identity. As described above the DARW and the Majority Identity Development share quite a few similarities, however these models also have a few contradictions. A central difference in the models is the placement of defensiveness. In the Majority Identity Development model defensiveness is a stance in response to Exposure while in the DARW defensiveness is seen as an ongoing possibility for white persons throughout their development. The DARW exposes some aspects of growth by acknowledging three transitions that may be conflated in the Majority Identity Development model. The Majority Identity Development model does not distinguish between learning about racism in society and learning about racism in the self, while these are distinguished as two separate processes in the current study. Additionally, Integration is understood as a task that leads to Sustaining Commitment, rather than a stance.
Helms' White Racial Identity Attitude Development theory also has clear similarities to the DARW. However, the connections between WRIAD and DARW are not as clear or linear as in the Mio and Awakuni model described above or the D'Andrea and Daniels model described below. An important difference between these two models is that the Helms model focuses on racial identity and the DARW is concerned with awareness of racism. The DARW model is focused on what participants understand and how they come to this understanding while WRIAD is focused more on who people understand themselves to be.

The initial Contact status in the Helms model is most similar to the initial stance of Believing in a Just Society where a white person is mostly oblivious to racism and to their own identity as white persons. In each of these constructs individuals are not aware of the pervasiveness of racism in society.

The Disintegration status focuses on moral conflicts that persons become aware of as they discover dissonance between their own attitudes and their emerging awareness of racism. This status includes coming to recognize the existence of racism in society of the Exploring Race in Society task as well as awareness of one's own relationship to racism that is described in the task of Discovering Own Racism and Privilege. The Disintegration status is concerned with the dissonance that persons feel as they discover racism. In the DARW model, there is a recognition that white persons often discover racism in society, Exploring Race in Society, separately from discovering their own relationship with racism, Discovering Own Racism and Privilege. When participants who were in a naïve state of awareness regarding racism were confronted with racism in society and their own participation in racism simultaneously they often felt overwhelmed and resorted to the “Surviving” against...
Threat stance that is related to the Reintegration status of WRIAD.

The Reintegration status with its focus on the dominant culture shares the clearest similarities with the "Surviving" against Threat Stance. These two positions share an effort to regain power and stability in the face of challenge to a previously held worldview. In both of these models stability is maintained through retreat to a previously held worldview. However in the DARW this retreat into white culture is seen at many possible stages in the process and is a stance outside of the developmental process. The Reintegration Status in WRIAD is seen as a stage in the developmental process. White persons can adopt the "Surviving" against Threat Stance at any time in response to feeling that they are being too threatened. Among study participants this even occurred among participants who described previously working toward Integrating Commitment.

One of the clearest similarities in the two models is between the Pseudo-Independence status of WRIAD and the Being a Good White Person stance of DARW. Participants in these two places of development are aware of racism in society and focus much of their attention on trying to show to themselves and to others that they are not racist. They also see personal racism as a moral issue and feel guilty for racism.

Another area of great similarity is between the Immersion/Emersion statuses of WRIAD and the responses that participants described as they Discovered their Own Racism and Privilege. Commonalities here include the need for a supportive environment and the need for white role models.

The Autonomy status is most clearly related to accomplishing the tasks of the Integrating Commitment task. In both of these levels of development the focus is on integrating one’s understanding of racism into one’s own life and actions. A
difference between the two levels is that the Autonomy status, like Mio and Awakuni’s Integration Stage, includes a moderating of feelings about racism and levels of anger about injustice from previous stages. In the DARW persons in the Integrating Commitment task are angry at injustice and can become frustrated by their inability to make changes that impact a racist society.

The WRIAD model does not address the strategies used to enable persons to be continually engaged in work for justice and not resort to apathy, strategies which are central to the Sustaining Commitment stance. Actually a few participants who were expressing perspectives consistent with the Sustaining Commitment stance judged themselves as being at a much earlier status in WRIAD due to their ongoing anger at injustice and their understanding that persons at the Autonomy status had resolved this anger.

D’Andrea and Daniels – Dimensions of White Racism

D’Andrea and Daniels (1999) description of dispositions of whites toward racism also has clear similarities to the DARW. The first disposition they describe, the Affective-Impulsive Disposition is characterized by hostility and aggression toward persons of color with no sense of shame or embarrassment about these feelings. The Affective-Impulsive Disposition was not represented in this study due to the lack of volunteers who held views that were overtly hostile toward persons of color, however the existence of such persons in the general population as well as among counseling trainees is acknowledged. Steward, et al. (1998) found that one third of the students in their sample found multicultural training meaningless or unnecessary, sentiments which may be consistent with the Affective-Impulsive Disposition.
The Rational disposition with its acknowledgement of historical oppression while holding to racial stereotypes is quite similar to the Believing in a Just Society stance. Persons in the Rational Disposition view racism as a personal moral issue, are unaware of their own stereotypes, and seek a "superficial niceness" when discussing issues related to racism. Persons in the Believing in a Just Society Stance expressed very similar views of racism, they recognize clearly racist acts but participate in a "code of silence" regarding race and racism.

The Liberal Disposition described by D'Andrea and Daniels holds many similarities to the stance of Being a Good White Person. In each of these positions, there is an awareness of racism in society and a respect for differences based on cultural norms. Persons in each of these patterns avoid conversations on racial issues based on a fear of negative emotional reactions. D'Andrea and Daniels note that people in this disposition have not yet actively confronted the realities of white privilege and the ways that they benefit from the racist structures of society. In the DARW participants are aware of racism in society and do not see their own participation in racism, instead they focus on showing that they are not racist. It is important to note that D'Andrea and Daniels also found that the majority of the "counselor educators, practitioners, and students who were included in [the] study were identified as operating from a liberal disposition" (p.97).

D'Andrea and Daniels' Principled Disposition bears the most similarity to the Integrating Commitment task of the DARW model. Persons in this disposition have an understanding of "the complex interrelationship between various forms of White privilege, White superiority, and White racism" (p. 98). Persons in this disposition have an idealism and optimism about ameliorating racism, but they also easily become cynical about the state of race relations and can become disillusioned by their
own frustration. These characteristics are quite similar to the participants who were identified as engaging in the Integrating Commitment task in the present study.

D’Andrea and Daniels note that less than one percent of their participants expressed attitudes consistent with the Principled Activitistic Disposition. Persons in this disposition had developed a deeper awareness of the systematic nature of racism and responses to racism. They had less cynicism and due to their deeper understanding of the complexities of the problems of racism in society, were optimistic in dealing with these problems using systematic approaches. Persons in this disposition were highly committed to taking action to create social change through all aspects of their lives. This disposition is quite similar to the Sustaining Commitment stance described by some of the participants in this study. D’Andrea and Daniels also found that this disposition was the least populated of their dispositions.

The similarities between the DARW model and the dispositions identified by D’Andrea and Daniels are striking. Both the Dispositions of White Racism and the DARW are focuses on awareness of racism rather than identity development. These two models are also both derived from qualitative, discovery oriented research methods. While the Affective-Impulsive disposition is not represented in this study due to recruiting issues, the other four dispositions described by D’Andrea and Daniels bear a clear similarity to four of the positions described in the DARW model. Two of the tasks described in the DARW model that are not clearly represented in the D’Andrea and Daniels model, Exploring Race in Society and Discovering own Racism and Privilege, can be conceptualized as the learning and growth tasks that are necessary to move forward in development. D’Andrea and Daniels describe discrete dispositions in their model and do not address the tasks that are necessary to move
from one disposition to another. The other difference between the two models is that Integrating Commitment is described as a task in this model because it is not a position that participants can maintain for a long period of time; it is not a place of equilibrium. However the Principled Disposition also lacks stability due to the level of cynicism and frustration experienced by persons in this disposition.

Unique Contributions of DARW

Having compared the DARW to three central existing developmental theories, I will now move on to raise the significant differences between DARW and these theories. These contrasts are on a broader scale and move across the models, whereas the discussion above was focused on each model separately. These differences are in two central areas: the recognition of three developmental processes or transitions and the placement of defensiveness in the model.

Three Developmental Transitions

WRIAD, like Mio and Awakuni’s Majority Identity Development model, conceptualizes the process of discovering racism as one continuous developmental process. D’Andrea and Daniels do not explicitly address learning or development in their model. An important discovery in this study is that white persons engage in three related processes. These three processes or transitions are: 1) The External Transition, exploring race in society and discovering the existence of racism in the world; 2) The Internal Transition, discovering the existence of racism in one’s own life and worldview; and 3) The Transforming Transition, integrating this new awareness into one’s life in meaningful and productive ways. Although some of the transitions in the DARW may occur simultaneously, white persons have distinctly
different processes to engage in as they discover racism outside of themselves and as they discover racism within themselves. In this study, when participants were confronted with their own racism before they had come to understand racism as a system in society, they often balked at the information and resorted to a “Surviving" against Threat Stance.

Both the Mio and Awakuni and Helms’ models conceptualize the end result of development as an integrated position which is similar to the Transforming Transition, however neither of these models identifies the tasks that are involved in establishing and sustaining a commitment against racism. The DARW model and the D’Andrea and Daniels model both conceptualize this level of development as having two distinct positions. The recognition of the Transforming Transition or the Principled to Principled-Activistic transition is important to the development of culturally competent counselors and psychologists. The Principled-Activistic disposition and the Sustaining Commitment stance focus on developing a stable anti-racist perspective that is necessary for on-going engagement in difficult work. Without a clear recognition of the necessity of this developmental process and provision of opportunities in training settings in which trainees are challenged to engage in this transition, counseling and psychology educators may set the ceiling too low on cultural competency. The third transition, the Transforming Transition, can be ignored when training is developed based on models that stop short of this transition.

The Place of Defensiveness

An additional difference between the DARW and other models is the placement of defensiveness in the model. The “Surviving" against Threat stance is
conceptualized as standing outside of the model but as a continual presence or even "temptation" for white persons. The "Surviving" against Threat stance is outside of the DARW developmental process, however for those who adopt this stance it is superimposed over the developmental process. Participants who adopt the "Surviving" against Threat stance may remain in this stance for a short period of time until they have reestablished enough equilibrium to reengage in the growth process, or they may adopt the stance on a more permanent basis. Mio and Awakuni conceptualize this resistance as an option in the developmental process, the Defensive stage, which comes in response to Exposure. Helms conceptualizes resistant responses as a necessary aspect of development in the Reintegration status. The Disintegration and Pseudo-Independence statuses also carry a defensive flavor. D'Andrea and Daniels address defensiveness throughout their first four dispositions as cognitive characteristics of persons at each of these dispositions. In essence the cognitive style of the disposition serves to maintain the person at that disposition toward White racism and limits the ability to understand events from another point of view. In the DARW struggle with understanding racism is universal but defensiveness is not necessary to growth.

In the DARW model, defensiveness is conceptualized as a process which occurs outside of and alongside of development. Although participants struggled with new knowledge and new awareness universally, not all participants expressed this struggle as defensiveness toward understanding racism. On the other hand, all of the participants recognized that defending against recognizing racism either in themselves or in society was a constant possibility for them. In the DARW model defensiveness or the "Surviving" against Threat stance is seen as a constant possibility but never an essential aspect of the process of growth. This difference in
the place of defensiveness may be an artifact of the nature of the study. As a Grounded Theory study, the perspectives of the participants contributed in large part to the construction of the theory. There is likely a limitation to the ability of many people to fully comprehend and express the nature of their own defensiveness, especially as they are involved in the process. Another limitation of the DARW is that all of the participants were motivated on some level to engage in multicultural training, while the Dispositions of White Racism and WRIAD models seek to address development in the population of white Americans in general. The Helm’s and Mio and Awakuni models are constructed from an external vantage point and thus may place defensiveness differently in the model.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTICULTURAL TRAINING

In this section I will address the application of this model to multicultural training in counseling and psychology. I will first outline ways that a multicultural training model for master’s level counseling students could be designed to integrate the findings of this study into the structure of the curriculum. Following this proposal I will address the implications of the DARW for the multicultural counseling competencies and address the need for diversity in the leadership of multicultural training.

Development of an Integrative Multicultural Training Model

The Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites (DARW) model leads to suggestions for improving the effectiveness of multicultural training in counseling and psychology programs. Mio (2003) notes that there are three central models for teaching multiculturalism in psychology programs, the single-course model, a cluster
of courses model, and an integrative model. The overall model in counseling and counseling psychology programs is that multicultural training is concentrated in one central course that addresses cultural differences, the single-course model, and all other courses are expected to integrate multicultural perspectives into the curriculum, an integrative model.

An important caveat to the curriculum structure I will discuss here is that it is based on the development of white counselors in training and does not address the needs of students of color. Any consideration of implementing these suggestions must be done in the context of understanding the development of students of color as well. It is also important to address the dynamics of challenge and support in multicultural education. While the participants in this study identified the need for a safe space in which to grow and learn, an assumption that may be tied to their own sense of privilege, it is important that all students be appropriately challenged and supported in multicultural training.

The DARW suggests that students who enter their training program at a naïve state regarding race, privilege and multicultural issues, have three transitions to undergo during their training in order to develop an awareness of racism necessary for competent work as a counselor or psychologist. None of the participants in this study engaged in the entire developmental process during the term that they were taking Multicultural Counseling. If multicultural training were to be developed taking into account the DARW model, it would take place over three to four academic terms and encompass developmental tasks that are appropriate to the stage of development students would be ready for at that stage.

I suggest that an initial course in a multicultural counseling series be a course that focuses on the External Transition by exploring cultural differences and
discovering the realities of racism and discrimination for oppressed groups. This course could include a large amount of the factual knowledge about culture and include opportunities for participants to learn from the experiences of persons of other cultures through experiential exercises such as class field trips, invited speakers, attendance at cultural events, and discussions with persons of diverse cultures about their own experience. This course could be energizing as students in the class come to discover the unique elements of other cultures. However it would be important that students are also exposed to the effects of oppression on persons from minority groups so that the students can develop an appreciation for the existence of racism in society and the effects of racism on individuals and groups.

A second component of an integrative multicultural training model would be an educational experience which asks students to confront their own biases, privilege, and stereotypes: The Internal Transition. Although this task could be accomplished in many different ways the modes that were most helpful to participants in this study were to engage in in-depth discussions of race and privilege with others, especially with persons of color, and to engage in self-reflective tasks. The discussions that participants engaged in were one-on-one and group discussions, some were formal and some were informal. It would be the subject of another study to determine the effectiveness of various modes of encounter with one's privilege, however what seems clear is that it is essential that students have the opportunity to engage in a substantial dialog about race and privilege and that this dialog include, in some way, the perspectives of persons of color. I would envision one possible way to accomplish this as a group model that focuses on developing self-awareness. Groups could be made up of counseling students and facilitated by advanced doctoral students. Participants in the groups would ideally represent diverse groups in regard
to gender, race, sexual orientation, and other characteristics that may be important in the particular student group. Diverse groups allow all students to learn from one another's experiences. Class assignments would focus on opportunities for in depth interactions with persons who represent different cultural groups. Participation in the group through regular attendance and participating in ongoing journaling exercises on the group dynamics and the experiential exercises would be the requirements for credit. Ideally I would envision these groups being co-lead by a white person and a person of color. An important aspect of this training model would be the balance of challenge and support that is provided through the group component. Due to the threatening nature of the material students would be asked to consider, I would suggest that this type of group be graded on a credit/no-credit basis.

With opportunities to engage in the Internal and the External Transitions, students would then be ready to engage in the Transforming transition. This transition was most accomplished by participants through engaging in work with diverse people and having opportunities to engage in systems level social justice opportunities. If programs were to explicitly incorporate opportunities to work with diverse populations and engage in community service and social justice work in practicum and fieldwork training, students would have the opportunity to see what happens as their initial idealism about undoing oppression is tested. It would be important that the didactic aspects of practical training include consistent opportunities for students to reflect on their engagement with culture and with oppression so that they would have the support and guidance to continue to grow into a sustaining commitment and not become so frustrated that they regress to an earlier level of development.
Multicultural Counseling Competencies

Multicultural counseling training has been largely grounded in the multicultural counseling competencies first articulated by Sue et al. (1982) and most recently revised by Sue et al. (1998) and Sue (2001). These competencies are reflected in the Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change approved by the American Psychological Association (APA, 2003). These competencies focus on three spheres of development: awareness of one's attitudes and beliefs about diversity, knowledge about one's own worldview and the worldview of persons from other cultures, and skills in working with persons from differing groups. The Multicultural Counseling courses that participants in this study were enrolled in focused largely on the awareness and knowledge dimensions. The DARW model illustrates that in the development of counselors, development of awareness is a constant activity with several levels of depth. There are qualitative differences in the nature of self-awareness for participants at the External, Internal, and Transforming transitions. The development of an advanced level of self-awareness is essential for white counselors to function at advanced levels of multicultural competency. Without developing more advanced levels of self-awareness and a full appreciation for the effects of racism and privilege, multicultural knowledge and skills can be used to support and maintain the level of racial awareness held by the individual counselor.

Importance of Diverse Role Models in Multicultural Training

All of the Multicultural Counseling courses that the students in this study participated in were taught by Black professors. The participants in the study generally found it helpful to be exposed to cultural differences through the
perspective of a person of color. However, the students also found that they did not have role models of highly developed white persons to use as resources in their development. Some participants were able to identify other faculty members or more advanced graduate students to engage with in discussions of racial issues. Several participants noted that they saw the researcher, an advanced doctoral student as a role model in this process and saw this study as an example of ways to deal with race and privilege they could aspire to. This desire for white role models displays the need for diversity in the persons who lead multicultural training. Both people of color and white people are able to bring important perspectives to the teaching of Multicultural counseling. Ideally it would be helpful for these courses to be team taught by both a white person and a person of color. If resources do not allow for team teaching other options would be to provide students with role models who represent different worldviews and perspectives. This could be done through invited speakers and discussion leaders or through the use of advanced graduate students as teaching assistants.

EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

Having discussed the implications of this study for existing theory and for multicultural training, the merits of the study will now be evaluated. In this section the usefulness of the research questions will be discussed followed by a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the study. Finally the study will be discussed in relation to the criteria for evaluating a constructivist grounded theory.

Discussion of Research Question

As a constructivist grounded theory study, the initial research question was
intended to be a launching point for the study. The research question is useful if it is sufficiently broad to allow the study to emerge and develop beyond the initial question, yet specific enough to lend the study focus and direction so that the data reaches sufficient depth. For a grounded theory study such as this, the goal of the study is not to “answer” the research question, but to explore the area of study with the hope of generating new understandings of the lived experience of the participants. This section will explore whether the research question was useful in allowing substantive data collection.

This study sought to understand the struggle that white counselors in training experience as they engage in multicultural training, primarily during an initial Multicultural Counseling course in a master’s or doctoral program. The broad research question was “How do white counselors in training experience ‘struggle’ in dealing with racial issues in their early training in a multicultural counseling course?” The research question included five initial areas for exploration of the question with participants: (1) the struggle students are experiencing while in the course, (2) the student’s motivations for incorporating or not incorporating the course content into their perspectives on race and racism, (3) the coping strategies the students use to handle discomfort they may experience, (4) any continued struggle the students experience following the completion of the class, and (5) the students’ reflections upon their growth and their experience following the completion of the class. During the course of the study the other major areas of inquiry were the participant’s previous experience of diversity, cultural background, and previous multicultural training.

The first three areas of inquiry in the research question are the struggle participants experience while in the Multicultural course, their motivations and their
coping strategies. These three areas were closely related to one another. Every participant was able to identify experiences of struggle in their multicultural training course. The experiences of struggle became foundational to developing the theoretical model for the Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites. The model includes the intersection of the particular types of struggle that participants experienced, the motivations that they had in continuing to engage in their own developmental process and grow, and the coping strategies that participants used in their developmental process. It was the nature of the participants' struggle with racism and the reasons they cited for their own motivation to understand racism as well as the methods they chose to cope with their struggle that helped in identifying the three separate transitions that students underwent. The nature of the struggle, motivations, and coping strategies are qualitatively different for participants engaging in each of the three transitions. Therefore, understanding the nature of the participants’ struggle led to the identification of different reactions to the Multicultural Counseling course. Additionally, a lack of motivation in the class was tied to a particular kind of struggle, “Surviving” against Threat, which is a coping strategy in itself. When participants lost their motivation for growth and engagement they often resorted to survival coping strategies to deal with their sense of struggle and stepped outside of the developmental process into the “Surviving” against Threat stance.

In the fourth area of inquiry, students were also asked about their ongoing struggle following the class in follow-up interviews. Students who continued to be engaged in multicultural training opportunities such as practicum experiences were continuing their development in these endeavors. For students who were not engaged in formal training, those who had been engaged in the transforming transition were continuing to engage in personal reflection and growth with regard to racism and
white privilege in their other courses, their applied work and their personal lives, albeit as a less intense level. On the other hand, participants who finished the course in the Internal or External Transition and especially those who were in the Surviving stance were no longer engaging in this growth and reflection under their own motivation. These participants were more likely to have an “I’m glad it’s over” response to the class and mention the grade that they received in the class as a sign of their accomplishment, rather than discuss their own growth and development.

The fifth area of inquiry was addressed during follow-up interviews when participants were asked to reflect on their growth and development during and following the course. This area of inquiry yielded some helpful responses from several of the participants who were able to clearly articulate the ways that their own perspectives had changed and developed over time. However, some participants were not able to describe their personal growth and many responded to this question with a review of the content areas they studied in the class, this response was found primarily in persons in the External Transition and students who were early in their counseling training. It is possible that some of these participants have not yet developed skills in self-reflection.

In addition to the five areas of inquiry in the research question, a major portion of the first interviews was spent discussing the participants’ background with diversity and previous multicultural training. In retrospect, asking participants about their background with diversity yielded little that was directly applicable to the DARW model, and often the stories that participants shared were not directly connected to their current struggle. However, the exploration of participants’ background was very helpful in building rapport with participants and understanding the perspective that participants brought to their multicultural training. This
contextual information was extremely useful in increasing the depth of the interviews and establishing an atmosphere where participants were able to share experiences and thoughts that may not be seen as socially acceptable.

Overall, the research question was useful to understanding the experiences of struggle with race among the participants and in going beyond the experiences themselves to discover an underlying process of growth that was common for the participants. Due to the emergent design of the study each interview followed its own course based on the areas of struggle and growth brought up by the participant. The research question was also sufficiently broad to allow for the construction of a grounded theory based in these experiences of struggle. The research question did not appear to constrain or limit the study.

Strengths of the Study

In this section and the next the strengths and limitations of this study will be discussed. Following this discussion of particular factors in the study, the study will be discussed with regard to evaluation criteria for constructivist qualitative research suggested by Morrow and Smith (2000) and the more recent criteria for evaluating constructivist grounded theory suggested by Charmaz (2006).

As a constructivist grounded theory this study is intended to explore and describe the lived experience of the participants and to construct from this experience a useful theory. The grounded theory is ultimately judged as people are able to use and apply this theory to understand their own lives and work. The particular strengths of this study are the development of a potentially useful model for the development of awareness of racism among white counselors in training, Development of Awareness of Racism by Whites, and the applicability of this model
to multicultural training in counseling and psychology. The model is also potentially applicable to populations beyond counseling and psychology and to anti-racist efforts in general. These strengths were achievable due to the depth of the interviews and the longitudinal nature of the study.

As a constructivist grounded theory, the model developed in this study goes beyond simple description of the experiences of the participants in the study to a more abstract level of analysis. The reported struggles and learning experiences of the participants were analyzed and compared against one another to develop the DARW model. The DARW model explains a process of developing progressively more comprehensive levels of awareness of racism and privilege. The DARW has similarities to other developmental models as described above, but also contains unique features such as identifying three developmental transitions and placing defensiveness mostly outside of the process of development. Within counseling and psychology, the DARW is applicable to multicultural training models and suggests several ways that multicultural training can be improved to allow opportunities for white counselors to develop along all three transitional stages identified in the model. The implications of the model for training are described above.

While the study was conducted with white counselors in training, its usefulness is not limited to this population. It is hoped that this research and the DARW model will be useful to educators in other professions and persons who are engaged in multicultural training with white people in more general contexts. The study provides insight into the experiences of white persons as they discover the realities of racism. This perspective has the potential to be helpful for anyone who is engaged in multicultural training of white people.

The model was developed from the raw data of interviews with participants.
Several aspects of these interviews lend to the richness of the study. The participants in this study were remarkably honest and forthright in discussing their experiences. The richness of the interviews profoundly influenced the strength of the model that was developed. The risks that participants were willing to take in the interviews was due to the desire on the part of many participants in this study to improve multicultural training for themselves and those who will follow them in the profession.

The study was designed to have a small longitudinal aspect to it as participants were to be interviewed at several points over a period of several months. The realities of actually conducting research meant that the interviews were stretched over a longer period of time than was initially envisioned. Many of the second interviews occurred three to four months after the first interview and the third interviews were conducted up to a year after the first interview. Although this led to some loss of participants, the process of interviewing participants over the course of several academic terms in their development as counselors and psychologists contributed greatly to the ability to construct a developmental model.

Limitations of the Study

Several of the planned aspects of the original research proposal were not accomplished in the actual implementation of the project. These include triangulation of data through the use of student papers and difficulty with securing follow-up interviews with all participants. The study is also limited by the scope of the participants who volunteered for the study.

Initially it was proposed that participant reflective papers would be used as an additional source of data. This data source was abandoned due to participants from
one class not receiving their papers back from their professor and the professor of
another class asking that student papers not be collected for the students. Papers were
collected from three participants and the experiences recorded in these papers were
experiences that the participants also recounted in their second interviews. From
these examples, it does not appear that participant reflective papers would have
contributed greatly to the triangulation of the data. However, from reading this small
set of papers and engaging in interviews with these participants, it appears that the
reflective writing exercises helped students to identify and focus their attention in
their own struggle and development.

A second area of the research process that fell short of the original proposal is
that several of the participants only participated in the initial interview. As reported
in chapter 3, eleven of 15 participants in the main study engaged in the second
interview. Each of the four participants who did not participate in the second
interview indicated willingness to engage in the follow-up interview and
appointments were set for these follow-up interviews, either face-to-face or over the
phone, however they were not available for the second interview as planned. These
persons were contacted a second time and, it was decided that repeated missed
appointments or overall difficulty in agreeing to schedule an appointment would be
taken as a desire to withdraw from the study. One factor that weighed into the
difficulty in scheduling is the change of semesters and the challenging work,
personal, and school schedules that participants maintained. The researcher relocated
twice during the study, which also disturbed ongoing contact. This delayed the
interval between interviews and made the researcher’s prior contact information
obsolete. Several persons who participated in only one interview were responding in
ways that related to the “Surviving” against Threat stance. Unfortunately the later
trajectory of development for these participants is unknown.

The students who volunteered for the study were all persons who saw themselves as motivated to learn about multicultural issues. The study and the model developed within the study are limited to the extent that they are based on the experiences of students who were motivated to engage in the class and more generally to participants who were motivated to be engaged in counseling training through participation in research. There were no volunteers for the study who were uninterested in the content of their Multicultural course or who were averse to Multicultural training and their experiences are not encompassed in this model.

On the other end of the spectrum, a small portion of the participants expressed themselves in ways that were consistent with the Sustaining Commitment stance. Some of these participants held this stance prior to beginning the course and some developed into the stance during their participation in the study. As a result of the smaller number of participants speaking from the Sustaining Commitment stance, the stance is less thickly described than the other stances and tasks. It is quite possible that essential features of the Sustaining Commitment stance were not identified in this study due to less data in this area.

Having discussed the usefulness of the research question and the strengths and limitations of the study, the following section will consider the merits of the study with regard to the standards of qualitative research.

Evaluation of the Study Using the Criteria for Qualitative Research

The criteria identified for evaluation of a constructivist grounded theory are coherence, comprehensiveness, and reader credibility (Morrow & Smith, 2000). More recently, Charmaz (2006) has suggested the criteria of credibility, originality,
resonance, and usefulness. According to Charmaz, the credibility and originality of the study contribute to its resonance and usefulness. Resonance and usefulness are criteria that can only be determined by the consumer of the research. The criteria of originality will be added to the criteria of coherence, comprehensiveness, and credibility in the evaluation of this grounded theory study.

This study yielded a coherent model that is grounded in the data. The result of the analysis of the data is a conditional matrix that has logical consistency, in that each part of the model has a logical fit with the other parts of the model. In addition the model is reasonably easy to describe. The model also is largely consistent with existing similar theories as shown in the discussion above. Actually, in looking at the comparison of the DARW model with existing theories, the DARW provides a structure that reflects nearly all of the components of the existing models. The one exception is the Affective-Impulsive Disposition described by D'Andrea and Daniels (1999). The model also has sufficient complexity to incorporate the various stories of participants at various levels of awareness. Although there was significant diversity among the individual stories of the participants, all of their experiences are congruent with the developed model. Arriving at a model with this degree of coherence required several attempts at earlier permutations of the model and a willingness to continually return to the raw data and allow new models to emerge as others failed to meet checks for disconfirming evidence. In addition, there were the Personal Characteristics and Environmental Factors that account for some of the diversity of experiences of participants within the model. The Personal Characteristics and Environmental Factors had mediating or moderating influence on the experience of participants in the study. In other words, although the experiences of all participants are consistent with the model, the Personal Characteristics and the Environmental
Factors help to account for differences in the growth and struggle among participants.

The comprehensiveness of the study has to do with the amount, type, and variety of the data. Participants in this study were interviewed for one to three interviews over an extended period of time. As evidenced in the data, the participants shared honestly and openly of their own experiences and struggles. Several participants shared more in the interviews than they were comfortable having included in the study data and asked that significant parts of the interview be removed from the data set. Although this information was removed from the data set, it did inform the researcher's perspective during the process of analysis and construction of the grounded theory. The data lacks comprehensiveness in that there were no participants in the study who were actively opposed to multicultural training or even disinterested in multicultural training. The DARW model then represents an ideal state of development in that it presumes a motivation to develop multicultural awareness. The other limitation to the comprehensiveness of the study is that only a small portion of the participants described the Sustaining Commitment stance typically only during later interviews. As a result, this status is less fully developed than the other tasks and statuses in the model. It is possible that there are aspects of the Sustaining Commitment status that were not described by participants in the study.

The credibility of the study is to be determined by the reader. As a consumer of my own research, I find the results of the study to be quite plausible and to offer explanations for the struggle that white counselors in training experience. The model also leads me toward ideas for improving multicultural training as described above in Implications for Multicultural Training. In discussing this model with colleagues, both white persons and persons of color, I have received positive responses and many
moments of positive insight into the difficulties that are experienced in developing multicultural awareness among white counselors in training.

Charmaz (2006) suggests that originality is another criteria for evaluation of a constructivist grounded theory. This study provides a novel model for understanding the development of awareness of racism by white counselors in training. Although the DARW model has similarities to existing theories, it is unique in identifying three different developmental transitions that counselors in training go through and in the placement of defensiveness in the model. These unique features are described in greater depth under the section “Intersection with Existing Theory.”

I would suggest that the DARW model constructed in this study using grounded theory methodology meets the criteria of coherence, comprehensiveness, credibility and originality at a reasonable level of sufficiency. There are a few limitations to the comprehensiveness of the model and these can be explored through further research.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study suggests many avenues for future research. The rich data accumulated in this study has not been exhausted. There are several possibilities for future analysis of the current data set that will be discussed in this section. I will also discuss several possible future studies suggested by the current study.

There are numerous possibilities for future analysis of the current data set. The interviews have rich background information that could be analyzed to understand some of the factors that influence counselor development and openness to multicultural training. For example, it would be interesting to explore the ways that participants understood and described their early encounters with people of color. A
theme that developed among the participants in the study who were mothers (there were no fathers among the participants) is the effect of multicultural training on the participant's expectations of themselves and behaviors as mothers. This theme was discussed by all of the participants who were mothers, but represents a subset of the study participants. As there is little research on the role of parenting or mothering in counselor development and many counseling trainees are non-traditional age students, this theme could add significant insight into the experiences of trainee mothers. The Environmental Characteristics could also be further analyzed to understand the role of support and challenge in multicultural training. Balancing challenge and support is an important supervision and training issue on its own and especially in the context of multicultural training. Each of these possibilities for further analysis could be explored with the current data set and explicit focus on these topics rather than on the struggle of participants.

In addition there are several avenues of research that would further the present model. It would be interesting to extend this line of research into later stages of counselor development by including participants who were involved in fieldwork and persons who are practitioners in the field. The present study revealed little in regard to applications of multicultural training to one's role as a counselor due to the participants early stage in their training. Other extensions of the present study would be to further the edges of the study by exploring the perspectives of students who are opposed to multicultural training on the one end and further study of persons who are engaged in Sustaining Commitment. Each of these studies would require different recruiting methodologies than the one used in the present study. Recruiting participants who are averse to multicultural training may be more possible through a less intensive study and the possibility for more anonymous feedback such as a web-
based data collection procedure or collection of written responses from trainees during class time. Recruiting more participants in the Sustaining Commitment stance could be done through using snowballing procedures or nomination processes to find persons that others, including people of color, see as having a highly developed awareness of racism. Extending and exploring the edges of the model would add to the comprehensiveness of the model and potentially add to understanding on both edges.

Another direction for research would be to explore the effectiveness of different training strategies and modalities in helping counselors in training to attain higher levels of racism awareness on the one hand, and reduce the need for students to disengage from the developmental process and adopt the "Surviving" against Threat stance. The data set for this study includes many participant comments on the relative value of different training activities to the participant's understanding of their development. Several studies could be designed to explore the effectiveness of multicultural training strategies designed to target the three tasks of Exploring Race in Society, Discovering own Race and Privilege, and Integrating Commitment.

While quantitatively minded researchers may be tempted to jump into developing a self-report measure to use in research on this theory, I believe that such a step could lead to a premature encapsulation of the theory. Rather, I would suggest that the theory be further explored as an elastic model and that further research into the DARW model be conducted first through qualitative means. One approach that could help to further explore the theory would be to conduct a study with an observational component in the data collection. The current study is based on the self-understanding of counselors in training and the analysis of this self-understanding by the researcher. An example of an observational component in the
study of the developmental process would be to develop small groups in which participants discuss their emerging awareness of racism. Group observers or participant observers could analyze the group members’ responses and interactions and possibly conduct collateral individual interviews. This approach could provide similar data to the data in the current study, but data that could incorporate both the self-understandings of the participants and observations of their interactions in a social situation.

A significantly different question that was raised for me by this study is how counselors and psychologists of color come to an understanding of whiteness that enables effective counseling and supervision with white clients and trainees. This question emerges out of my own motivation for completing this study. As a white person who was raised in a racially diverse context, I have struggled to understand the perspectives of other white persons who have less exposure to racial diversity. Along parallel lines and for example, as a lesbian I find myself guessing at the dynamics of the heterosexual relationships of the people that I counsel. I can imagine that people of color engage in a similar guessing game as they work with white people who often assume that their cultural reality is so normative that it needs no explanation.

SUMMARY

Personal Reflections

I chose to engage in this project out of my own desire to understand the struggles that my white peers have in understanding racism and privilege. Within that initial interest, I was most interested in understanding the internal experiences of students who are resistant to learning about race and racism including those who are
struggling against multicultural training experiences. Initially I was disappointed that I was not able to recruit such students to participate in the study. However, during the course of the study I was able to discover aspects of the struggle with racism that were beyond my expectations or my own personal experience. It was most helpful for me to understand the experiences of participants who began their Multicultural Counseling class with high hopes and expectations and later found themselves lost and struggling as they were called upon to re-evaluate their personal worldview and their self-estimations. Engaging in this study allowed me the opportunity to see into the lives of these students and comprehend the journey that they experience. As a person who has lived with diversity and been aware of racism as a structure in society from early on, an understanding of the struggles of white people who come into this awareness was essential for my own development as an educator and supervisor of trainees. It is my hope that understanding the personal experiences of white counselors in training will also be helpful to other educators and supervisors who come at this work from more diverse and inclusive worldviews.

Conclusion

White counselors in training struggle with race as they develop their awareness of race, racism, and white privilege. For most of the participants in this study, their struggle represents a striving toward growth and development, however they also faced an ever-present temptation to struggle against developing a new awareness and retreat into a “Surviving” against Threat stance. In order to provide training programs that assist counselors in developing a fully racially aware perspective programs need to provide students with opportunities to progress through the three transitions identified in this study. Programs could also be aware of the
needs of counselors in training for safe space in which they feel the freedom to take risks and discuss concerns that may include current racist attitudes and assumptions. This study serves as an important contribution to furthering the effectiveness of multicultural training.
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Appendix A. Summary of Pilot Interviews
SUMMARY OF PILOT INTERVIEWS

A pilot study was conducted during the course of preparing this dissertation proposal. The pilot project was also the research project for the Qualitative Research Methods course at Western Michigan University during the Spring term of 2004. The purpose of this pilot study was to take initial steps in understanding and describing the experiences of white counselors in training who find themselves struggling when learning about racial issues in an initial multicultural counseling course. Additionally, the pilot study was an opportunity to test the interview protocol to see if counselors in training were able to use this interview to discuss struggles they may have experienced. For the pilot project, the research question is focused on a preliminary aspect of this investigation, namely, how do white counselors-in-training talk about and think about the struggle they experience in dealing with race?

Method

Approval to conduct the study was secured through the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board as project 04-03-09, with Lynn Brice, Ph. D., the instructor for the research methods course, as the Principal investigator. The pilot project was designed and approved to be incorporated into the eventual dissertation project.

White counseling students who had completed CECP 607 or a similar course were recruited by distributing flyers to CECP faculty and asking for interested students to contact the researcher if they were interested in learning more about the study. Three individuals responded to the flyers and expressed interest in the study.
One of these students had not yet taken CECP 607 or an equivalent course, therefore she was thanked for her interest but not included in the study. The other two students who volunteered for the study were both white women students who had taken a multicultural counseling course within the past two years. One participant was enrolled in a multicultural counseling course at WMU, the other took a multicultural counseling course at another university.

The interviews were conducted in a private setting and tape recorded. Both interviews took approximately one hour to complete and in both interviews the Pilot Interview guide, developed for the study, was used. Following the interviews, I recorded my reflections about the interview in the form of a Reflective Memo. The tapes were transcribed and an initial analysis was conducted.

Results

The initial level of analysis of these transcripts consisted of reading the transcripts and looking for experiences of struggle. Both participants were able to articulate several experiences of struggle. The initial analysis focused on the affective content associated with the experiences of struggle presented by the participants. In addition to the emotional content, there was a difference in how the two participants approached and dealt with experiences of struggle. Both participants also expressed that they found the interviews to be helpful in their own self-understanding.

The participants described experiences which were characterized by a wide variety of affective content. The affects expressed by the participants included: caution, fear, dislike of self, acceptance and ambivalence about acceptance, anger, shame, sadness, painfulness, a sense of being troubled, surprise, confusion, feeling
pushed, and embarrassment. A few excerpts from the interview follow:

**Anger** — “I think the anger was about being called a racist. You know. Well it wasn't a direct, I mean nobody called me that directly, but the conversation was about that...kind of led in the direction that if you were born here, raised here that means you are a racist.”

**Dislike of self, anger, embarrassment** — “I just didn’t like where I was at, I think that, I mean there was a lot of personal growth that needed to occur and I didn’t like myself where I was at. I didn’t like the anger, I didn’t like the embarrassment, I didn’t like many things that I was experiencing.”

**Sadness** — “But, it’s just a sadness because I feel like I am someone that can really empathize and that I am very kind of person centered and the fact that I haven’t had some of those experiences. It creates some distance.”

**Acceptance and ambivalence with acceptance** — [About accepting one’s self as racist.] “But then again I think that kind of accepting is kind of taking the easy road out. You know I am just myself and that is who I am, and I don’t think I want to do that either.”

In addition to noting the affective content, one interesting difference between these two participants was the way that they connected with racial awareness. One of the participants described her struggle as mostly being about being called a racist and what it meant for her for others to see her as racist, a position that I called as self-focused. The other participant described her struggle and the emerging edge of her awareness in terms of the distance she felt between herself and persons of color and her desire to overcome that distance, a position that I called other-focus. These “positions” appeared to influence the ways that each participant chose to cope with their struggle. The participant who was more self-focused withdrew in class, while the participant who had more of an other-focus sought to amend for past mistakes and establish new relationships.

At the conclusion of the interviews, both participants expressed that they felt
they had taken risks in what they had shared in the interview and that they found these risks to be worthwhile. Both participants stated that they had learned something about themselves and their own process through the course of the interview.

Discussion

The pilot interviews revealed that the participants who were interviewed were able to identify with the concept of struggle and were able to articulate experiences of struggle that are not clearly accounted for in the counseling psychology literature. The affective material described by these two initial participants was more complex than what is described in the literature on affective responses to racism awareness (see chapter 2). Additionally, the different positions that the participants took in regard to their experience of struggle, what I have called self-focused and other-focused, may be related to personality differences between the participants. Both of these initial findings, indicate that a more comprehensive study on this topic is warranted and is likely to reveal insights that go beyond the current level of understanding of this phenomena in the professional literature.

Another important result of the interviews was the participants' feeling that they had learned more about themselves and their awareness through participation in this interview. This indicates that it is likely that persons who participate in this study that is about their struggle with their emerging awareness of racism will also find that participation in the study contributes to their experience and their awareness of the experience. This reflexive nature of the study is acceptable within a constructivist paradigm, yet should be recognized as it occurs in the course of the study as participants in the study will have the opportunity to spend up to three hours in reflective conversations.
The pilot interviews revealed that the interview protocol was effective at eliciting reflection from the participants about their experience of struggle, one of the goals of the pilot study. The pilot project also revealed experiences among these two participants that are not clearly accounted for in the existing counseling psychology literature. Therefore, giving further rationale for a more comprehensive study.
Appendix B. Initial Interview Guide
INITIAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Due to the exploratory nature of the project, the interviews will be unstructured. The interviews will focus on experiences that the participants have had in learning about multicultural counseling, race, and racism which were difficult or uncomfortable for them personally and how the participants have dealt with these experiences. The interview is focused on gathering information to answer the research question:

How do white counselors in training experience “struggle” in dealing with racial issues in their early training in a multicultural counseling course?

This question will be addressed from several perspectives:
1. The struggle students are experiencing while in the course,
2. The student’s motivations for incorporating or not incorporating the course content into their perspectives,
3. The coping strategies the students use to handle discomfort they may experience,
4. Any continued struggle the students experience following the completion of the class, and
5. The students’ reflections upon their growth and their experience following the completion of the class.

The following is a general guide for the content of the interview. Specific questions will be posed in a conversational manner and follow-up questions and probes will be used to further explore topics raised by the participant.

1. Introductions and completion of the consent process.
2. Begin audio recording.
3. Introductions and background information.
   • Ask the participant about his or her general progress in the program.
   • Ask the participant about his or her previous experiences with multicultural issues (in work, school, community, or special training opportunities).
   • Ask the participant about his or her cultural background and personal history in regard to race and learning about persons from other racial groups.
4. Ask participant about his or her experience in the multicultural counseling course, particularly explore:
   • Experiences that were difficult, uncomfortable, or surprising.
• How the participant dealt with these experiences behaviorally, cognitively, and affectively.
• How the participant coped with difficult feelings?
• Reasons (motivations) the participant had for responding in the way he or she did.
• How the participant’s understanding of race, racism, and racial relations have changed or developed through the term.

5. Debriefing
• End the interview by thanking the participant.
• Ask how the participant felt about the interview.
• Offer to respond to any of the participant’s questions.
• Remind the participants that they may let me know if there are parts of the interview they want excluded from the transcript, and that they may continue in the study or withdraw from the study if they want to.
• Talk with the participant about arrangements for the second interview and how I will contact them to arrange an appointment for the interview.
Appendix C. Interview 2 Protocol
INTERVIEW 2 PROTOCOL

How was the class for you? How did it finish up?

How was your experience of participating in interviews/discussions as a class assignment?

How do you understand the effects of racism? It’s effects on those you will be working with and on yourself?

What part do you have to play in racism?

How do you understand White privilege?

What changes have occurred in your perspective?

What struggles or surprises did you have in the class?

Where do you have struggles or surprises in understanding/coping with/confronting racism and white privilege?

Many participants have talked about their religious or spiritual selves in relation to this topic. Do you see your religious/spiritual self as important here? How and Why?

Growth Edges: Where do you see yourself needing to continue to grow or learn from here?
Appendix D. Interview 3 Protocol
INTERVIEW 3 PROTOCOL

1. Ask about progress in program, continuing to be enrolled, completed program, have they begun their internship?
2. One of the things I am noticing is the unfolding process of developing racial awareness among counselors in training. Can you tell me what you have noticed about your process of developing racial awareness?
   A. Motivation to develop and grow.
   B. Key turning points.
   C. Set-backs and road blocks.
   D. Current and future growth edges.
   E. How does your development affect other spheres of your life?
   F. How have you engaged in action and advocacy?
3. Some participants have discussed concerns over confronting others on racial issues and dealing with conflict on racial issues. Has this been an issue for you? How do you deal with concerns over confronting others on their lack of racial awareness or racial acts or statements?
4. Some participants have described a concern over not offending persons of color. Has that been a concern for you? Has that concern inhibited your learning or growth?
5. A central question of my study has been: What are the “struggles” of white counselors in training as they learn about racism and white privilege? As you look back over your training and development, what were the key points of struggle? What are the current places where you struggle?
6. How do you feel about your participation in this study?
   A. Are there any other comments you would like to make?
   B. Are there things you would have liked to have been asked?
   C. Are there ways that I could have made this a better experience for you?
Appendix E. Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval for Dissertation
Date: May 2, 2005

To: James Croteau, Principal Investigator
   Katharine Cummings, Co-Principal Investigator
   Mary Anderson, Co-Principal Investigator
   Shawn MacDonald, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Mary Lagerwey, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number: 05-04-23

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled “White Counselors and Multicultural Training” has been approved under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition, if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: May 2, 2006
Appendix F. Informed Consent Document
You are invited to participate in a study that focuses on how white counselors-in-training deal with challenges, struggles, and discomfort they may experience in learning about and dealing with racial issues in an initial multicultural counseling course. The study is part of the dissertation of the student investigator, Shawn MacDonald, doctoral student in Counseling Psychology. The student investigator is interested in understanding your experience of learning about race and racism, your internal and external reactions to what you have learned, and how you have integrated what you have learned into who you intend to be as a counselor and a person. Your experiences and those of other participants will then be analyzed to develop a greater understanding of the experiences that white counseling and psychology students have in learning about race and racism. The findings in this study may benefit the counseling professions by understanding what is happening when white counselors in training are learning about racial issues and help in developing ways to train counselors and psychologists more effectively. You may personally benefit as a participant in this study through talking about your own experience in multicultural counseling with the student investigator.

Your participation in this study will involve engaging in three approximately one-hour private interviews with the student investigator. These interviews will take place in a private location that is mutually agreeable to you and the student investigator. The first interview will take place while you are enrolled in a multicultural counseling course, the second interview will take place around the time your multicultural course ends, and the third interview will occur several months following the completion of your multicultural course. The second and third interview may take place over the phone with the student investigator calling you at a time that has been mutually agreed to.

These interviews will focus on your experience in the multicultural course, your understanding of race and racism, and your background in dealing with issues of race. The interviews will build on one another and you will have the opportunity to hear what the student investigator has understood from prior interviews and to respond to or even correct her interpretations of your experience. In addition, the student investigator would like to be able to include a review of your
reflection papers or journals written for your course in her data collection. If you choose to share these documents, the student investigator will make copies of them, remove identifying information from them, and treat these documents confidentially as part of the research data.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and unrelated in any way to your standing in a program at WMU, the multicultural course you are enrolled in, or any work in your program. Audio recordings of the interviews will be made and transcribed for analysis. The student investigator will assign a pseudonym to each participant. The student investigator will carefully review interview transcripts and remove any references in the interview that appear to have the potential of being linked to you individually. In addition, if during or following an interview, you would like something you said to be removed or masked to protect your confidentiality, you may ask the student investigator to do so and she will abide by your request. The student investigator will review all transcripts to find contextual cues which might link the transcript to you or other persons and will remove these cues to create a separate set of transcripts which are de-contextualized. Participant documents that are shared will be treated in the same manner as the transcripts. The student investigator will share portions of interview transcripts that have been de-contextualized with her research advisors (Dr. Jim Croteau, Dr. Mary Anderson, and Dr. Katharine Cummings) to evaluate and improve her interview technique and/or to help with data analysis. Short excerpts or summaries from the interviews and the documents will be reported in the dissertation and other publications that result from this research. However, these quotes or summaries will be excerpted in such a way that if you were to read the research reports you may recognize your own words, but others would not be able to connect what you said to you.

The student investigator will store all data and documentation securely until the dissertation is complete. She will store your contact information separately from the transcripts and documents. Your contact information and the audio recordings will be destroyed as soon as the data analysis is completed. The interview transcripts, copies of papers you have shared for research purposes and other research data will be stored for at least three years in a secure location at Western Michigan University and the student investigator will maintain a copy of these documents. This de-identified data will not be traceable to you in any way.

Participating in the interview is not likely to produce any negative effects. Although you will be asked to discuss potentially difficult information that may be emotionally uncomfortable, the process of discussing difficult information is generally encouraged in the counseling professions as a method of personal growth for counselors. Additionally, you are free to decline to answer any questions posed to you by the student investigator or to end the interview or your participation in the study at any time. In the unlikely event that you become emotionally disturbed during the interview, the student investigator will offer to help you calm down and discuss with you options for help should you feel a need for further counseling on issues that come up during the interview. If it appears that continuing to participate in this research may be
detrimental to you, the student investigator may discuss with you the possibility of discontinuing your participation in the study.

The student investigator will take special care so that it is not possible for your responses to be linked to you by any faculty who will be assisting the student investigator in analyzing the data. The professor/instructor who is teaching your multicultural counseling course will have no access to the original data that is collected through the interviews and will not be taking part in the data analysis. As in all research, however, there may be unforeseen risks to the participant.

You may withdraw from participating in this study at any time. If you withdraw from the study or do not complete the series of three interviews, the interview data that has already been collected will be retained in the research project unless you request that your data be removed from the study. To request that your data be removed from the study, you may phone, e-mail, or write to Shawn MacDonald with that request (contact information is listed at the top of this form).

If you have questions or concerns about the study and/or your participation, you may contact the student investigator, Shawn MacDonald, or the research/dissertation advisor, James Croteau, Ph. D., for assistance with your questions and concerns. You may reach either of them at the above addresses and phone numbers. You may also contact the Chair, Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (387-8293) or the Vice President for Research (387-8289) if questions or problems arise during this study. This consent document has been approved for use for one year by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) as indicated by the stamped date and signature of the board chair in the upper right corner. Do not participate in this study if the stamped date is older than one year.

Participant Signature
By my signature, I indicate that I agree to participate in this study as described above. I retain the right to withdraw my participation from this study at any time without negative social, economic, or academic consequence.

Participant Signature Date
White Counselors and Multicultural Training

What:
Shawn MacDonald, a doctoral student in Counseling Psychology is conducting a study for her dissertation to understand the experiences of white counselors in training in a multicultural counseling course.

What is involved?
• Participants in the study will be interviewed three times, for approximately an hour each session, by Shawn MacDonald. These interviews will occur at the midpoint of the course, at the end of the course and two to six months after the course has ended.
• Participants will also be invited to share their written work from the course with Shawn MacDonald for inclusion in the research.

How to learn more:
Contact Shawn MacDonald by phone or e-mail at the contacts listed below or fill in the tear-off at the bottom of this page and return it to Shawn at the break.

Shawn MacDonald
E-mail: shawn.macdonald@wmich.edu
Phone: (269) 873-1578

I am interested in learning more about the study!

Name __________________________________________________________

Preferred Contact Method:
Only provide phone numbers and e-mail addresses that you want me to use to contact you.

E-mail ________________________________________________________

Phone (____) ____________________ OK to leave a message? ____________

Best times to call: ________________________________________________
Appendix H. Approval Letter for Pilot Study and Informed Consent Document
Date: March 10, 2004

To: Lynn Brice, Principal Investigator
    Shawn MacDonald, Student Investigator

From: Mary Lagerwey, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number: 04-03-09

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled “Struggling with race: White counselors and racism” has been approved under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: March 10, 2005
Struggling with Race: White Counselors and Race

You are invited to participate in a study that focuses on how White counselors-in-training deal with struggles and discomfort they may experience in learning about and dealing with racial issues in an initial Multicultural Counseling course. The study is part of the course requirements of the student investigator, Shawn MacDonald, doctoral student in Counseling Psychology. The purpose of this study is to better understand the internal process that White counselors in training experience when confronted with racial issues. The findings in this study may benefit the counseling profession as we seek to understand ways to train counselors more effectively. You may personally benefit as a participant in this study through talking through your own experience in Multicultural Counseling with the student investigator. Although this study is being conducted as a part of course work, the data will serve to inform the construction of the student investigator’s doctoral dissertation in Counseling Psychology on the same topic.

Your participation in this study will involve engaging in a one-hour private interview with the student investigator. Your participation in this study is voluntary and unrelated in any way to your standing in a program at WMU, or any course work. All your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and only the course instructor, student investigator, and her doctoral committee members will see the transcripts of the interview. The interviews will be audiotaped and transcribed for analysis. The student investigator will assign a pseudonym to each transcript. The student investigator will carefully review interview transcripts and remove any references in the interview which appear to have the potential of being linked to you individually. Your responses are confidential and will be combined for data analysis.

The principal investigator will store all data and documentation securely until it is combined with the student investigator’s dissertation data and will be stored for at least three years in a secure location at Western Michigan University. When it is no longer necessary to store data for federal or publication requirements, the original data will be destroyed.
Participating in the interview is not likely to produce any negative effects. Although you will be asked to discuss potentially difficult information that may be emotionally uncomfortable, the process of discussing difficult information is generally encouraged in the counseling profession as a method of personal growth as a counselor. Additionally, you are free to decline to answer any questions posed to you by the student investigator or to end the interview at any time. The student investigator will also take special care so that it is not possible for your responses to be linked to you by any faculty who will be assisting the student investigator in analyzing the data. As in all research, however, there may be unforeseen risks to the participant.

If you have questions or concerns about the study and/or your participation, you may contact the student investigator, Shawn MacDonald, or Dr. Brice, both of whom are prepared to provide assistance with your questions and concerns. You may reach either of them at the above addresses and phone numbers. You may also contact the Chair, Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (387-8293) or the Vice President for Research (387-8289) if questions or problems arise during this study. This consent document has been approved for use for one year by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) as indicated by the stamped date and signature of the board chair in the upper right corner. Do not participate in this study if the stamped date is older than one year.

**Participant Signature**
I retain the right to withdraw my participation from this study at any time without negative social, economic, or academic consequence. By my signature I indicate that I agree to participate.

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Participant Signature  
Date