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White Counseling Psychology Doctoral Trainees' Experiences Broaching Whiteness with White Clients: An Interpretative Phenomenological Study

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WHITE COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY DOCTORAL TRAINEES' EXPERIENCES BROACHING WHITENESS WITH WHITE CLIENTS: AN INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

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This research builds upon scholarship of critical theorists and critical whiteness studies. The "invisibility" of whiteness has been increasingly acknowledged and attended to in counseling psychology. Further, prominent scholars have continuously urged the field of counseling psychology to acknowledge race as a psychological characteristic of white people (Helms, 2017; Helms & Carter, 1990a). Attention to whiteness is needed, as the majority of the counseling workforce, including doctoral students (55%), identifies as white (American Psychological Association, 2020). As racial identity development can advance the personal and professional development of white counseling psychologists and benefit clients, increased attention is merited for the training of white counseling psychology doctoral students to understand, examine, and discuss whiteness.

This qualitative study sought to answer two primary research questions: 1) How do white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC)? 2) How does BWWWC cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students? Results came from data collected from 10 white counseling psychology doctoral students who each completed a demographic survey, an in-depth interview, the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), as well as a member checking

interview. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) guided the methodology, and six themes emerged from the data. The themes interconnected in many ways, spanning from an awareness of whiteness itself, to reflections on what whiteness means to them personally, to engagement in and cognitive and affective experience of BWWWC. The six themes are: (a) understanding of whiteness, (b) reflection on own whiteness, (c) opinions, attitudes, and affect about BWWWC, (d) category and techniques for BWWWC, (e) managing own whiteness while BWWWC, and (f) post BWWWC experience. The first two themes contextualize participants in their base understanding of whiteness as a construct and how they have come to understand themselves as white racial beings. The remaining four themes center around BWWWC, namely: exploring and describing how participants view, enact, and manage themselves during and after BWWWC. Along with elaborating on important concepts already present in the literature (e.g., importance of broaching, underdevelopment of white trainee's racial identity), this study captures white counseling psychology doctoral students' understandings, views, and self-management techniques for their whiteness while BWWWC. Exploring white trainees' BWWWC experiences was essential, as no communication is communication, and all participants had views, opinions, and ways they soothed themselves when the thought or action of BWWWC came up in session. Greater understanding of the current state of white doctoral trainee's perceptions and engagement in BWWWC has the potential to extend and deepen counseling psychology training, supervision, research, and practice in this area with the ultimate goal of deconstructing whiteness and moving toward antiracism. Findings and themes are discussed and grounded in a critical whiteness studies framework. Research, training, and practice implications are shared, as well as limitations and strengths.

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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The counseling process is often interpreted as a microcosm of society: what occurs between clinician and client often reflects larger societal patterns and dynamics (Sue et al., 2007; Yalom, 2005). One example is the interpersonal dynamics that manifest between clinician and client, mirroring societal patterns of racial socialization. As a microcosm of society, the counseling room is not immune from the systemic dynamics of whiteness and white supremacy.[1] It may be inferred that when a clinician and client are white-identified, white racial socialization is likely reproduced unless one dyad member consciously acts otherwise. Research has shown this to be true, as white counselors broach race at low numbers with Clients of Color compared to African American counselors (Knox et al., 2003). However, the experiences of white counseling psychology doctoral trainees broaching whiteness with white clients is an understudied topic.

This research interest stemmed from the research and growing focus on understanding whiteness since the publication of Helms's white racial identity development model (1984). Further, recent research on how counselors broach (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2020) was also

[1] Throughout this dissertation the racial label white and all derivatives will not be capitalized to de-center and deconstruct whiteness, challenge hegemonic assumptions of grammatical norms, and challenge white supremacy in language and academia (see critical scholars Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Feagin, 2020; Matias & Boucher, 2021; McGoldrick & Hardy, 2019; and contemporary writers Davis, 2016; Menakem, 2017; Saad, 2020). Critical whiteness studies is grounded in seeking to challenge and dismantle the power structures that maintain white supremacy. Thus, the grammatical decision to decapitalize the racial label white can be theoretically justified as challenging the power structure of Standard American English.

foundational to this study's focus. However, the whiteness and broaching research often focuses on white people primarily in relation to People of Color, and white counselors broaching race with Clients of Color. Less is known about how white counseling psychology trainees understand their whiteness in relation to themselves and their work with white clients.

The American Psychological Association (APA, 2019) Guidelines on Race and Ethnicity in Psychology state as a fundamental principle, "psychologists strive to recognize and engage the influence of race and ethnicity in all aspects of professional activities as an ongoing process" (p. 10). Further, the APA (2017) Multicultural Guidelines underscore how identity is fluid, complex, dynamic, and situated and impacted by the larger biosociocultural context. For example, identity evolves as a function of these interactions and socialization experiences and psychologists are a part of this fluid development in their bidirectional working relationships with clients. Although these guidelines can be interpreted to urge counseling psychologists to consider the impact and significance of race and identity in themselves, clients, and the working alliance—a specific focus on discussing and deconstructing whiteness is not included.

Further, the model training program for counseling psychology programs encourages ongoing self-reflection for trainees toward attaining self-awareness, increased understanding of the impact of self on others, and attitudes toward culture (Scheel et al., 2018). Indeed, examining whiteness is crucial and necessary for white counseling psychologists to deepen self-actualization and self-awareness (Drustrup, 2020; Hays et al., 2021). Not critically examining one's whiteness—and instead remaining silent—perpetuates the status quo of white supremacy (Liu, 2017). Thus, self-reflection and self-awareness are crucial to prevent the perpetuation of white cultural norms within counseling psychology training programs and the future of the field. Moreover, a critical focus on whiteness is crucial because the majority (1,427 of 2,601; 55%) of

counseling psychology doctoral students in the United States identify as white (APA, 2020) and so without this critical examination of whiteness, white trainees have a disproportionate impact of perpetuating white supremacy in counseling psychology training programs. Additionally, the impact of white supremacy on the training environment and culture extends to all those in the training programs, including trainees, faculty, staff, and the culture of the training environment. Nonetheless, whiteness is rarely discussed in counseling psychology training programs.

Research has shown that focusing on whiteness with white clients is best for clinical and ethical practice (Bartoli et al., 2015; Drustrup, 2020; Hays et al., 2021). When addressing racism and whiteness in counseling, counselors would be engaging in ethical practice because they are *not* avoiding topics simply because they are uncomfortable. Addressing whiteness in counseling helps clients explore racial consciousness, and trainees can do so while understanding the risks and benefits to the client (Drustrup, 2020). Mentally healthy people are able to perceive reality as it is, and recognize the full humanity of everyone; thus, racism and a false sense of self is a mental health issue to be addressed like other clinical concerns (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Addressing whiteness and racism with attention to the strength of the therapeutic bond and other aspects of a client's mental health and contextual factors is key in the same way that utilizing other challenging interventions can better help the client function in society (Drustrup, 2020).

Bartoli and colleagues (2015) highlight the importance of discussing whiteness with white clients by pointing out that if whiteness is rendered invisible or non-central to the counseling process, then issues of race are relegated to Black, Indigenous, and People of Color within the therapeutic dyad, perpetuating white supremacy. However, Bartoli and colleagues' (2015) work was theoretical, and there remains a lack of current research on white counselors—especially white counseling psychology trainees—discussing whiteness with white clients. Hays

and colleagues (2021) also urge white counselors to integrate conceptualizations of whiteness and racial identity in their work with white clients, specifically noting that this may assist clients in progressing in their identity development, encouraging movement toward anti-racism. More advanced white racial identity is a matter of overall health and improved intrapersonal and interpersonal functioning for white people, as has been argued by Janet Helms for decades (Helms, 1990, 2020). Further, Day-Vines and colleagues have argued that ignoring comments about whiteness, race, and racism made by a white client sets the tone in counseling that uncomfortable discussions will be avoided, which may stymie therapeutic progress and thus be a disservice to clients (Day-Vines et al., 2007). Bringing awareness to whiteness in counseling thus is a way to bring awareness to how white supremacy also harms white people and may promote individual growth and a motivation to change (Macleod, 2013). Although these researchers have advocated for discussing whiteness with white clients (Bartoli et al., 2015; Hays et al., 2021; Macleod, 2013), there is a lack of understanding of how trainees understand their own whiteness and how they are broaching whiteness with white clients.

Counseling psychology doctoral training programs are important to the future of the field because they guide the values, principles, and development of future professionals (Scheel et al., 2018). The field of counseling psychology and doctoral training programs have made some progress in recognizing the importance of focusing on diversity and social justice (Scheel et al., 2018; Vera & Speight, 2003). However, this progress has largely viewed diversity and multicultural competence from the eyes of white people, primarily focused on preparing white trainees to work with racial and ethnic minority "others". Although increasing white trainees' multicultural competence is critically needed, this framework of "othering" avoids acknowledgment of the omnipresence of whiteness and perpetuates marginalization and systemic

silence about the ways white people participate and benefit from systems of oppression and white supremacy (Bartoli et al., 2015; Helms, 2017). Thus, whiteness often has evaded the spotlight in counseling and psychotherapy training programs, disguising itself as the default norm from which all other behavior is seen as deviant (Bartoli et al., 2015). This pattern—a reflection of white racial socialization in the United States—obscures how the culture of whiteness operates (Helms, 2017). Thus, an explicit focus on, in order to deconstruct, whiteness in counseling psychology is merited and has been called for by prominent counseling psychologists (Helms, 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Sue, 2004). However, this research has not been conducted among white counseling psychology doctoral students working with white clients. This topic warrants investigation because—insofar white counseling psychology trainees broaching whiteness with white clients is breaking with white racial socialization (Bartoli et al., 2016; Mills, 2015)—critically attending to and deconstructing this communication is an antiracist step toward a healthier white racial identity for the white counselor, white client, and a step toward a more just and humane society (Bartoli et al., 2015; Hays et al., 2021; Macleod, 2013; Neville et al., 2021).

Statement of the Problem

While some studies have shown that counseling psychology trainees have increased self-reflection of their biases and engaged in consciousness-raising (Singh et al., 2010), research has demonstrated that more typically, white counseling psychology trainees adhere to colorblind racial ideology (i.e., colorblindness), rarely understand themselves as racial beings, or avoid talking about whiteness (Bartoli et al., 2015; Sue et al., 2010). This is problematic, as colorblindness is antithetical to deconstructing whiteness and eradicating white supremacy (Neville et al., 2013). Because racism is a mental health and public health problem (Miller et al.,

2018; Paradies et al., 2015), working toward anti-racism and deconstructing whiteness is a matter of overall health and wellbeing (Hays et al., 2021).

The lifelong journey of deconstructing whiteness necessitates in-depth critical self-examination, understanding and deconstructing one's whiteness at an individual and systemic level (Bartoli et al., 2015), and developing a healthy anti-racist identity (Helms, 1990). Counseling psychologists have been urged to increase understanding of how race impacts all realms of professional practice and engage in life-long practices from an antiracist, anti-oppression framework (APA, 2019; Neville et al., 2021). However, white counseling psychologists broach race infrequently with clients in general, and the extent to which white counseling psychology doctoral trainees broach whiteness with white clients is unclear. If the field of counseling psychology holds antiracism and eradicating white supremacy as an overarching value, then more needs to be known about how white counseling psychology doctoral trainees understand their whiteness and their experiences broaching whiteness with white clients.

Purpose of Study

This qualitative study described and interpreted the essence of how white counseling psychology doctoral students' experiences with *their* whiteness influenced broaching whiteness with white *clients*. The study also explored how the process of broaching whiteness is cognitively and affectively experienced and perceived by the white counseling psychology doctoral trainee. This examination provided a greater understanding of how white counseling psychology doctoral trainees understand their whiteness and how they make sense of their work broaching whiteness with white clients. Developing counseling psychologists must have a critical understanding of themselves as racial beings in order to work against racism in

themselves and engage in antiracist clinical practice. Further, this study identified common needs regarding white racial identity development and consciousness-raising in APA accredited counseling psychology doctoral training programs. Gaining insight from the perspectives of white counseling psychology doctoral trainees will add to the literature by providing a clearer understanding of the relationship between trainees' self-awareness of their whiteness and their clinical work broaching whiteness with white clients.

Further, this study will provide the perspectives of doctoral trainees after the onset of the "twin pandemics of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) and the increased awareness of structural racism" both of which occurred nationwide and globally (Neville et al., 2021, p. 1249). The Black Lives Matter movement and protests against accentuated systemic racism and police brutality were ignited by mid-2020, making the millions marching the largest multi-racial movement in the history of the United States (Buchanan et al., 2020). Participants in this study were interviewed in the spring of 2023, and their perspectives represent a snapshot of how white trainees understood their own whiteness and how this impacted their clinical work broaching whiteness with white clients. In order to work toward antiracism, the importance of documenting white racial identity development during this time period cannot be understated.

In an article highlighting the importance of investigating whiteness in counseling and psychotherapy, Bartoli and colleagues (2015) urge the field to move from conceptualization from an additive model of identities to a structural, social justice model that builds on the intersectionality scholarship of Women of Color (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991). Although counselors acknowledge the need to work with all clients on gender socialization, many white counselors do not deem racial socialization significant when working with white clients. However, imparting racial socialization may assist clients with social interactions and

development, thus improving social functioning (Bartoli et al., 2015), thus supporting an ultimate aim of this research.

White counseling psychology doctoral students have the opportunity to deconstruct and explore whiteness with white clients, akin to exploring the client's other social identities as mentioned above (Bartoli et al., 2015). To illustrate, a counselor might explore how a male's gender identity is unique and individual to him, while also exploring how he is embedded and impacted by the larger system of patriarchal masculinity that damages his psyche (hooks, 2015). Patriarchal masculinity denies males access to full emotional well-being—which bell hooks points out is different from access to power and control—and replaces "true intimacy with complex, covert layers of dominance and submission, collusion and manipulation" (hooks, 2015, p. 6). This is parallel to the process of broaching whiteness—a manifestation of white supremacy—with white clients because racism dehumanizes people, obstructs meaningful relationships, and obscures accurate perceptions of reality (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

The social impact of white counseling psychology trainees *not* exploring their whiteness or broaching whiteness with white clients is maintaining the status quo of racial oppression and white supremacy (Day-Vines et al., 2007). The status quo is deadly—comprised of racial inequalities in virtually every sector of society, including education, housing, health care, legal systems, and poverty (Bonilla-Silva, 2017). These deadly inequalities can be understood by their impact on social determinants of health—nonmedical factors that influence health outcomes—with research showing that life expectancy among non-Hispanic Black Americans is four years lower than that of white Americans (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). The CDC reports data showing that due to centuries of racial oppression in the United States, minoritized racial and ethnic populations experience higher rates of illness, disease, and death

across a wide range of health conditions, including diabetes, hypertension, obesity, asthma, and heart disease when compared to their white counterparts (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021). Moreover, a meta-analysis of 293 unique studies reported in articles published between 1983 and 2013 found that racism was a determinant of ill-health, including poorer mental health—especially psychological stress, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety—poorer general health, and poorer physical health (Paradies et al., 2015).

The World Health Organization (WHO) has also recently acknowledged that Indigenous, African descent, Roma, and other ethnically minoritized people experience racism, and that this racial discrimination results in poorer health outcomes which was evidenced and exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic (WHO, 2023). Racism has been declared as a public health crisis by many cities, states, and in 2021, the United States House of Representatives (American Public Health Association, 2022; Declaring Racism a Public Health Crisis, 2021). Further, APA adopted a resolution centering race and ethnicity and acknowledging racism as the key driver of health inequities, calling for the field to take immediate and transformative action (APA, 2021b).

Less is known about how racism and white supremacy negatively affect white people. However, well-established harmful mental and physical health effects of white supremacy on white people range from: a distorted sense of reality and maladjustment (Bowser & Hunt, 1981); loss of relationships (Helms, 1990, 1995); fear, anger, guilt, shame (Grzanka et al., 2020; Helms, 1990, 1995; Siegel, 2010; Siegel & Carter, 2014; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004); increased deaths by gun suicide, and falling life expectancies (Metzl, 2019). It is imperative that white people see themselves as part of the work to deconstruct and dismantle white supremacy, and thus understanding how they are negatively impacted may help motivate them to engage in this work of increasing their own humanity.

One theoretical framework that explains why it is so difficult for white people to understand how they are contributing toward the maintenance of systemic racism and negatively impacted by white supremacy is *the white racial frame* (Feagin, 2020). The white racial frame is an overarching white worldview and way of understanding and interpreting social life that includes subtle, covert, and blatant support of racial oppression, anti-Black racial mythologies, persisting racial interpretations, and an array of white emotions, reactions, and racialized inclinations that overtime have become embedded—to varying degrees—in the white person's character structure and is passed down intergenerationally (Feagin, 2020). The white racial frame has become increasingly comprehensive over centuries of operation and constantly adapts to maintain and perpetuate systemic racism and white supremacy.

To think and act outside the white racial frame, Feagin emphasizes the process of *deframing*, "consciously taking apart and critically analyzing elements of the white racial frame" (Feagin, 2020, p. 246) and *reframing*, "accepting or creating a new frame to replace that white frame" (Feagin, 2020, p. 246). Deframing and antiracist reframing necessitates many hours, months, and years of instruction on the reality of systemic racial oppression, development of critical awareness of white supremacy culture, and interrogation of an array of white emotions connected to racist and white supremacist views. Yet, the context of counseling psychology training is one in which white trainees are rarely taught to examine or counter the white racial frame for themselves or with their white clients. This research seeks to examine the state of this process in the counseling room and the associated white emotion laden beliefs.

Similarly, Malott and colleagues (2021) highlighted several strategies used by white people to address their racism. Their recent phenomenological study explored the lived experiences of 10 white people committed to antiracism action who exhibited characteristics of

the Autonomy status of Helms's white racial identity development theory (see Helms, 1995, 2013; Helms & Carter, 1990a). Thematic findings revealed that the white people engaged in both proactive and responsive strategies to manage their own racial bias. Proactive strategies included: 1) depersonalization and acknowledgement of inherent racism, 2) viewing the work as a lifelong process, 3) continual education, 4) continual vigilance, 5) integrated living, and 6) attitude of appreciation. Responsive strategies included: 1) negative affect, 2) effort to minimize impact of the affect, 3) forgiveness, 4) allies, and 5) taking action. These themes emphasized that although a hallmark of the Autonomy status is a fully nonracist white identity, participants in this study expressed the belief that this was impossible. Participants chose instead to remain vigilant in noticing personal racism and mitigating the effects using both proactive and responsive tactics (Malott et al., 2021).

Implications of Malott and colleagues' research for the field of counseling psychology include understanding that counseling psychologists and trainees can normalize personal racism, process, and work through identified strategies, allowing for greater emotional and cognitive resources toward antiracism efforts (Malott et al., 2021). For example, beginning June 1, 2022, the Michigan Public Health Code requires professionals, including counselors and psychologists, seeking initial or renewal of licensure to participate in implicit bias training (Licensing and Regulatory Affairs, 2023). This state level requirement is a step toward increasing psychologists' understanding of their implicit bias and personal racism and how it impacts the counseling relationship; further, it is an example of continual lifelong education of working toward managing individual racial bias. However, it is not enough.

Incorporating a critical perspective in clinical work with white clients has increasingly been called to combat white supremacy (Grzanka et al., 2019). The movement toward anti-

racism and the increased self-reflection and understanding that accompanies this process is a matter of overall health, increased interpersonal functioning, and progress toward a more just and humane society (Hays et al., 2021; Helms, 2017; Neville et al., 2021). Exploring and dismantling whiteness and internalized white supremacy is especially important and relevant for white clients, because white individuals are generally racially underdeveloped (Leonardo & Manning, 2017). Grzanka and colleagues (2019) argued in a recent article that counseling psychologists have the tools to combat global white supremacy by raising consciousness and developing antiracist allies, and that this must be incorporated into psychology training programs.

Significance of Study

This research is broadly significant to the field of counseling psychology, the wider social science disciplines, and all programs, fields, and interpersonal interactions that may benefit from white people having greater understanding of their communication about whiteness. Within counseling psychology, administrative leaders, faculty, staff, directors of training, practicum and internship instructors, and supervisors may incorporate the results of this research into teaching, research, clinical practice and supervision, and outreach and workshops to increase white trainees' awareness of their whiteness and its influence on broaching whiteness with white clients.

This research is in alignment with many of counseling psychology's core values, including a focus on social justice, diversity, and multiculturalism; a developmental perspective; an ecological biopsychosocial framework; and prevention, strengths, and wellness (Lichtenberg et al., 2018; Munley et al., 2004; Scheel et al., 2018). It is also in alignment with the essence of APA's (2017) Multicultural Guidelines and APA's (2019) Guidelines on Race and Ethnicity (APA, 2017, 2019). Further, this research is developmentally appropriate for counseling

psychology trainees in multiple life-long practices (e.g., cultural humility, relevance, curriculum decolonization) of the public psychology for liberation training model (Neville et al., 2021).

Studying the perceptions and experiences of white counseling psychology doctoral students' understanding of their whiteness and how this impacts broaching whiteness with white clients is essential to increasing the trainees' racial self-awareness, antiracism efforts, and assisting white clients' progress in their identity development, encouraging movement toward antiracism (Hays et al., 2021). In sum, although the topic of broaching race, ethnicity, and other social identities on which the counselor and client differ has been explored (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2018; King & Borders, 2019), a specific focus on how white counseling psychology trainees' lived experiences with their whiteness influences broaching whiteness with white clients has not been examined.

Research Questions

1. How does white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients?
2. How does broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students?

Research Design Overview

This study utilized the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) research approach to examine how a purposeful sample of white counseling psychology doctoral students understood their whiteness and how it affected their broaching whiteness with white clients. IPA focuses on the identity of the individual, and personal meaning and sense-making of a particular experience in a particular context (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). This methodology

is congruent with counseling psychology because exploring the details of an individual's experiences is a central part of professional practice (Hays & Wood, 2011).

The IPA methodology and research design of the current study are described in detail in Chapter Three. The population, sampling, recruitment, data collection procedures, and data analysis methods are reviewed thoroughly. Trustworthiness strategies and research positionality are discussed as well and are described in subsequent chapters as they are relevant.

Researcher

Qualitative research acknowledges that true objectivity is impossible, and that the researcher's social positioning plays a central role in the co-construction of meaning with participants in the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merrick, 1999; Morrow, 2007). Acknowledgment of the influence of the researcher's identities and how the researcher and participant bidirectionally influence the research is central to the phenomenological approach, especially interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith et al., 2021). Acknowledging and setting aside assumptions prior to research is part of the phenomenological attitude (Wertz, 2005), and thus, my relevant research experience, identities, beliefs, biases, and assumptions are stated below.

I am a racially white, ethnically mixed, heterosexual, upper-middle class, agnostic, United States citizen, and cisgender woman who is a counseling psychology doctoral student in an APA accredited program. I have been socialized and racialized as white and have internalized white supremacist cultural norms. I have many dominant identities and realize I have only begun to unlearn my racist thoughts, behaviors, and values. I have learned from and alongside the participants in this study, and I will continue unlearning my internalized racist conditioning, as this is lifelong work.

I have a Bachelor of Arts in interdisciplinary psychology and social-anthropology and a Master of Arts in Counseling Psychology. I have experience conducting qualitative research as an undergraduate and graduate student, including experience with race-focused topics. My nascent awareness of my whiteness began in 2013, and my research topic was developed after reading Helms's call for white psychologists to study whiteness explicitly, including self-exploring their own whiteness and how it affects themselves and other white people (Helms, 2017). As a white-identified person, my personal and professional experiences and growth, as well as my white racial identity development, drew me to the topic of this qualitative research. I am personally and professionally interested and committed to deconstructing whiteness in myself and in clinical, community, and research settings. I sought to better understand the meanings white trainees make of their whiteness and how it is enacted in the clinical room with white clients. When I started this research, I conceptualized it as part of the larger work committed to dismantling white supremacy.

Below are five beliefs, assumptions, and biases that I had going into this study. I share these in order to engage in deeper critical and reflexive scholarship, as the more I uncover my assumptions, the more I can work to undo their effects, so that this research is not a phenomenological study of my perspectives on the subject matter, but instead the understandings of the phenomenon from the participants (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2012). First, it is best practice for white counseling psychology doctoral trainees to broach whiteness with white clients. Second, most white trainees do not broach whiteness with white clients. Third, white trainees who participate in this study are interested in broaching whiteness with white clients. Fourth, the dynamics of white racial socialization will manifest during the interview process and that as a white counseling trainee myself, I may not be able to identify all the dynamics of whiteness

manifesting in the interview. Fifth, I will assume I understand what the interviewee is talking about and interpret what they are sharing through my own experiences and lens.

My beliefs, assumptions, and biases stemmed from my own racial identity developmental lens and my personal and professional work toward antiracism. I engaged in reflexivity practices to contain the above-stated beliefs, assumptions, and biases so that data coding and analyses reflected participants' intended meanings (Smith et al., 2021). Although it may not be possible to fully take a not-knowing stance, I did my best to take a stance of curiosity and cultural humility, which was other-oriented, respectful, and open to learning (Hook et al., 2016). Content and process questions that attempted to address the above biases and assumptions were included in the interview protocol (e.g., What are some ways that whiteness is showing up between us now, as we are talking about whiteness?). A detailed review of additional trustworthiness methods is described in Chapter Three.

Description of Concepts

Whiteness is a complex multidimensional construction of policies and practices that are embedded in every aspect of society (Helms, 2017). Thus, whiteness interacts with many different multifaceted issues including identity, racial socialization, and counseling. Due to the intricacy of these concepts, and the different ways these terms are described and used in the literature, below are the definitions that represent my working understanding of these concepts in this text.

Broaching

Broaching is a counselor's deliberate and intentional effort to introduce and invite the client to examine the relationship of racial and sociopolitical factors to the client's counseling concerns (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2020).

Race

Psychologists continue to define and perceive *race* from various viewpoints and frames of reference, which are connected to questions and debates over law, human rights and values, sociopolitical policy, and the characteristics of particular societies at specific times (J. M. Jones, 1997; Yee et al., 1993). Thus, the social construction of race has and continues to change over time and lacks a clear generally agreed-upon definition (Cokley, 2007). Although race is a social and political construction, it has been used to categorize people based on perceived shared physical traits that result in the maintenance of a sociopolitical hierarchy (APA, 2019). However, critically conscious scholars agree that race is a socially constructed concept and has no basis in genetics (Helms et al., 2005; Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996). For this study, race is defined as an ongoing socially constructed project of white supremacy that serves to separate groups into superior and inferior categories to maintain white supremacy (J. M. Jones, 1997).

Whiteness

Whiteness is defined in this study as both a psychological characteristic of white people, a socially constructed identity, and an "ownership" worldview supported by institutions and overt and subliminal systemic processes and material practices that favor the white racial group over all others (Du Bois, 1920; Helms, 1984, 2017; Leonardo, 2009). Whiteness may be further understood as a standpoint from which white people look at themselves, at others, and at society, and a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed (Frankenburg, 1993; Hays et al., 2021). Whiteness further encompasses racial behaviors and experiences related to shaping interactions inside and outside of families and occupying an absolute dominant position in society (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011; McGoldrick & Hardy, 2019a). In essence, whiteness is a construct, a standpoint, and an identity associated with racial hierarchy that centralizes power

and status (Schooley et al., 2019). In the literature review that follows, further discussion of the construct of whiteness is included.

Summary

Chapter One introduced the problem of whiteness in counseling psychology and why the field must better understand and focus on white trainees' broaching whiteness with white clients to deconstruct and dismantle white supremacy. The statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, and research approach were described. Researcher assumptions were articulated as well. Chapter One concluded with the significance of the study and a description of key concepts.

Chapter Two reviews the related literature. The historical context of whiteness in counseling psychology is described, followed by a critical review of white racial identity development and consciousness. This critical review includes sections examining current literature and scales related to psychosocial costs of racism to whites, white privilege attitudes, and antiracism behavior. Because this study focuses on white counseling psychology doctoral trainees, a brief review of the developmental and white racial socialization literature is also provided as background for this study. Broaching is also reviewed and discussed as it is a relatively recent framework and is foundational to this study. Also included is a review of literature on the primary theoretical framework of critical whiteness studies.

The remainder of this dissertation is formatted in the following manner. Chapter Three describes the qualitative methodology, methods, and conceptual framework used in the present study. Chapter Four presents the main findings produced by the analysis, along with a discussion of the themes and interpretations. Chapter Five concludes the dissertation with a summary of the

central findings, discussion of the contributions and implications of the research, and articulation of the strengths, generalizability, and limitations of this study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This study examines how white counseling psychology doctoral students understand their whiteness, how this effects their broaching whiteness with white clients, and how the trainees' experience, perceive, and make meaning of these experiences. This review of whiteness literature contains five sections. The first section illustrates the historic context of whiteness in counseling psychology. The second section outlines the development of empirical research on whiteness. This section starts off with racial identity research by African American scholars and then follows with white racial identity research. Further scales, measures, and inventories on interconnected aspects of whiteness and white racial socialization are also discussed.

The third section discusses developmental stage and racial socialization. The fourth section provides a critical review of broaching research. Broaching is defined, a brief chronology is provided, current models are reviewed, and the importance and significance of broaching to the counseling process are discussed. Literature exploring counselors' self-awareness as an aspect of broaching among white counseling psychology doctoral trainees is also reviewed.

The final section consists of a review of this study's conceptual and theoretical framework. An overview of the qualitative methodology is provided, followed by a review of critical theories, critical race theory, and critical whiteness studies. A critique of the primary theoretical frame, critical whiteness studies, is also explored.

Historical Context of Whiteness in Counseling Psychology

Whiteness has often been defined in relation to Blackness (Helms, 1984; Mills, 1997). Thus, understanding the foundational race related scholarship and research on Black racial identity development in counseling psychology by critical Black, Indigenous, and Scholars of

Color must precede exploring and understanding whiteness—especially for white scholars such as myself—as mainstream psychology has ignored Black psychologists, specifically Black women such as Dr. Janet E. Helms, marginalizing their transformative contributions to psychological science (Adames et al., 2023). Further, because race is a sociopolitical construction, scholarship on race must include critical Scholars of Color because white scholars alone are not able to provide the full picture due to different racialized conditions and psychological realities (Helms, 1995). The section below briefly reviews the history of the multicultural movement, Black racial identity theory, and the publications that gave rise to the study of white racial identity and whiteness in counseling psychology.

The 1950s is credited with the birth of the multicultural movement, which emphasized the importance of race, ethnicity, and culture in counseling (Robinson & Morris, 2000). Clemmont Vontress was an intellectual force of this era and a pioneer of cross-cultural counseling (Vontress, 1971, 1988), which was central to developing multicultural studies (Phillips, 2021). In this vein, Robert V. Guthrie—a founding member of the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi)—outlined the history of contributions of Black scholars in his book, *Even the Rat Was White: A Historical View of Psychology* (Guthrie, 2004), which highlighted their exclusion from mainstream psychology and how that exclusion has legitimized white supremacy (Tyrell et al., 2023). A major milestone in counseling psychology was when Derald Wing Sue and colleagues (1982) published a position paper calling for systemic change in the field to provide appropriate mental health services to clients from the Global Majority (i.e., Black, Indigenous, and People of Color [BIPOC] globally) (Robinson & Morris, 2000; Singh et al., 2020). From a critical theoretical perspective, this was a step toward deconstructing whiteness

insofar that it made race, ethnicity, and culture salient and a factor undeniably worthy of study in the counseling profession.

Alongside the multicultural movement, the 1970s saw William Cross's proposal of the seminal stage model and theory of psychological Nigrescence, the developmental process of becoming Black (Cross, 1971, 1991, 1995). Cross's Black racial identity theory is now the most popular and researched model of Black identity development (Neville & Cross, 2017). Cross's research built off the work of prior scholars, including Joseph White, whose ideas called into question the neutrality of the psychological paradigms of the time that were geared toward white people, and who called for the development of a Black psychology (Cross, 1971). In 1991, Cross made substantial revisions to his theory, including changes to the number of stages and identity clusters at each stage. Cross's revised theory gave rise to a newer scale, the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) in 2001 (Cross & Vandiver, 2001), with validated psychometrics published the next year (Vandiver et al., 2002). The CRIS spurred a plethora of empirical research on Black racial identity, specifically within counseling psychology (Sullivan & Cross, 2016). For this study, Black racial identity research demonstrated the importance of racial consciousness to the individual client and the therapeutic relationship, both within and between races.

In 1984, Janet Helms built off Cross's Black racial identity research and published "Toward a Theoretical Explanation of the Effects of Race on Counseling: A Black and White Model." This groundbreaking theoretical article introduced a theory of white racial identity and a modified model of Black racial consciousness; discussed the individual dynamics and behavioral patterns as they impacted the counseling relationship; reviewed how stages of racial consciousness may affect the counseling process; and discussed training interventions (Helms, 1984). In sum, this impactful article proposed a cross- and same-race counseling interaction

model to the field of counseling psychology. It was the first of its kind to critically examine the racial consciousness of white individuals and how they also impact the counseling relationship.

The late 1980s and early 1990s brought, for the first time in counseling psychology, a critical gaze backed by theory that turned toward deconstructing whiteness and white racial identity and how it impacted the therapeutic alliance (Helms, 1984, 1990). In 1990, Helms and Carter (1990b) published the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) and continued to publish many other influential articles that fueled an enormous amount of research on racial identity and whiteness (Carter, 1995; Pope-Davis et al., 1999). Carter also published significant scholarship on the topic and specifically provided evidence for the relationship between the WRIAS and racism, finding that white racial identity attitudes were predictive of racism among white college students (Carter, 1990). Helms and Carter's research pushed the field toward recognizing whiteness as a racial construct that needed better understanding in order to deconstruct it (Carter, 1995).

Recognizing the importance of race and the necessity of multiculturalism in counseling psychology have been a long and arduous journey (Ivey & Collins, 2003; Sue, 1992). The movement advanced in stages, and another major step forward was the publication of the "Multicultural Counseling Competencies and Standards: A Call to the Profession" in 1992 (MCC; Sue et al., 1992). Additional progress was attained with the publication of the "Operationalization of the Multicultural Counseling Competencies" in 1996 (Arredondo et al., 1996), and approval of the "Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organization Change for Psychologists" (Multicultural Guidelines) in 2002 (APA, 2003). It is important to understand these publications from a human rights and movement building framework (Singh et al., 2020), as they were critically important in indisputably affirming the

necessity and importance of considering race, ethnicity, and culture in the counseling process. These publications can also be understood as providing rationale for examining white racial identity and whiteness in the counseling process.

After critiques asserting that good counseling was culture free, and general resistance to the multiculturalism movement abated around 2005 (Singh et al., 2020), scholars pushed the field to move beyond mere acceptance and complacency to a true commitment to multiculturalism grounded in a social justice, advocacy, prevention, and outreach framework (Spanierman & Poteat, 2005; Vera & Speight, 2003). However, a descriptive content analysis of 54 multicultural and diversity-related course syllabi drawn from APA accredited counseling and counseling psychology programs found that most courses adhered to the awareness, knowledge, and skills paradigm, and efforts to address social justice advocacy were found to be inadequate or not clearly articulated (Pieterse et al., 2009). An answer to this gap in the field came in 2016, with a revision to the original Multicultural Counseling Competencies (Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1992) titled, "Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies: Guidelines for the Counseling Profession" (MSJCC; Ratts et al., 2016). The MSJCC reflects a more inclusive understanding of culture and diversity and encompasses counselors taking an active social justice advocacy role and acknowledging the lifelong process of developing multicultural competence and practicing cultural humility (Ratts et al., 2016). In addition to having multicultural and social justice praxis at its core, the MSJCC highlights counselor self-awareness as the innermost developmental domain, followed by client worldview, counseling relationship, and counseling and advocacy interventions.

The MSJCC extends the original three domains of awareness, knowledge, and skills by adding a fourth domain of action (Ratts et al., 2016). In the spirit of responsive practice, the

publication of the updated "Multicultural Guidelines: An Ecological Approach to Context, Identity, and Intersectionality, 2017" (APA, 2017), and the "APA Guidelines on Race and Ethnicity in Psychology" (APA, 2019) were two contributions that added significant research and application to the multiculturalism movement. Many also lauded the recent apology issued by APA, "Apology to People of Color for APA's Role in Promoting, Perpetuating, and Failing to Challenge Racism, Racial Discrimination, and Human Hierarchy in U.S." (APA, 2021a) and the second proposed resolution, "Psychology's Role in Dismantling Systemic Racism: Racial Equity Action Plan" (Akbar et al., 2022). Some of the specific points APA apologized for included: exploiting, harming, misdiagnosing, over diagnosing, and disadvantaging communities of color; systemically adopting and utilizing eugenic concepts thereby creating and maintaining the ideology of white supremacy; promulgating ideas of human hierarchy; protecting white people and white epistemologies; imposing racial inequality through the misuse of assessment and testing practices; perpetuating invisibility and lack of quality research on Communities of Color; and centering white researchers as experts on ethnically diverse groups without accountability or follow up to the group of individuals studied (APA, 2021a).

The Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi, 2021) swiftly responded to APA's public apology with a critique of the honesty, semantics, rhetoric, and pragmatics of the resolution, pointing out the omissions, hollow symbolism, patronization, obfuscation, revisionist history, and hoarding of power by not "abdicating their unjustifiable claim to be the arbiter of universal human functioning" (ABPsi, 2021, p. 2). Specific points ABPsi called attention to included: the exclusion of predominant psychological history that promoted belief in racial hierarchy by pathologizing enslaved Africans' desire for freedom and liberation (i.e., Cartwright's "Drapetomania"; see Cartwright, 1851/1967); not consulting with ABPsi and other

ethnic psychological associations; failing to implement practices in alignment with current ethical codes of conduct; seeking absolution from white guilt through a symbolic victory; and attempting to author a new narrative by fabricating the historical record and engaging in destructive and revisionist history (ABPsi, 2021). ABPsi highlights that APA could, alternatively, engage in real justice by empowering and granting full authority to ABPsi and other ethnic associations to establish their own independent and separate code of ethics, licensing, certification, and education and training (ABPsi, 2021).

This public debate between APA and ABPsi highlights the tension between longstanding white institutions that have maintained white supremacy now calling for reform and organizations founded by Black, Indigenous, and People of Color fighting for real justice and systemic change. Further, the APA apology and ABPsi response exemplify the push and pull of progress and regress, as the work of antiracism is not inevitable nor steady. Indeed, the need for continual systemic intervention against anti-Black racism is made clear in a recent special issue of *American Psychologist* on the past and present contributions of Black scholars to psychology (Tyrell et al., 2023). On an individual level, author and activist Layla Saad calls on white-identified individuals to "pull out, confront, and own their part of the narrative that keeps the system running" (Saad, 2020, p. 97). This requires intentional efforts by all white psychologists and trainees to critically examine the historical and present white supremacy in the field and themselves.

The above history of whiteness in counseling psychology highlights that the multicultural movement and research on Black racial identity have been instrumental for the field of counseling psychology and the ongoing development of white racial identity research. Further, this history illuminates that awareness, knowledge, and skills must be accompanied with racially

conscious self-reflection and social justice action on the part of counseling psychologists (Singh et al., 2020). There have been recent calls to engage in more critical practice that problematizes whiteness and white supremacy, as well as engage in anti-racist clinical work with white clients (Grzanka et al., 2019; Neville et al., 2021). However, this work has primarily been discussed conceptually (Bayne et al., 2021; Hays et al., 2021; Ratts et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2020). Engaging in more racially conscious counseling practice is crucial—especially for white counseling psychologists—because counselor self-awareness, including racial awareness is a central tool for lifelong personal and professional development as well as strengthening the therapeutic alliance (Day-Vines et al., 2007). Addressing whiteness within ourselves and within the counseling relationship is a prerequisite to dismantling whiteness and white supremacy in society. In the next section, the development of white racial identity theories and approaches will be reviewed, as this scholarship is important to understand the foundation of this study's population and research focus.

Development of Empirical Research on Whiteness

Research on race and Black racial identity by critical Scholars of Color laid the foundation for research on whiteness and white racial identity. This development was important not only to racial identity researchers and critical whiteness studies scholars, but to the field of counseling psychology. This is because counseling psychologists use models and frameworks to understand clients and themselves better. Further, the focus on what is right, along with the multicultural counseling movement—that gave rise to focusing on race, identity, and social justice—distinguished the field of counseling psychology from other related disciplines (Scheel et al., 2018). Thus, the development of white racial identity research and the sequential

scholarship on whiteness can be argued as central to the core values of counseling psychology and why the field must continue to advance in this area.

Further, counseling psychologists must understand themselves because they are the primary tool in counseling. Understanding oneself has been established as critical and essential in the profession due to the impact of transference, countertransference, creation of conceptualization, and the subjective and interpersonal nature of counseling (Berzoff, 2016; Kolden et al., 2018; Rønnestad & Skovholt, 2003). Thus, increased understanding of one's racial identity also advances the personal and professional development of white counseling psychologists as race is a central part of one's identity and a worthy research topic (Helms, 1984, 2017; Parham & Helms, 1981). White racial identity has been defined as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p. 3). Prior to the development of white racial identity models white clinicians often did not account for the impact of their racial identity in counseling, let alone when working with white clients (Helms, 1984. Thus, to understand where whiteness and white racial identity research in counseling psychology is today, it is important to review the development of the theory that began in the 1980s.

Rita Hardiman proposed the first model of white identity development (WID) in a doctoral dissertation (1982). Hardiman sought to understand and explain how white people, as members of the racially privileged group in the United States, were affected by race and racism (Hardiman, 1982, 2001). Hardiman updated the model in 1992 and then later provided an analysis of the model citing that it was "more of a prescription for what I felt whites needed to do than a description of experiences that whites shared" (Hardiman, 2001, p. 113). Further, Hardiman (2001) acknowledged that the WID model was not empirically researched, and there is

little if any evidence of a redefinition or internalization stage. Hardiman further reflected that the WID model largely ignored how whites related to their whiteness (Hardiman, 2001). Although Hardiman's model is used less now after the focus shifted toward validation of newer models of white racial identity and assessment (Hardiman & Keehn, 2012), it is important to consider as it was the first model of white identity development proposed and had some influence on other theorists and the field of counseling psychology more broadly.

White Racial Identity Development

In 1984, Janet E. Helms proposed an original model of white racial identity development (WRID) alongside a new model of Black racial identity development (BRID). Helms (1984) sought to investigate the interplay between Black and white people in counseling relationships, examining both Black and white racial identity. Helms and colleagues noted the majority of the literature on white people's identity focuses on white peoples' prejudice toward Black people (Carter, 1990; Carter et al., 2004; Helms, 1984). Helms considered this problematic because conceptualizing identity as focusing on feelings toward another does not provide information about how white people feel about themselves as racial beings (Helms, 1984, p. 155). Helms's (1984) WRID model and Helms and Carter's (1990a) White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) inspired the majority of sequential research on white racial identity in the field of counseling psychology (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007; Reynolds & Baluch, 2001). For this reason, Helms's WRID model will be described and reviewed in detail below because it is pivotal to white racial identity development research, the field of counseling psychology, and highly influential on this researcher's understanding of whiteness and the formulation of this study.

Helms's white racial identity development (WRID) model is split into two processes: the abandonment of racism and the development of an antiracist white identity (Helms, 1984, 1990, 1995, 2013). The abandonment of racism phase consists of three stages: Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. The updated development of an antiracist white identity phase consists of three stages: Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy (Helms, 1995).

Contact is characterized by being oblivious to one's white racial identity (Helms, 1995, 2013). The white person may be aware of Black people vicariously or directly. The white person is largely exposed to negative information and stereotypes of Black people perpetuated through the media and reinforced by institutional and cultural racism. White people who continue to interact with Black people directly and see or have the racial disparities pointed out to them enter the second stage, Disintegration. **Disintegration** is characterized by a conscious, although somewhat confused and conflicted, acknowledgment of one's white identity. Helms (2013) underscores the importance of affect, specifically emotional discomfort and dissonance, in this status as it plays a part in how the white person will proceed—holding onto racism or abandoning racism.

The white person who chooses to retain racist beliefs and avoid contact with Black people moves into the **Reintegration** status, acknowledges their whiteness, and believes in white racial superiority and Black inferiority. Helms observes that in United States society, it is relatively easy for white people to fixate or stagnate at this stage, especially if they are relatively passive in their expression of it (Helms, 1990). A jarring event (e.g., the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s or the murder of George Floyd in 2020) that highlights structural racism in the United States can stimulate white people to abandon the racist identity of the Reintegration status (Helms, 2013). Catalyst event or gradual progression of self-examination, the white person who

chooses to work toward abandoning racism changes their behavior to be around more Black people, works to change their environment toward more awareness of racial inequities, and moves through Reintegration and into the second phase, development of an antiracist white identity.

Helms (1990, 1995, 2013) theorized that the development of an antiracist white identity phase is comprised of three statuses: Pseudo-Independent, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. **Pseudo-Independence** is an intellectualized acceptance of each person's racial identity, a questioning of the hierarchy of race, and the imperfect beginning of acknowledging and redefining a positive white identity (Helms, 2013). However, despite these emerging beliefs, the white person often still behaves in ways that support the system of white supremacy. Helms points out that the white person in Pseudo-Independence may be treated suspiciously by Black people who, rightfully so, doubt the person's motives. White people may also reject the white person as they are going against white racial norms. At this juncture, persistence in white racial identity development may depend on some personal affective rewards (e.g., self-esteem) that may encourage the person to continue strengthening their positive white identity (Helms, 1990).

Immersion/Emersion is characterized by the white person's quest for positive aspects of whiteness that are unrelated to racial hierarchy and racism. This can be difficult as whiteness is often invisible and there are few positive white racial role models (Helms, 2020). Helms (2013) summarizes this status as an "honest appraisal of racism and significance of whiteness" (2013, p. 210). The white person must unlearn stereotypes and myths about white and Black people and replace them with accurate information, shifting the focus on this status from changing and fixing Black people to internal recognition of what it means to be white. Helms (1990) highlights that educational experiences and emotional and cognitive restructuring are key. The white person

may reexperience previous emotions that were denied or distorted, thus recognizing and processing emotions is necessary to the successful resolution of Immersion/Emersion, and overall white racial identity development.

Autonomy is the final and ongoing status of developing an antiracist white identity. Autonomy is characterized by internalizing a multicultural identity with antiracist whiteness as its core (Helms, 2013). White people in this status work to apply their new definition of whiteness in all aspects of their lives and no longer assign hierarchical value to people from different racial or cultural groups. Helms states that white people who have reached this status work to become increasingly aware of how systemic oppression operates in other realms (e.g., sex, gender identity, social class), and how these forms of systemic oppression intersect with systemic racism. Helms points out that white people in this status seek new information and ways of thinking about systemic oppression and take action to eliminate them. Helms points out that there is a paucity of positive white models in the United States, and that it is fairly easy to remain in the initial statuses of WRID (Helms, 2013).

Progression of Whiteness Assessment

Helms's theory of white racial identity development and contributions to the field of counseling psychology have been enormous and spurred a plethora of racial identity research (Cokley & Vandiver, 2012). Helms's racial identity model, racial identity scales, and racial identity interaction model stimulated research and advanced the field in investigating whiteness and other races and ethnicities (Cokley & Vandiver, 2012). This study's focus on whiteness thus warrants a select review of alternative and competing models and assessments of whiteness to add to the broader understanding of the history and progression of research on whiteness in counseling psychology. This review will also demonstrate where the strengths and gaps are in

this literature, and in the understanding of whiteness as it relates to white counseling psychology doctoral trainees.

After Helms (1984) published her seminal white racial identity theory, and shortly after Helms and Carter (1990b) published their WRIAS, Sabnani and colleagues (1991) proposed a five-stage white identity developmental model for multicultural counseling training. This conceptual and integrative stage model was intended for white middle-class counselors and integrated and extended the work of multiple multicultural competency experts, developmental theorists, and white racial identity development specialists, most notably Helms (1984) and Sue and colleagues (1982). Although this training model did not become widely used in the field as it lacked empirical support, it was unique and pragmatic as it provided specific practice and training goals and tasks in all five stages across the multicultural competencies of beliefs/attitudes, knowledge, and skills (Sabnani et al., 1991). This developmental model emphasized the necessity of facilitating white counselor trainees' racial identity development in clinical practice. However, as retrospectively reviewed by Helms (2013), the focus was primarily on how this development would increase cross-cultural counseling, with little emphasis on investigating the harmful consequences of white supremacy on white people.

Contrastingly, Rowe and colleagues (1994) directly critiqued Helms's WRID model and proposed an alternate conceptualization of racially oriented attitudes: white racial consciousness. First, they claimed that Helms's model was improperly based on minority identity development models, and thus is not fitting for white people who undergo very different racial socialization practices as the dominant group in United States society (Rowe et al., 1994). Second, they problematize Helms's model as being too focused on white people's attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, with scant attention to how white people develop levels of sensitivity to their

own white identity (Rowe et al., 1994). Third, they assert that Helms's model is not a developmental model and question the linear progression from least mentally healthy to most healthy as based only on Helms's imposed ethics (Rowe et al., 1994).

Rather than a model like Helms, Rowe and colleagues (Rowe et al., 1994) proposed the White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS). The scale included seven types of white racial consciousness divided into two phases: three unachieved (avoidant, dependent, and dissonant), and four achieved (dominative, conflictive, reactive, and integrative) (Rowe et al., 1994). Just as Rowe and colleagues' critiqued Helms's model, Helms critiqued the WRCDS, and a lot of research was subsequently generated testing the psychometrics of both assessments which advanced the field.

During this timeframe, Choney and Behrens (1996) developed the Oklahoma Racial Attitude Scale-Preliminary Form (ORAS-P) which operationalized Rowe and colleagues' model of white racial consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994, 1995). The conceptual model of white racial consciousness was later revised, and the ORAS-P was replaced by the psychometrically stronger Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS) (LaFleur et al., 2002). The strengths and limitations of these scales were fully discussed (Pope-Davis et al., 1999), which underscored the continued progress of racial identity development research and measurement as debate generated further research in the field (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007).

Sue and Sue (2016) proposed a seven-step descriptive model of white racial identity development, an update from their past work in 1990, that integrates new research from other scholars and researchers and their observations working with white trainees and clinicians. The seven-phase process as described below was published in their seventh edition of their textbook, *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice*, which is now in its ninth edition. Their

descriptive model has the following seven phases: 1) naiveté, 2) conformity, 3) dissonance, 4) resistance and immersion, 5) introspective, 6) integrative awareness, and 7) commitment to antiracist action (Sue & Sue, 2016). These seven phases are intended for white Americans, and especially white trainees and clinicians, to explore themselves as racial and cultural beings, and to free themselves from the societal forces that imposed socialization of racist attitudes and beliefs (Sue, 2003; Sue & Sue, 2016). Further, Sue and Sue (2016) prompt counseling trainees and clinicians to continue learning about themselves on an individual level, systemic level, and work toward increasing racial and cultural awareness to competently serve clients from the Global Majority. This descriptive model is not a full and distinct theory of white racial identity development. It has not generated the empirical research as other theories and models have. Yet, it remains influential in its applied nature and accessibility as it is embedded in a textbook considered the gold standard for culturally competent graduate training in counseling psychology and related disciplines.

White Affect, Behavior, and Cognition

The new millennium saw a narrowing from broad research on white racial identity to more specific nuances of measuring how white people, who hold dominant positions in society, are also victims of systemic racism (Sue, 2003). Specifically, Spanierman and Heppner (2004) developed and provided initial validation for the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRWS), a 16-item scale with three factors: 1) white empathic reactions toward racism, 2) white guilt, and (3) white fear of others. The authors sought to explicitly measure the overlapping affective, behavioral, and cognitive costs of racism that white people have been intergenerationally trained to ignore, deny, and rationalize away (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). The PCRWS was not novel in proposing the existence of costs of racism to white people, as this

had been discussed in Helms's (1984) white racial identity development theory and articulated by other scholars (Bowser & Hunt, 1981; Kivel, 1996). However, the PCRWS was the first scale developed and initially validated, which was significant in furthering affective, behavioral, and cognitive psychological research on whiteness, all central to the work of counseling psychologists.

The research and measurement of whiteness continued to progress, and in 2009, Pinterits and colleagues (2009) published the White Privilege Attitude Scale (WPAS). The WPAS is a multidimensional 28-item scale with four factors: 1) willingness to confront white privilege (12-item behavioral dimension, "I intend to work toward dismantling white privilege"), 2) anticipated costs of addressing white privilege (6-item mix between affective and behavioral dimensions, "If I address white privilege, I might alienate my family"), 3) white privilege awareness (4-item cognitive dimension, "Our social structure system promotes white privilege"), and 4) white privilege remorse (6-item affective dimension, "I am angry knowing I have white privilege") (Pinterits et al., 2009). The WPAS is self-report and is scored on a 6-point Likert-type response format ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) through 6 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating higher white privilege attitudes (Pinterits et al., 2009). The WPAS spurred additional research not only because it assessed multiple dimensions (affective, behavioral, cognitive) that underly attitudes toward white privilege, but also because it was psychometrically validated (Pinterits et al., 2009). The WPAS exemplifies the recent shift to focus on white privilege in counseling psychology (Schooley et al., 2019).

Noticing the field's lack of measures on antiracism advocacy, Pieterse and colleagues (2016) developed and provided initial validation of the antiracism behavior inventory (ARBI), a 21-item self-report inventory to be utilized in the counseling and psychology training

environment. The inventory was "designed to assess knowledge and behaviors associated with anti-racism advocacy among White counseling and psychology trainees" (Pieterse et al., 2016, p. 373). Four phases of scale construction indicated that the ARBI displayed acceptable psychometric structure, and factor analyses suggested a bifactor model with one general factor (antiracism behaviors) and three domain-specific factors: 1) individual advocacy, 2) awareness of racism, and 3) institutional advocacy. Pieterse and colleagues' attention to behaviors stemmed from their interest in advancing multicultural counseling instruction, specifically because white students make up the numerical majority of counseling trainees. Continued use and application of the ARBI is needed in counseling psychology training programs in order to better measure the effectiveness of antiracism educational efforts.

This progression from white racial identity to the measurement of affect, behavior, and cognition surrounding whiteness was important for the field of counseling psychology because it progressed the focus of the research from theory to action. This shift was emphasized in the MSJCC, which called for the addition of *action* to the competencies of *awareness, knowledge,* and *skills* (Ratts et al., 2016). While Helms (2013) discussed how many white people's racial attitudes change faster than their behaviors—and included a sample self-assessment exercise to illustrate the potential discrepancy between racial attitudes and behaviors—Pinterits and colleagues' (2009) WPAS provided the field with a psychometrically validated scale. With this progression of research there have been additional scales assessing the psychosocial costs of racism to white people (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) and white people's antiracism behavior (Pieterse et al., 2016), and more that have been systematically reviewed (Hays et al., 2021; Schooley et al., 2019). This sizable and increasing research on whiteness shows that the field of counseling psychology is working to implement findings into practice. Integrating this research

into counseling psychology training programs would further the focus on increasing theoretical knowledge and encouraging behavioral changes toward deconstructing whiteness.

Relevance of Whiteness Research to Counseling Psychology

Thus far, the historical context of whiteness in counseling psychology, the development of empirical work on whiteness, and the role of Helms's white racial identity development theory and the research it inspired have been reviewed. The field has slowly acknowledged the importance of multiculturalism and race, accepted Helms's assertion that whiteness is also a race, commenced white racial identity development, assessed white attitudes, affect, and behavior, and added social justice action to the multicultural competencies of counseling psychology.

Helms's white racial identity theory had an enormous impact on this study, racial identity research, and the entire field of counseling psychology. Because the clinician is the primary tool in counseling, the development and progression of whiteness research is foundational to counseling psychology because the majority of clinicians are white and there has been a lack of interrogation of this critical aspect of their superordinate identity. Just as counseling psychologists acknowledge how gender identity influences the counselor, client, and the therapeutic alliance, counseling psychologists must also acknowledge how whiteness influences a same-race counselor client dyad. Thus, research on white racial identity and assessment is crucial to understand whiteness better and ultimately how it impacts the therapeutic alliance.

The need to understand and deconstruct whiteness is especially relevant to counseling psychology doctoral trainees because they represent part of the next generation of policymakers, academics, practitioners, clinicians, and advocates. Further, focusing on trainees has implications for training programs and interventions. The next section reviews the developmental stage of

emerging adulthood as well as racial socialization. These two topics will provide background to understand some of the developmental and social contextual factors of white counseling psychology doctoral trainees in the United States to inform subsequent sections of this study better.

Development and Racial Socialization

The participants in the study will be white counseling psychology doctoral trainees. This section below will review developmental and white racial socialization literature to provide background for this study. First, the developmental stage of emerging adulthood will be reviewed. Then, racial socialization will be defined, and white racial socialization will be described. These sections will provide additional background to understand the broader context of the individuals invited to participate in this study.

Emerging Adulthood

The median age at doctorate for psychology doctorate recipients in 2020 was 31.2 years (National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, 2020). Considering the median time to doctorate from doctoral program start was 5.9 years, this places the majority of psychology doctoral students within the developmental age period of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2007). Developmentally, emerging adulthood has been proposed as a period of identity explorations, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between, and possibilities (Arnett, 2000, 2007). This recent way of thinking about the stage from the late teens through the twenties emphasizes a new period of the life course where individuals are trying out new experiences more often than during other developmental stages. Increased social cognitive maturity and time for self-exploration provide greater opportunities to engage in identity development (Arnett, 2000, 2007). Further, this stage of emerging adulthood emphasizes the normalcy of extending identity exploration (Arnett,

2007), which may be especially relevant for counseling psychology doctoral students, as knowing oneself is key to clinical work (Berzoff, 2016).

However, emerging adulthood has been criticized as not applying across social classes (Côté, 2014), and as not universal—primarily applicable for the small percentage of the global population from Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) societies (Arnett, 2008; Henrich et al., 2010a). WEIRD people represent a particularly narrow slice of the global population that does not represent the breadth of human diversity (Henrich et al., 2010b). WEIRD populations are among the least representative populations of humanity, with differences in visual perception, analytical reasoning strategies, cooperation, moral reasoning, self-concepts and related motivations among many other domains (Henrich et al., 2010b, 2010a). However, the population of people who are WEIRD is of interest to this study—white, educated, trainees from the United States (an industrialized, rich, and supposedly democratic society)—thus research on emerging adulthood may be an applicable and useful framework to reference.

White individuals may benefit from furthering identity and worldview exploration during emerging adulthood as research shows that identity achievement is rarely achieved by the end of adolescence (Arnett, 2000). In particular, development is needed in regard to whiteness and race, as white individuals often are operating out of a cognition that works to maintain a white zone of proximal *under*development (Leonardo & Manning, 2017). Indeed, a white racial worldview is predicated on misunderstandings of reality to maintain an epistemology of ignorance (Mills, 1997, 2015). This research highlights the need for white emerging adults to further explore their worldview and their whiteness, as these aspects of identity are commonly underdeveloped yet are critical to truly understanding oneself.

Additionally, Arnett (2007) highlights that the deeper exploration during emerging adulthood is not universally a positive experience, as challenging childhood worldview beliefs can bring about disillusionment and rejection. Arnett (2007) suggested it is important to continue the exploration process and move past the turmoil stage to bring in a more positive meaningful interpretation; because if the individual stops exploration after rejecting their initial worldview, it can lead to rejection without having anything more meaningful to fill its place. A parallel developmental process may be seen in Helms's white racial identity development theory (Helms, 1990). White-identified people who are redefining their meaning of whiteness and focusing a critical lens on whiteness often feel isolated, angry, and face feelings of self-doubt as this brutally honest process is painful (Helms, 2020). Other white people may respond to them with fear—as they seek to avoid this painful process themselves—and may have strong negative reactions to the white person, even viewing them as a "race traitor" (Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996). Isolated by other white people, especially by friends and family, the white person may experience frustration, stress, and loneliness, yet little is known in the counseling psychology literature about these individuals' experiences with their whiteness (Spanierman et al., 2008). Thus, white counseling psychology doctoral students—located in the United States—likely fit within the parameters of the developmental stage of emerging adulthood. This developmental perspective may be helpful in understanding the described experiences and perceptions of white counseling psychology doctoral students' broaching whiteness with clients in this study.

White Racial Socialization

Racial socialization is the explicit and implicit ways information, values, and perspectives about race are transmitted from adults to children, including how to interact with members of their own and other racial/ethnic groups, interpret racial hierarchies, and manage

racial conflict (Bartoli et al., 2015; Bentley et al., 2009; Hughes et al., 2006). More specifically, white racial socialization refers to the verbal and nonverbal communication and messages white individuals receive—and do not receive—around whiteness and race (Hagerman, 2014, 2017). White racial socialization is pervasive and systematic in white families and in society, with dominant themes including the: idealization of "colorblind" attitudes and behaviors, avoidance of discussions about race, denial of the significance of race, value of egalitarianism, enactment of racial hierarchies, aversion for being perceived as racist, and selective intentional silence around white supremacy (Bartoli et al., 2015, 2016; Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). White children are not passive agents in their racial socialization but participate through reciprocal interactions with their racial contexts (Hagerman, 2014). Further, white racial socialization is a concerted effort that focuses on easing racial tension—while simultaneously promoting positive self-regard—for white people.

Colorblind attitudes and behaviors are a major component of white racial socialization. Neville and colleagues (2000) developed the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) to assess cognitive aspects of colorblind racial attitudes, and found that on average, white participants reported higher overall colorblind racial attitudes than participants from the Global Majority. Colorblind racial attitudes were later articulated as one part of the larger framework of colorblind racial ideology (CBRI), which is defined by both color-evasion (i.e., denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness) and power-evasion (i.e., denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities) (Neville et al., 2013).

Critical race theorists argue that CBRI is a legitimizing ideology that justifies the status quo of white supremacy (Yi et al., 2022). Thus, white people endorse higher levels of CBRI because they benefit the most from white supremacy and racism (Neville et al., 2013). It could

be argued that a colorblind ideology is implicit in early stages of many of the above reviewed white racial identity development theories and assessments. Colorblind racial ideology has been demonstrated to be pervasive among everyone living in the United States, especially white Americans, and particularly among psychology students (Neville et al., 2000, 2013).

Relevance of Development and Racial Socialization to Counseling Psychology

The developmental stage and various aspects of racial socialization of white counseling psychology doctoral students is important to understand because it is the broader bioecological context that informs this study. Components of white racial socialization, such as 'colorblindness,' have emerged as a major theme in qualitative investigations of white counseling psychology graduate trainees' discussions of race (Sue et al., 2010). Colorblindness is problematic for counseling trainees because it emphasizes not acknowledging race, however, counseling trainees must be able to discuss all aspects of their identity and their client's identity for best clinical practice. Thus, reviewing the developmental literature on emerging adulthood and components of white racial socialization allows for a greater understanding of the background of the population being examined in this study.

The next section reviews the broaching literature, which not only underpins this study, but provides an antidote to colorblindness as it directly acknowledges race and other issues of diversity. Broaching provides a framework for discussing these identities in the counseling room and demonstrates the importance and necessity of doing so.

Broaching

Broaching is the counselor's ability to examine the relationship of racial, cultural, and sociopolitical factors to the client's counseling concerns, especially because these identities might otherwise remain unexamined (Day-Vines et al., 2007). First, the development of

broaching will be reviewed. Second, a model for white counselors broaching whiteness and racism with white clients will be explored. The relevance of broaching to counseling psychology will conclude this section.

The ability of counseling psychology trainees to broach, or explicitly acknowledge and examine, sensitive topics such as race is crucial to the therapeutic process and working alliance (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2020; King, 2021; King & Borders, 2019). Further, broaching has recently been applied within supervision and can facilitate supervisor and supervisee development in open, culturally responsive communication and strengthen the supervisory relationship (King & Jones, 2019), demonstrating the usefulness of broaching to trainee personal and professional development. However, white counselors broach race less often with Clients of Color compared to African American counselors (Knox et al., 2003), and even less is known about white counselors broaching race or whiteness with white clients. Research in the area of white counseling psychology *trainees* broaching whiteness with white clients has received some attention (i.e., (Bartoli et al., 2015; King & Borders, 2019), however, research in this area is limited. White counseling psychology would do well to continually develop their own white identity in order to order to broach race-related issues with white clients (Bartoli et al., 2015; Day-Vines et al., 2007).

A step beyond conceptualizing race, broaching has become increasingly recognized as an essential framework to bring up race and other identities that might otherwise remain unexamined with clients (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2018, 2020). Case conceptualization may include discussion of race and other aspects of the client's identity yet does not automatically result in analyzing how the counselor acknowledges or discusses these aspects of identity with the client. Multicultural case conceptualization skills are thus dependent on the counselor's

competence. Day-Vines and colleagues (2007, 2018, 2020) propose broaching as a unique conceptual framework, with various domains of broaching, and provide a continuum of broaching behavior that describes different categories of broaching behaviors. Broaching is thus in alignment with specific Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) (Ratts et al., 2016) and includes the use of multicultural case conceptualizations as well as other instructional strategies (Day-Vines et al., 2018). Further, broaching has been argued as an alternative to upholding whiteness and other oppressive identities within the status quo (King, 2021). This is because broaching names and examines the role of race and other cultural factors, thereby rejecting the white supremacist lens that views whiteness as the unquestioned default.

Broaching Development

Broaching has been conceptualized as a multidimensional construct comprised of four subscales that represent various points along a continuum: Avoidant, Continuing/Incongruent, Integrated/Congruent, and Infusing (Day-Vines et al., 2013). Initial construct validation and psychometric support have been found for these four subscales, as part of the Broaching Attitudes and Behavior Survey (BABS) that used a sample of primarily white women, and thus is especially relevant to this paper (Day-Vines et al., 2013).

Although broaching has been categorized into four subscales, it is helpful to think of the counseling skill of broaching as developing along a continuum. The first "level," indicating the least amount of development, is Avoidant (Day-Vines et al., 2013). The **Avoidant** counselor believes that broaching behavior is not appropriate because such discussions are too complex for counseling, broaching is not appropriate for short-term counseling, and broaching is not a legitimate counseling issue (Day-Vines et al., 2013). The next "level," or developmental category, is Continuing/Incongruent. The **Continuing/Incongruent** counselor endorses attitudes

and behaviors that seem open to the prospect of broaching but reveal a lack of skills and concerns of offending the client. Counselors at this early stage of development often experience a sense of awkwardness and feel lacking in verbiage to initiate or deepen these conversations (Day-Vines et al., 2013).

The next category along the broaching continuum is Integrated/Congruent (Day-Vines et al., 2013). The **Integrated/Congruent** counselor is able to both initiate and respond to client's racial and sociopolitical concerns. Further, these counselors have the behavioral skills to broach consistently with clients, and help the client make connections between their presenting concerns and the larger systemic issues. The Integrated/Congruent counselor also has the capacity to distinguish between culture-specific concerns and psychopathology and identify culturally relevant interventions. The final category, representing the most development along the broaching continuum, is Infusing. The **Infusing** counselor views their role as an advocate, an agent of systemic change, expresses a commitment to eradicate all forms of oppression and helps the client develop appropriate responses to systemic forces. The Infusing counselor has the ability to broach in session with clients as well as at the institutional level (Day-Vines et al., 2013).

Development of broaching has many parallels to the counselor's development of racial identity, especially for white counselors (Day-Vines et al., 2007; Macleod, 2013). Thus, recommendations for developing broaching skills are specific to the different broaching levels. For example, Avoidant counselors may benefit the most from having a safe and supportive environment in supervision or consultation to engage in personal self-reflection around perceived barriers to broaching. Specific attention should be given to affective barriers such as anxiety, guilt, shame, anger, lack of awareness, fear, and concerns among losing white privileges (Day-

Vines et al., 2013). Normalizing these reactions may help the Avoidant counselor better understand the roots of their barriers.

Further psychoeducation may be used, as well as additional critical self-reflection to monitor personal biases and potential countertransference (Day-Vines et al., 2013). Additional recommendations exist for each of the other broaching categories and build off the recommendations described for the Avoidant counselor (Day-Vines et al., 2013). This broaching continuum provides a useful framework for white counselors broaching with clients from minoritized backgrounds. However, the framework does not address white counselors broaching with white clients. In the next section of this paper, I will review a clinical model for white counselors to use to help guide their practice in addressing whiteness and racism in sessions with white clients.

Broaching Whiteness

This section reviews a concise model developed by Drustrup (2020) specifically for white counselors to use in addressing whiteness and racism with white clients. Drustrup (2020) acknowledges that this scholarship and model build off the work of critical Scholars of Color. The latter have argued for decades that white-identified people must engage in critical self-reflection of their whiteness. Thus, this brief overview will not do justice to the history of this work, and merely aims to outline this concise model.

The first step for white counselors who desire to broach whiteness and engage in antiracist counseling practice with white clients is engagement in critical self-reflection and education around being complicit in whiteness and sitting with the range of emotions that surface (Drustrup, 2020). This crucial step must not be underestimated and is a long-lasting and extraordinarily difficult process. Individuals are urged to find others also committed to

antiracism to support them in this emotionally and psychologically draining process (Drustrup, 2020).

Further, white counselors must commit to a lifelong journey of racial literacy (Drustrup, 2020). Racial literacy extends far beyond books and text and includes all spheres of life. Next, yet not signaling that the first two components ever stop, white counselors must listen, empathize, and validate their white clients (Drustrup, 2020). This step might be difficult for white counselors committed to antiracism, as racist views are very difficult to hear, however this step is essential to protect the therapeutic alliance and serves to help the client work toward increasing racial insight and awareness (Drustrup, 2020). A key point at this step is remembering that validating the client, or empathizing, is not agreeing. White counselors must remember their development and that they too likely held similar racist beliefs (Drustrup, 2020).

The next step involves probing more deeply and explicitly into the client's racial consciousness (Drustrup, 2020). This step is also an ongoing process and does not have specific start or end points. Clients can be expected to become defensive at times, and this defensiveness should be managed therapeutically, just as other forms of defensiveness would be worked through (Drustrup, 2020). Further, the counselor works to point out how present and past issues are connected to their racist ideologies (Drustrup, 2020). Connecting personal racism to client concerns is key to getting clients to see how they have a vested interest in developing in their racial consciousness. As clients grow in their awareness, a final and ongoing step is psychoeducation and new experiences (Drustrup, 2020). As has been alluded to, this model is not intended to be linear, and timing and recycling of the various stages is key as is the many contextual factors for both the counselor and the client (Drustrup, 2020).

Relevance of Broaching to Counseling Psychology

Broaching is a powerful and important technique that has gained recent attention in counseling psychology for its potential to interrupt patterns of silence around race and strengthen the therapeutic alliance. Broaching whiteness has received less attention yet may provide insight into the dynamics of whiteness as they manifest in the counseling room. White counseling psychology doctoral trainees broaching whiteness with white clients has the power to break the legacy of silence around whiteness and use a powerful counseling technique to learn more about themselves, their clients, and how whiteness impacts the therapeutic alliance. Thus, reviewing the literature on broaching and broaching whiteness emphasizes the clinical relevance of this counseling technique and how it fits with the research questions of this study.

The next section reviews the conceptual and theoretical framework of this study. An overview of critical theory will be presented, followed by a description of critical race theory, and discussion of critical whiteness studies and a proposed critical whiteness methodology. Critique of critical whiteness studies will also be given. The conceptual and theoretical framework presented will provide the scaffolding for later interpretation and meaning making in this study.

Conceptual Framework

This study utilizes the overarching conceptual frame of phenomenology, a philosophical approach developed by Husserl to study, examine, comprehend, and describe participants' lived experience of a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Smith et al., 2021). Phenomenology and the specifics of interpretive phenomenological approach will be reviewed in Chapter Three. Within the conceptual frame, a critical whiteness studies theoretical framework is utilized to understand and interpret white counseling psychology doctoral students experiences broaching

whiteness and how they perceived their experiences. The section below will review the theoretical framework, which will inform and provide the parameters for further understanding and interpretation throughout this study.

Theoretical Framework

Critical whiteness studies, which seeks to challenge notions of white supremacy, is the theoretical framework that will inform this study. This researcher's understanding of whiteness and impetus for this counseling psychology study has also been influenced by the white racial identity theory by Helms (1990), as reviewed earlier in this chapter. This section will provide a brief overview of critical theory, followed by a review of critical race theory, and critical whiteness studies. Details from a recent framework of critical whiteness methodology proposed by Corces-Zimmerman and Guida (2019) will also be articulated, as these methods will further inform the ways this researcher will conceptualize and conduct self throughout the research process in order to challenge whiteness in this study actively. Thus, a critical whiteness studies framework and methodology is highly fitting as an approach to better understand, to deconstruct, whiteness in counseling psychology.

Critical Theories

Critical theory originated in Germany in the 1920s to critique and transform society, power relations, and the social order (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011; Ponterotto, 2005). Many original theorists worked at the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt (Creswell & Poth, 2018). However, many of the pioneering critical theorists were of Jewish background and fled to the United States during the Holocaust (Ponterotto, 2005). These scholars applied their critique of the status quo to the United States, where the claims of egalitarianism sharply contradicted the reality of racial discrimination and oppression (Ponterotto, 2005)

It is important to understand that there is not one single critical theory (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). Instead, critical theory is an interdisciplinary tradition that changes and evolves, making room for disagreement, avoiding reproduction of epistemological beliefs—and yet all within a paradigm that focuses on disrupting the status quo, emancipation, and liberation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011; Ponterotto, 2005). However, most all critical theorists accept many basic assumptions, such as: focusing on analyzing competing power interests within a society; rejection of economic determinism (i.e., understanding of multiple interconnected axes of oppression—not only economic ones); critique of instrumental rationality (i.e., a focus on *means* in preference to *ends*); understanding of the complexity of the human psyche and its connection to the sociopolitical realm; hegemony (i.e., power is central to human existence and necessitates detailed study and analysis); critical understanding of the constructivist production of ideology; shifting linguistic and discursive power; and culture as a contested process of production and transmission of knowledge (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011).

In sum, critical theorists understand reality as constructed within a social-historical context embedded in power relations. They seek to represent the realities of the Global Majority and empower participants to work toward democratic change (Ponterotto, 2005). Examples of related critical conceptualizations are queer, disability, feminist, and critical race theory. Critical whiteness studies is a branch of critical race theory, and thus an overview of critical race theory will be described in the following section.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) began as a movement among United States legal scholars—the majority of whom were Scholars of Color—whose collective work outgrew the field of critical legal studies which was not adequately challenging notions of race, racism, and power in legal

systems and all sectors of society (bell, 1995; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda, 1989; Williams, 1991). The historical context of the time was the 1970s, as critical race theorists saw the civil rights era of the 1960s was stalling and advances were being rolled back (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Thus, CRT moves beyond typical liberal ideology and instead holds a disruptive commitment to scholarly resistance and antiracist activism in society at its foundation (Bell, 1995).

Two common interests unify CRT: 1) to understand how the regime of white supremacy was created and is maintained, especially in relationship to social and legal structures and processes, and 2) to change the vexed bond between law and racial power (Crenshaw et al., 1995). The ways in which critical race theorists challenge how race and racial power are constructed and represented in law and society are creative and take many forms, including: frequent use of first person, storytelling, narrative, allegory, and interdisciplinary scholarship (Bell, 1995). The CRT movement has greatly expanded and now includes activists, authors, and scholars across a range of disciplines who utilize a broad analysis—such as consideration of the role of human feelings and the unconscious—with emphasize the value of activism to change systems of racial domination for the better (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Despite the broad range of theorists within the CRT movement, most would subscribe to five central tenants: 1) racism as normal and endemic (i.e., the usual way society operates); 2) interest convergence (i.e., racism benefits white people materially and psychically); 3) race is a social construct (i.e., there is no genetic basis in the construct of race, rather it is the product of social thought and relations); 4) differential racialization and intersectionality (i.e., the evolving ways different groups are racialized at different historical moments, and the intersections of these systems of power); and 5) counter-storytelling (i.e., focusing on the experiences of People of

Color whose stories and experiences with racism are central to antiracism work. For an excellent example, see (Matsuda, 1989) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Understanding the history and key tenants of CRT is important because it is the foundation of many sequential critical theories that focus on race and ethnicity, including critical whiteness studies, which is what will be discussed in the next section.

Critical Whiteness Studies

Critical whiteness studies (CWS) stem from CRT and are under the larger umbrella of critical theories. CWS aims to name and undercut the structures that produce and reproduce white supremacy and has grown from generations of work from critical Black, Indigenous, and Scholars of Color as well as critical white scholars (Applebaum, 2016; Leonardo, 2009). Thus, CWS has been interracial from its relatively recent inception as a standard academic field, and is interdisciplinary as whiteness is a practical, moral, political, aesthetic, ongoing and historical problem all at once (Engles, 2006).

Scholars have recently recommended the use of a new critical conceptual framework to combat white supremacy in counseling psychology (Grzanka et al., 2019). However, CWS provides such a theoretical framework and is fitting for understanding whiteness within counseling psychology. This study specifically explores white counseling psychology doctoral students and their experiences with their whiteness and broaching whiteness with white clients. Whiteness is omnipresent; therefore, it is impossible to extract an individual from the context of white supremacy in the United States (Helms, 2017; Leonardo, 2004; Sue, 2017). Thus, this study necessitates the use of a critical whiteness lens to consider how whiteness manifests in every aspect of how white counseling trainees experience themselves, their clinical environment, and how whiteness influences the co-constructed interpretation of knowledge by the white

participants and this white researcher. The importance of understanding individuals in context is a hallmark of critical theories. It is further rationale for why critical whiteness studies is the most appropriate theoretical fit for this study.

To facilitate and support this study's CWS theoretical framework, a recent critical whiteness methodology will be reviewed below and referenced throughout the research process. Critical whiteness methodology for qualitative studies helps answer the question of *how* white researchers should address issues of whiteness that arise in their research studies with white participants (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). Critical whiteness qualitative methodology utilizes central CWS tenants and CRT methodology to help white researchers challenge dominant, white research practices, and critique white supremacist epistemologies and ideologies instead of reinforcing them (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019).

Critical whiteness methodology is a fluid framework yet offers white researchers five core tenets to guide critical qualitative research, while also illuminating three frameworks inherent in CWS that must be considered and utilized to facilitate understanding and operationalization of the methodology (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). The five core tenants are divided into two levels, one that focuses on systemic-level dynamics, and the other that addresses individual-level intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics and manifestations of whiteness (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). The tenants on the systemic level are, 1) centrality of whiteness and white supremacy in higher education, and 2) research as a critical whiteness praxis. The tenants on the individual level are, 3) responsibility to challenge whiteness through the research process, 4) whiteness as rhetorical, emotional, and epistemological, and 5) white researcher as complicit in whiteness. This researcher will reference and reflect on these tenants during analytic memo writing and additional self-reflection activities throughout the data

collection and analysis process, and well as when writing up the interpretation and discussion. The three frameworks inherent in CWS illuminate how whiteness is ever-present in the research process: thinking whitely, behaving whitely, and speaking whitely.

Thinking Whitely

Thinking whitely includes epistemologies of ignorance and the racial contract (Mills, 1997, 2015), which include the ways in which white people are willfully ignorant of their complicitly in whiteness and active and invested in remaining uninformed. Further, white thinking often includes complex mental distortions to protect us from gaining deeper awareness and deny our role in maintaining inequitable societal structures (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). A type of racial control which seeks to protect white advantage, white fragility is a process in which white people consider challenges to their world view as challenges to their identities as good, moral people, which then triggers a range of affective, behavioral, and cognitive defensive responses intended to reinstate white equilibrium and maintain dominance within the racial hierarchy (DiAngelo, 2018).

Often, many unspoken understandings are guided by white supremacist logic (Mills, 1997, 2015). As it pertains to this study, white ways of thinking and white fragility are likely to influence what stories and examples participants are willing to share and discuss with me and what follow-up questions and probes I think to ask. This could manifest in the white participant-researcher dyad avoiding the discussion of difficult questions and conversations that would consciously acknowledge being complicit in whiteness.

Behaving Whitely

Behaving whitely encompasses how white people consciously and unconsciously act, do not act, and exist as a matter of being in a white supremacist society intentionally designed to

maintain the status quo that benefits white people and harms people from the Global Majority. Various aspects of behaving whitely have been addressed within critical whiteness studies, yet the concepts of white complicity (Applebaum, 2010) and white emotionality (Matias, 2016) are highlighted as particularly relevant to critical whiteness methodology (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). The concept of *white complicity* encompasses the conscious and unconscious negative beliefs and attitudes that all white people hold about Black, Indigenous, and People of Color, which has an impact on their behavior and habits, and the sequential consequences of their behavior and habits (Applebaum, 2010), resulting in the maintenance and advancement of white dominance (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). Thus, all white people are inherently racist or complicit by virtue of existing as white (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019).

The concept of *white emotionality* highlights the racialized ways white people experience emotions such as anger, defensiveness, denial, discomfort, guilt, sadness, and shame in order to distance ourselves from recognizing our racism (Matias, 2016). Whiteness and white supremacy influence and mold the construction and subjective meaning of racialized emotions, seeking to maintain the status quo of systemic racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2019). White emotionality influences our behavior and habits, often seeking control in racial conversations and settings, all the while on guard to defend white people's fragile state of being (DiAngelo, 2018). In the realm of behaving whitely, white fragility is a specific type of emotionality that presents when white people are given information that challenges their assumptions. Common white fragility reactions and behaviors include: "crying, physically leaving, emotionally withdrawing, arguing, denying, focusing on intentions, seeking absolution, avoiding" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 119). Common feelings of white fragility include being: "singled out, attacked, silenced, shamed, guilty, accused, insulted, judged, angry, scared, outraged" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 119). With the

ability to identify, define, and understand white emotionality and white fragility, we can further work to dismantle white dominance and the harmful impacts of behaving whitely.

Behaving whitely may manifest in this research process by myself and the white participant not acknowledging or discussing how we are complicit in white supremacy, and alternatively, falling into 'confession' of our complicity as a way to regain our sense of moral goodness (Applebaum, 2016). Further, behaving whitely may manifest in the emotions expressed or not expressed during interviews and the follow up questions I ask and do not ask for fear of discomfort during the interview process.

Speaking Whitely

Speaking whitely refers to the rhetorical strategies white people use to prevent any deep, meaningful, or critical engagement with whiteness (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). Language reinforces the status quo and protects conferred privileges from examination. Concepts such as white talk (McIntyre, 1997), colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Neville et al., 2000), and color-evasiveness (Annamma et al., 2017) have been identified as illuminating the elusive and deceptive ways white people avoid confronting their whiteness (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). For example, white talk confuses, denies, and obscures conversations about race and racism, allowing white people to maintain racial immunity and innocence (McIntyre, 1997).

Colorblindness operates similarly by white people claiming that because they don't 'see' race, they are incapable of saying anything racist (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Neville et al., 2000). The discourse of speaking whitely informs the ways whiteness is discussed in counseling and explored in research. For this study, a critical whiteness methodology will be incorporated into the qualitative methodology reviewed in the next chapter to assist this white researcher in better critically understanding whiteness in order to deconstruct it in this study.

Critiques of Critical Whiteness Studies

Critical whiteness studies have been critiqued as inadvertently recentering whiteness by focusing on white individual consciousness-raising and white privilege, instead of working to dismantle whiteness and the operations of white supremacy, revealing how these systems harm People of Color (Leonardo, 2013; Matias & Boucher, 2021). Too narrow a focus on white privilege has the psychological effect of personalizing racism. Instead, the need is to understand the structural origins of racism and the structural manifestations in interracial relations (Leonardo, 2004). Further, CWS discourse on white privilege risks reinforcing the innocence of whiteness, downplaying the active role of white racial domination insofar that extra resources are taken from people from the Global Majority, not obliviously and innocuously obtained (Leonardo, 2004). If white scholars only critically look at white racial hegemony and feel comfortable with this racial analysis, then the same conditions of white racial domination and terror of white supremacy will be replicated (Leonardo, 2004).

A critical study of whiteness necessitates "a vigilance about whites' goodness, not only a vigilance about their negative beliefs about "others" (Applebaum, 2016, p. 17). This vigilance must be continually present, as CWS projects can be complicit in what they seek to disrupt (Applebaum, 2016). Thus, critical whiteness researchers must remain diligently committed to dismantling whiteness and white supremacy everywhere and build upon and reference work from critical Scholars of Color, recognizing our interconnectivity under the white supremacist system that binds our groups together (Engles, 2006; Matias & Boucher, 2021).

Recent recommendations for critical whiteness scholars include the following, 1) recenter the experiences of People of Color, 2) respect critical Scholars of Color and place their research at the forefront, and 3) employ a broader research approach that goes beyond "white racial

epiphanies" (Matias & Boucher, 2021, p. 3). This researcher acknowledges complicity in white epistemological frameworks and seeks to be vigilant in countering this with reading, writing, and discussion of the role of critical Scholars of Color, which opened this chapter. Further, this discussion will continue to inform sequential reading and writing in Chapter Five. This study's focus on whiteness does center whiteness, which may be problematic. However, this focus is intentionally narrowed in on white people to better understand how larger systems of white supremacy influence their clinical work with white clients, deconstruct their meanings of these experiences, and better inform future counseling psychology doctoral training programs. However, a critical discussion of these ideological issues, and the implications and impact of this research on People of Color will be articulated in Chapter Five.

Relevance of Critical Whiteness Studies to Counseling Psychology

CWS outlines a way to research whiteness while not recentering dominant whiteness ideology, which is central to the purpose of this study. The combined conceptual framework of interpretative phenomenological analysis, and the theoretical framework of CWS provide the philosophical and practical parameters for later meaning making in this study. Further, CWS's interdisciplinary framework encompasses critical knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of whiteness needed for this study. This study seeks to better understand counseling psychology trainees' whiteness and how it impacts clinical work with white clients. Thus, a critical analysis provided by CWS is appropriate to critically examine their perceptions and prevent the reproduction of the structures of white supremacy. Counseling psychologists have called for critical analysis and dismantling white supremacy (Grzanka et al., 2019). They must include white counseling trainees analyzing their experiences as racial selves outside and inside clinical practice.

Summary

Based on the review of related literature, whiteness research in counseling psychology has grown from race-related multicultural research and research on Black racial identity by critical Black, Indigenous, and Scholars of Color. The progression of critical research on whiteness has demonstrated that many white people are early on in their white racial identity development, do not discuss whiteness, and perpetuate a legacy of silence that reinforces racism and white supremacy (Sue, 2005, 2015). Research also suggests there is a scarcity of white counseling psychologists committed to antiracism (Sue, 2017). Even white critical scholars lack awareness of analyzing their own whiteness (Helms, 2017). Thus, CWS scholars must seek to understand whiteness to deconstruct it and to dismantle white supremacy.

Further, conceptual articles have called for counseling psychologists to take the next step in combating white supremacy (Grzanka et al., 2019). Broaching is an effective counseling technique and framework to bring up identities, such as race, that might otherwise not be discussed in the therapeutic relationship (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2018, 2020). However, few studies have utilized the broaching framework to investigate white counseling psychology trainees broaching whiteness with white clients. Thus, there is a need to qualitatively explore white counseling psychology trainees understanding of their whiteness and their experiences broaching whiteness with white clients. Interpretative phenomenological analysis was chosen as the research methodology to capture the nuances of the white trainees' identities along with their experience of broaching whiteness with white clients. The following chapter will detail the methods utilized in this study.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

This study aimed to explore how white counseling psychology doctoral trainees' lived experiences influenced their experience broaching whiteness with white clients and how they understood those experiences. The intention was to understand and interpret these experiences and add to the critical whiteness studies literature to work toward dismantling whiteness and white supremacy within counseling psychology training. This is vital considering that many studies on white counseling psychology trainees have not focused on trainees' lived experiences with whiteness. Therefore, this study focused on the participants' personal meaning and sense-making and interpretation of these meaning-laden experiences within a clinical setting.

Research Design

The qualitative methodology of phenomenology was utilized to align with the epistemological position of the research questions. Phenomenology is a philosophical approach to studying, examining, and comprehending the human experience established by Husserl (Smith et al., 2021; Wertz, 2005). Phenomenology focuses on describing participants' lived experience of a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Moustakas, 1994). A form of interpretive research, phenomenology assumes that reality is socially constructed and that there is no single observable reality (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Thus, all experiences are filtered through an individual's perception and interpretation. Phenomenology seeks to understand how people experience things using their senses, what meaning is made from these experiences, and how the situations interact with the individual's conscious awareness (Patton, 2015). Further, phenomenology is a methodology commonly employed and congruent with counseling psychology because exploring

the details of an individual's experiences is a central part of professional clinical practice (Flynn et al., 2019; Hays & Wood, 2011).

A more recent form of phenomenology that stems from Heidegger's emphasis on interpretation is interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Gill, 2020). IPA focuses on the personal meaning and sense-making of a particular experience in a particular context (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). Alternate qualitative approaches were considered; however, they were not deemed appropriate or consistent with this study's research purpose. Generation of theory was not an aim of this study, so the grounded theory approach was not appropriate, and the focus on the identity of the participant, not the context, eliminated a case study approach (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Participants

Qualitative research focuses on variability within a phenomenon under study rather than variability in the population (Levitt et al., 2017). IPA recognizes three to 10 participants as a reasonable sample size (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Smith et al., 2021). With this range in mind, the target sample size for this study was 10 participants. However, I kept an open mind during recruitment and data collection to the possibility of interviewing a few participants more or less than the target sample size, depending on levels of data saturation. Saturation was reached after the tenth participant interview.

Ten people participated in this study (see Appendix A). Each participant met the following inclusion criteria: (a) self-identified as racially white; (b) started clinical training; (c) 18 years of age or older; and (d) enrolled in an APA-accredited counseling psychology doctoral program in the United States at the time they commenced the study. Participants who identified with any ethnicity (e.g., Irish, Puerto Rican, Russian) were included if they racially self-

identified as white. Exclusion criteria consisted of not identifying as racially white (e.g., identifying as biracial, white-passing, white Latinx), not having any clinical hours, being younger than 18 years of age, or not being enrolled in an APA-accredited counseling psychology doctoral program at the onset of the study.

Participants ranged in age from 24 to 31 years old (M = 27.5). Gender identity was reported as follows: six identified as cisgender women, three as cisgender men, and one as a nonbinary person. In terms of sexual orientation, six participants identified as bisexual, three identified as heterosexual, and one identified as gay. Participants perceived social class ranged from 2 to 9 (M = 6.2). Regarding religious/spiritual affiliation, three identified as atheist, three identified as agnostic, three with an unspecified "other", and one identified with an ethnic folk religion. Years in doctoral program varied; three participants were in their second year, two were in their third year, four were in their fourth year, and one was in their sixth year. Of note, three participants were on their doctoral internship at the time of the study. Participants from doctoral programs located in all five geographic regions of the United States were represented: one in the West, three in the Southwest, three in the Midwest, two in the Northeast, and one in the Southeast.

Participants also shared approximate estimates of their direct clinical hours, number and type of clinical sites, and racial and ethnic make-up of their clients and colleagues. Participants also briefly described their emerging theoretical orientation. Further, participants were asked to describe any race-specific or multicultural training or workshops they had participated in outside their required program coursework.

Recruitment Procedures

The doctoral researcher recruited a homogenous purposeful sample of white counseling psychology doctoral student participants by emailing counseling psychology training program directors (see Appendix B), psychology listservs (e.g., APA Divisions 17, 29, 35, 44, 45, 51), counseling psychology student groups, professional connections, utilizing social media (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, etc.) (see Appendix C), and convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Recruitment materials were electronic and described the study as being about white counseling psychology doctoral trainees' development of broaching skills; listed inclusion criteria; and specified that the study consisted of an 11-item demographic questionnaire, a 28-item scale, and two video interviews (one 90+ minute and one 30+ minute). Recruitment materials advertised participant compensation (i.e., choice of either an electronic $45 Amazon gift card or a $45 donation to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization).

Recruitment materials listed the doctoral researcher's email (zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu) and the supervising researcher's email (tangela.roberts@wmich.edu). Potential participants were able to contact the researchers via email to express interest in participating in the study and were responded to with information and provided with the informed consent document, a link to the demographic questionnaire, and information about scheduling the first interview. Recruitment materials also included the study's Institutional Review Board (IRB) number (IRB-2022-294) and stated that participants could choose their pseudonym during the interview and that their data would be stored securely.

Data Collection

I received approval for this study from the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) at Western Michigan University (WMU) (see Appendix D). The demographic

questionnaire was hosted and administered via Qualtrics, a secure online survey-hosting software. Participants who accessed the demographic questionnaire were automatically directed to the study's online informed consent document (see Appendix E). The informed consent document included the purpose of the study, inclusion criteria, estimated time commitment, what participants would be asked to do, the benefits and risks of participating, and how participants would be compensated for their participation. Participants were asked to review the informed consent form and encouraged to contact the doctoral researcher or supervising researcher if they had questions before commencing the study. A request to waive the signed consent was made in that participants indicated their consent by clicking, "I agree to participate in this research study" (upon which the demographic questionnaire opened on the next page), or clicking "I do not agree to participate in this research study" (upon which a message thanking the individual for their time and interest, a debriefing statement, and a list of resources related to the study's main topic opened on the next page).

The entire study included an 11-item demographic questionnaire and an interview scheduling question, one 90+ minute video interview, a 28-item scale, and one 30+ minute member checking video interview. The demographic questionnaire included 11 questions and was utilized to affirm inclusion criteria and collected information from participants regarding their age, gender identity, sexual orientation, social class, religious affiliation, race and ethnicity, enrollment and year in their counseling psychology doctoral program, region in the United States of their doctoral program, and confirmed they had at least one direct clinical hour (see Appendix F). The interview scheduling question thanked participants for completing the survey and asked if they were interested in participating in two video interviews and completing the 28-item scale, and detailed how participants would be compensated for their participation (see Appendix G).

The 28-item White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009) was utilized to have supplementary data from another source for triangulation and was collected at the end of the main, 90+ minute interview. Administration of the WPAS at the conclusion of the interview, instead of prior, was a deliberate decision with the intention of minimizing any potential priming effects. Permission to use the WPAS in this study was obtained through email from the first author, Dr. Janie Pinterits (see Appendix H). The demographic questionnaire completion time was approximately five minutes, and the WPAS completion time was approximately 10 minutes.

Participants were able to discontinue participation at any time. Participants who discontinued or indicated they were no longer interested in participating were thanked for their time, dismissed from the study, and their data was deleted from all records. Participants who were interested in participating in the video interview provided their email address in a separate Qualtrics survey. The doctoral researcher then contacted them, thanked them for their continued interest, and provided details about scheduling the first interview.

Due to overwhelming interest, the procedure was "first come, first serve." In total, 36 students signed up. Students were invited to participate based on when they signed up, responsivity to email, their continued interest, true eligibility, and purposeful sampling for greater demographic diversity. Beyond the sample size goal, interested participants were thanked for their time and informed that they were placed on a waiting list and would be contacted if additional participants were needed. Individuals who signed up but did not participate were thanked for their time, informed that the study had reached capacity, and were provided the debrief information and resource list.

The interview utilized a semi-structured individual interview design with open, long-ended, non-leading questions. Open-ended questions allowed participants to explore the topic in-

depth and provide detailed examples of their experience (Polkinghorne, 1989). The doctoral researcher conducted all interviews utilizing the interview protocol (see Appendix I). Interview completion time depended on the amount of participant self-reflection and as anticipated, lasted approximately 90+ minutes. The interview time ranged from 77 to 100 minutes (M = 90.2). Individual interview times were as follows: Interview 1: 85 minutes; Interview 2: 95 minutes; Interview 3: 82 minutes; Interview 4: 93 minutes; Interview 5: 77 minutes; Interview 6: 88 minutes; Interview 7: 100 minutes; Interview 8: 88 minutes; Interview 9: 100 minutes; Interview 10: 94 minutes.

After all the interviews were completed and transcribed, the doctoral researcher contacted each participant, provided a copy of their cleaned transcript to review, and scheduled the 30+ minute member checking interview (see Appendix J). Upon completing the 90+ minute interview and member checking interview, participants were provided with debrief information (see Appendix K) and a resource list (see Appendix L).

All interviews were audio and video recorded on Webex. The Microsoft Word dictate feature was utilized to provide a preliminary transcript for each interview. The doctoral researcher cleaned and reviewed each transcript while listening to the interview recording, ensuring each transcript was verbatim. Immediately following each interview and at frequent points during transcript cleaning, review, and analysis, the doctoral researcher wrote memos to reflect upon assumptions, record emotions, and document reactions and initial theorizing. These analytic memos, along with other perspective management strategies outlined later, enhanced the methodological integrity of this study (Levitt et al., 2017).

Quantitative Measures

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009) was used to measure white privilege attitudes among participants in this study, white counseling psychology doctoral trainees. The WPAS is a self-report multidimensional 28-item scale that assesses the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components underlying attitudes toward white privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009). Pinterits and colleagues (2009) intended the WPAS to be used with white undergraduate, graduate, and even applied psychology trainees, thus the WPAS is suitable for use with participants in this study.

Pinterits and colleagues (2009) created 81 initial items (i.e., 25 cognitive, 36 affective, and 20 behavioral), 15 of which were reverse coded to reduce response bias. Item generation was based on an extensive literature review of the conceptual and empirical literature on white privilege and the tripartite (i.e., cognitive, affective, and behavioral) model of attitudes (Breckler, 1984). The authors also consulted with leading critical whiteness scholars and used a racially diverse team for the first phase of item generation (Pinterits et al., 2009).

Participants were recruited from geographically diverse colleges and universities and were provided a questionnaire packet with the 81 preliminary items, demographic questionnaire, Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000), Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale (Pratto et al., 1994) to assess the psychometric properties of the WPAS (Pinterits et al., 2009). Exploratory (n = 250 white undergraduate and graduate students, 65% women, 62% from suburban locations) and confirmatory (n = 251 white undergraduate and graduate students, 67% women, 62% from suburban locations) factor analyses led to 28 items loading onto four factors: willingness to

confront white privilege (α = .95); anticipated costs of addressing white privilege (α = .81); white privilege awareness (α = .84); and white privilege remorse (α = .91; Pinterits et al., 2009). All four factors met the assumption of normality (Pinterits et al., 2009).

Pinterits and colleagues (2009) documented psychometric support for the WPAS with internal consistency, convergent, and discriminant validity for each of the subscales with theoretically related factors (i.e., CoBRAS, MRS, PCRW, and SDO). For example, higher SDO scores were significantly associated with lower scores on all three dimensions of the WPAS, and adequate temporal stability as measured by a 2-week test-retest reliability. No significant correlations were found between the WPAS subscales and a measure of social desirability, indicating the WPAS was independent from socially desirable survey responding (Pinterits et al., 2009).

Thus, the WPAS is comprised of four subscales: 1) willingness to confront white privilege (12-item behavioral dimension, "I intend to work toward dismantling white privilege"); 2) anticipated costs of addressing white privilege (6-item mix between affective and behavioral dimensions, "If I address white privilege, I might alienate my family"); 3) white privilege awareness (4-item cognitive dimension, "Our social structure system promotes white privilege"); and 4) white privilege remorse (6-item affective dimension, "I am angry knowing I have white privilege") (Pinterits et al., 2009). The WPAS is scored on a 6-point Likert-type response format ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating greater awareness of white privilege (Pinterits et al., 2009).

Data Analysis

IPA does not prescribe one single analysis method and instead focuses on participants' attempts to make meaning of their described experiences (Levitt et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2021;

Smith & Nizza, 2022). The analytic focus was guided by common processes such as moving from the particular and the descriptive to the shared and the interpretative, and key principles such as understanding participant's perspectives and commitment to psychological meaning-making (Smith et al., 2021). Additionally, the doctoral researcher consistently engaged in self-reflection on conceptions, perceptions, and processes, a recommended IPA best practice (Smith et al., 2021). Qualitative research and analysis tend to be an iterative and inductive cycle (Levitt et al., 2017; Polkinghorne, 2005); thus, this study's analysis was conducted alongside data collection (i.e., interviewing).

Six steps guided analysis: 1) reading and re-reading, 2) exploratory noting, 3) formulating experiential statements, 4) finding connections and clustering experiential statements, 5) moving to the next case, 6) cross-case analysis, in addition to supervision and member checking (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). First, I immersed myself in the original data by conducting a line-by-line reading and re-reading of each participant interview. I listened to the interview using headphones at least once, which helped me later imagine the participant's voice when I was reviewing the transcript, which facilitated a more complete analysis. I made notes of relevant body language and other nonverbal communication displayed by participants during the interview (Smith et al., 2021).

Second, I engaged with the transcript and took comprehensive exploratory notes. This step is the most detailed, requires substantial time, and is unbounded in what is commented on (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). Exploratory comments may be descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual, and connections between types of comments are encouraged to highlight what the participant finds important and how it connects in their world (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). During this comprehensive step, I made initial notes that included questions and

thoughts on the participant's stated experiences, language choice, content, affect, nonverbal communication, and my reactions, thoughts, affect, and ideas.

Third, I formulated experiential statements from all the initial notes from the participant's transcript. This step required attempting to reduce the amount of detail from the previous step of exploratory noting while also maintaining complexity between the patterns and connections between notes. This necessitated producing a concise statement about what was important to the participant while also reflecting on the analyst's—my—interpretation of one or several of the initial notes. Thus, this step involved interpretation of the participant's understandings and meaning making as well as my own (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). I made between 140 to 250 experiential statements per transcript, although these numbers include memos I wrote to myself in the software NVivo as well..

Fourth, I briefly noted connections between the experiential statements and initial thoughts on which statements might clump together and develop into clusters. I noted similarities, parallels, opposites, reoccurrences and looked for patterns and connections between experiential statements. Examples of specific strategies I utilized at this stage include abstraction, subsumption, polarization, contextualization, numeration, and function. I determined what strategies worked for me and the data I had and made notes of my process in my research journal (Smith et al., 2021). Furthermore, I received feedback from committee members at various stages, which informed the arrangement and rearrangement of individual experiential statements and then later group experiential statements.

Fifth, I repeated the above steps with the next participant interview and each subsequent interview. This step served to remind me, the researcher to treat each individual interview on its

own terms, and to engage in self-reflection as rigorously as with the first interview to allow new themes to emerge (Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022).

Last, I looked for patterns across cases. One by one I copy and pasted the personal experiential statements I created from each participant interview into a new document and rearranged and noted connections. At times I deleted, combined, or rearranged the emerging clusters depending on the data and their relevancy. On average 23 to 30 clusters emerged at this stage. This step facilitates moving the analysis to a more theoretical level (Smith et al., 2021). Further, I consistently engaged in self-reflection—including frequent memo writing and reflective journaling in a research log—which ensured results were reflective of the participant's experiences (Churchill, 2018; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Levitt et al., 2017).

Methodological Integrity

I utilized multiple strategies to establish credibility and trustworthiness guided by best practices in IPA and counseling psychology (Levitt et al., 2017; Morrow, 2007; Smith et al., 2021; Smith & Nizza, 2022). I cultivated and established rapport from my first contact with participants and continued to focus on building and maintaining rapport at the beginning and throughout the video interview. I introduced myself at the beginning of the interview and then shared relevant information about myself throughout the interview, as I deemed useful to maintaining a trusting virtual study environment.

Trustworthiness strategies included triangulation, member checking interviews, reflexivity, peer review, and audit trail. I collected data on participants' experiences with whiteness, specifically their white privilege attitudes [i.e., the 28-item White Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits et al., 2009)], in a survey following the 90+ minute interview for triangulation. The WPAS was collected after the interview—instead of prior—to minimize priming effects.

Further, I meet with each participant for a follow up member checking interview. I maintained a reflexive research journal where I documented my evolving thoughts and reactions to the interview content and process, data analysis content and process, research questions, feedback, and general dissertation work. I engaged in critical reading, community racial discussion, and journaling to continue to explore and deepen my analysis of my white racial identity and socialization. For example, I used the guided workbook, *Me and white Supremacy* by Layla Saad (2020) to reflect and interrogate how internalized white supremacy operates and affectively, behaviorally, and cognitively manifests in me. I engaged in personal reflexive journaling and other practices (e.g., guided mindfulness meditations) before and after each interview and analysis session, which assisted me in reflecting on my positionality. Additionally, I specifically reflected on how I could reject the quest for certainty that has been a hallmark of white scholarship, as observed by Du Bois (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2012). Acknowledging the mutual influence between participant and researcher on the research process was a topic of continual reflection and perspective management.

Furthermore, I consulted with my dissertation advisor and set up peer review with two counseling psychology doctoral peers interested and engaged in critical theory and whiteness research. My advisor is a Black ciswoman with a critical analysis and thus was able to provide valuable perspective on my research questions, ensuring my focus stayed on conceptualizing and deconstructing whiteness, not simply studying whiteness for whiteness's sake. We engaged in these conversations verbally during advising meetings and through written feedback on dissertation materials. Finally, I kept an audit log that included written memos and the thinking, reasoning, and rationale for the decisions I made during the research process. I reflected on my

positionality at various points during the research process and saved drafts of my research writing, which were all part of the audit log.

Research Positionality

To frame this study and provide context for this qualitative research, I now share some information about myself, how I arrived at the topic of this study, and my perspective on the topic. I share the superordinate identities of the participants of this study. I am a white-identified counseling psychology doctoral trainee in an APA-accredited program in the United States. Additional demographics that shaped my socialization are being heterosexual, middle/upper-middle class, agnostic, a United States citizen, and a cisgender woman. My cultural upbringing was influenced to some degree by my immigrant father's Peruvian/ Hispanic heritage and upbringing. However, I was socialized and racialized as white, perceived as white, and have and continue to benefit from white privilege. I understand my socially constructed racial identity as white, as that is how I navigate the world and how I am identified.

I earned an interdisciplinary psychology and social-anthropology bachelor's degree and gained preliminary experience with qualitative research as an undergraduate student at a small private liberal arts college in the Midwest. I earned my master's degree in counseling psychology while working on my doctoral degree. Throughout graduate school, I was prompted to deepen my racial analysis and interrogate my whiteness by faculty and other mentors, the majority of whom were Black or African American. I reflected on my whiteness and was interested in research that aimed to deconstruct whiteness; particularly how white trainees communicated about whiteness with white clients.

My perspective was and continues to be that white scholars should use their lived experiences of whiteness to investigate and dismantle whiteness, as white supremacy is the

violent and problematic creation of white people to justify their exploitation and dehumanization of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color. Thus, I have and continue to view this work as a personal responsibility and work I want to engage in as an individual scholar and in a community with other critical and antiracist scholars and activists. I perceive this life-long task as the work of becoming a better human, because working toward antiracism and dismantling whiteness is working toward a healthier white identity and a healthier and more humane society.

My research questions were grounded in and connected to my personal and professional growth and development. Thus, I acknowledged self-interest in this research topic. As a white ciswoman, I realize my positionality within systems of racial dominance must remain at the forefront of my consciousness and constantly be acknowledged, reflected upon, and interrogated. I have also recognized that no amount of self-reflection will rid the effects of whiteness from my perceptions and interpretations. However, I have accepted and committed to constant and life-long learning and examination of how white supremacy and the white racial frame influence my worldview and way of thinking, feeling, behaving, and speaking.

Despite having reflected and analyzed my whiteness since the start of my doctoral program in the fall of 2018 and being deeply committed to dismantling whiteness, I am intimately aware of how I have continued to think and behave in racist patterns. I realized during my doctoral training that I will never be done learning. I learned, and continue to assume, that white people are racially underdeveloped (Leonardo & Manning, 2017). I saw and continue to see this in myself. The more I learned the more I realized how much more there is to learn about deconstructing whiteness. I unquestioningly consumed white supremacist socialization for the first 18 years of my life. Then, I only *slowly* began to question my colorblind racial ideology and cycle through the statuses of white racial identity development and consciousness. However,

there have been and continue to be many ways in which I remain complicit in internalized white superiority and white supremacy.

I assumed white people would only work to make racial justice change when it benefited them, consistent with critical race theory's tenant of interest convergence (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Therefore, I assumed that other white trainees would be similarly motivated as me to work toward a healthier white identity to also become a better human and explore their lived experiences with whiteness and broaching whiteness with white clients to be a better clinician. I utilized strategies to increase methodological integrity to consider how my perspectives and assumptions influenced this study and limit these influences.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of the current study is to describe experiences and understandings related to whiteness and broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC) for white counseling psychology doctoral students in the United States. Using interpretative phenomenological analysis, this study seeks to share the psychological essence and meaning making of these white doctoral trainees, and how they experienced their whiteness and BWWWC. This will add to the critical whiteness studies and counseling psychology literature by describing and interpreting experiences from a purpose sample of white trainees—representing a range of demographic identities—broaching whiteness with white clients to better understand and deconstruct whiteness. The primary research question is: How do white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients? The secondary research question is: How does broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students?

In this chapter, the results of qualitative phenomenological analysis of data are presented. The next section describes the six main themes that emerged from the data: 1) Understanding of whiteness, 2) Reflection on own whiteness, 3) Opinions, attitudes, and affect about BWWWC, 4) Category and techniques for BWWWC, 5) Managing own whiteness while BWWWC, and 6) Post BWWWC experience. Also described are the subthemes within each theme. Relevant quotes from participants and analytic commentary are provided to illustrate each theme and subtheme. Numerology—the number of participants that contributed to each theme and subtheme—is provided and defined as: "none" = 0; "a few" = 1-2; "some" = 3-4; "half" = 5; "most" = 6-7; "majority" = 8-9; "all" = 10. Convergences and divergences from other themes

highlighted and commentated on to provide an interpretative comparison between all participants.

Themes

The six main themes that emerged from the data are: (a) Understanding of whiteness; (b) Reflection on own whiteness; (c) Opinions, attitudes, and affect about broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC); (d) Category and techniques for BWWWC; (e) Managing own whiteness while BWWWC; and (f) Post BWWWC experience.

Understanding of Whiteness

This first main theme is subsumed under to the first research question pertaining to how counseling psychology doctoral students understand their lived experience of whiteness. Exploring trainee's lived experience of whiteness first necessitated understanding how they understood and interpreted whiteness. This theme is comprised of quotations in which all 10 participants describe, explain, and reflect on their understanding of whiteness. These reflections are interpreted and given additional meaning by being grouped into the three subthemes titled: (a) Individualistic; (b) Systemic; and (c) Psychological. These subthemes illustrate a spectrum of understanding whiteness across all 10 participants, from a less developed understanding of whiteness to an increasingly complex, nuanced, and critical perspective.

All 10 participants understood whiteness as a social construct, insofar as no participant espoused incorrect eugenic misinformation. An awareness of white privilege and an understanding that they had white privilege was also acknowledged by all participants. However, the three participants who understood whiteness within the subtheme of Individualistic, tended center their understanding of whiteness on white privilege and resources, and did not discuss systemic, institutional, or critical cultural examples of whiteness (as in the sequential subtheme

of Systemic). The seven participants who understood whiteness within the subtheme of Systemic were aware of the individualistic dynamics and at times also said they had difficulty defining whiteness, yet they went further and described whiteness on a global level, discussed the pervasiveness of white supremacy, and named various white supremacist cultural characteristics and how whiteness was omnipresent, interconnected, complex and systemic by design. The third subtheme—Psychological—was discussed by most (six) participants, all of whom were represented in the previous Systemic subtheme. These participants took their understanding of whiteness further and named more of the exploitation and power-over dynamics of whiteness, in addition to the systemic nature and violence of whiteness. These six participants described what whiteness affords them and other white people in general, as well as how whiteness changes over time, by geographic and political boundaries, and conceptual cultural characteristics. Next, I will describe each subtheme.

Individualistic

In this subtheme, participants describe their understanding of whiteness primarily through an individualistic lens. All 10 participants acknowledged individualistic understanding of whiteness, however, the three participants represented in this theme centered and *remained* at an individualistic understanding of whiteness. Further, these participants might name that race is a social construct and might briefly state that whiteness has changed over time, however, it was brief, and their focus remained on whiteness at an individualistic level.

Participants described and shared examples of how they understand whiteness through an overall difficulty in defining and describing whiteness, understanding whiteness in relation to Blackness, and focusing on whiteness as a presence of privileges and resources.

When asked to define whiteness, Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern) responded, “Um…uh, it feels kind of hard to define because I feel like in a lot of ways I think of it as like the absence of other things. (…) I guess it's hard to define what it is as opposed to like defining what it's not.” Phoebe (she/her, 2nd year) also had difficulty defining whiteness. She responded, “That's a good question. Um…yeah, I think, I've never thought about that before, which I think is interesting. Um, I think whiteness is like, I guess the absence of like identifying as like a racial or ethnic minority.” These quotes showed that both Taylor and Phoebe had not thought about defining whiteness very much. Further, both referenced what whiteness is *not* in their definitions, alluding to how their understanding of whiteness is based off Blackness or cultures from the Global Majority.

Once in the flow of thinking about whiteness, Taylor and Phoebe described white privilege and additional resources that whiteness affords them to illustrate their understanding of whiteness. Phoebe added to her description of whiteness by sharing, “I always think, and I can't remember who said it, but like that, invisible knapsack where it's like you get all these privileges and things like that”. Taylor shared how over the past several years her understanding of whiteness was developed by having conversations with her peers and specifically, social media:

> I watch a lot of makeup videos online, and there's a lot of you know, creators saying like, oh, this was the darkest shade, and like this isn't that dark. And stuff like that, where it's like I wasn't looking at the darkest shade because that wouldn't have fit my complexion, but like realizing that there are just a lot more ways where things are designed more for people that have skin tones similar to mine, and just things that, you know, I don't have to worry about a makeup line having the right shade.

This example illustrates Taylor's process of learning about white privilege, although not explicitly named by Taylor as such. Taylor shares how she comes to consider these individual level experiences and see's their validity when presented as directly relatable to her life.

Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year) acknowledged there were many different ways to define whiteness and shared her definition of whiteness which named privilege as a key component, "what's coming to mind is…being a part of, the majority…in most spaces. Holding privilege, whether subconscious or conscious…and not necessarily reflecting on these, but, recognizing that there are differences between someone who is white versus any other racial or ethnic identity." This understanding of privilege was foundational to Taylor, Phoebe, and Vanessa. Vanessa shared additional understandings of whiteness later on that were interesting and surprising for someone primarily at the individualistic level.

Systemic

This subtheme represented participants understanding of whiteness through a broader systemic lens. Seven out of 10 participants described their understanding of whiteness this way, using systemic language and descriptions. These participants named and described an awareness of the dynamics of white supremacy, shared how whiteness was omnipresent and ubiquitous, complex and systemic by design, and named associations with power-over, dominance, hierarch, and violence.

Mairead (she/her, 2nd year) shared how her understanding of whiteness was at a systems level throughout the interview, "from a systems level as well, like how that collective privilege granted from whiteness, enables a lot of what goes on in some of these like broken systems that we're in" and that whiteness perpetuates a lot of harm. Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year) prefaced her response to how she defines whiteness by noting it is a difficult question, yet her response

indicated she had clearly thought about it, “the powers that be benefit from us being unable to, like define whiteness. … The metaphor, it's the water I'm swimming in comes to mind. And it's by design that I don't see it.”

Grendel (they/she, 4th year intern) also understood whiteness as ubiquitous and that it could change across time and depending on political power and control over geo-political boundaries. Their learning about their family history, as well as how other people from a similar geographic region are racialized (i.e., as Asian or Indigenous), helped form their conceptualization of whiteness, “My family is a bit of like Eastern European mutts, depending on who occupied what territories at time could determine, like our ethnicities.” Further, Grendel stated, “whiteness could also look different geographically. … So, I think the social construct and the perception of belonging assigned to the person by society plays a big role in whiteness for me.” Zachary (he/him, 3rd year) also referenced the constantly evolving nature of whiteness:

> It’s an odd construct because who is white changes over time. Obviously, more and more groups get inducted into the group of who gets considered white, you're looking at, Irish immigrants and Eastern European immigrants who used to be considered non-white, slowly the definition of whiteness began to grow, particularly as there was a desire to push out People of Color from more positions, it was important to fold some white people into the mix. And so, it's an evolving historical construct that I think today is playing out in really toxic ways in the national zeitgeist. But at some level, I can't really think of a time when that hasn't been the case.

The evolving nature of whiteness, understood for the purpose of maintaining power and control was clear to Zachary and Grendel. Tom (he/him, 4th year) also echoed these points,

"historic associations with power, and it's like an always evolving category … the racial category associated with power in our country."

These participants understood the role of power and violence to the creation and maintenance of whiteness. However, this understanding manifested in different ways. Grendel, Tom, and Zachary, quoted above, were matter of fact about naming cultural dominance and referenced racial violence in other parts of their interview as well. Kate (she/her, 6th year intern) acknowledged that whiteness is "very connected to colonization" and that whiteness varies across "historical time periods." However, she did not want to explicitly name violence as part of her answer, "the first word that comes to my head is violence. But I don't want to say that as my answer. It's like a socially constructed, badge of…like you're the pinnacle of humanity, a pass to get through life easier."

Chris (he/him, 4th year) described whiteness on multiple levels, including one's phenotype perception, inherent unearned privilege, and power, "the power that we carry as white identifying people, but also like how that compares to other folks of color and how that's connected to oppression based on experiences of my ancestors." Chris demonstrates that his understanding of whiteness is informed by a critical understanding of history, one in which acknowledges his own white ancestor's racial violence as well as an understanding that his was not just about him and his ancestors but took place on a systemic level.

Psychological

In this subtheme, six out of 10 participants share a more abstract, psychological understanding of whiteness. All six of these participants had understood whiteness on a systemic level, and here, describe their understanding of whiteness in additional ways. Understanding psychological aspects of whiteness included describing what whiteness affords them

psychologically, what whiteness does on a mental and emotional level, and cultural characteristics of whiteness.

Grendel (they/she, 4th year intern) was one of few participants to describe both the psychological benefits of whiteness and how whiteness also harms white people in unique ways, "whiteness is associated with a lot of privileges, the assumption of belonging, and then also some erasure of like…I guess like individual characteristics." Grendel shared how this has come up for them, "whiteness also involves like an erasing in some ways of like those ethnic variables. Growing up in that region where everyone put down their ethnicity, and that being a really big important part of especially my family's culture." Tom (he/him, 4th year) also described how his family several generations back had roots in Puerto Rico, yet he did not discuss the erasure or how whiteness harmed him. However, Tom described the psychological aspects of whiteness in this way, "I guess it's like my own family's history of racialization, even if it is one moving towards whiteness. Yeah, like race is a series of decisions, in some ways."

Mairead (she/her, 2nd year) shared additional ways in which she understands the psychological aspects of her whiteness:

> I'm able to go to school and I have all these opportunities that are granted to me that like maybe on the surface might not be ... due to whiteness but like a lot of that security and privilege that comes with whiteness offered me these opportunities to know that like, have going to grad school as a goal from a very young age like … I felt very motivated to continue to do that and I had support and guidance from people who were able to provide you know that mental and emotional motivation and support for that.

Further, some participants described multiple white cultural characteristics they have learned about and come to understand and even see operating. Kate (she/her, 6th year intern)

shared, “whiteness equals deserving this or that, that other people don't” and “the cultural values around like perfectionism, sense of urgency, valuing like the written word over oral tradition, like those kind of like cultural pieces that are so…it's like a fish swimming in water that you don't always see.” Similarly, Zachary (he/him, 3rd year) described several layers to whiteness, including perceived phenotype, “cultural norms that corresponds with a history of being favored and privileged by institutions—of educational, governmental, political, social—that assumes that whiteness is the norm in the United States” and “that whiteness, in large part due to a history of violence against People of Color, is something in which one feels like you have to pay respects to white people, acknowledge them, prioritize their feelings.”

Summary

Participant’s understanding and meaning making ranged and progressed along a spectrum for the first theme, Understanding of Whiteness. Definitions and understanding of whiteness ranged from Individualistic, to Systemic, and Psychological. The examples and definitions participants shared about how they understood whiteness illustrated their level of engagement with whiteness, at times showing that they had never thought about defining whiteness before or learning that they give a different answer each time because they are always learning and digging deeper into the construction of whiteness. It is notable that two of the participants who comprised the bulk of the Individualistic subtheme were at the time of the study living in Southern geographic areas: Phoebe, Southwest; Taylor, Southeast. Although how participants developed and learned about their whiteness is beyond the scope of this study, it seems relevant for future study as participant’s current understanding of whiteness is clearly based on development experiences, and potential political, cultural, and geographic influences on race-based learning

opportunities. The next theme continues to explore how participants understand whiteness, with a shift to reflections on their own whiteness.

Reflection on Own Whiteness

This theme describes how all 10 participants understand themselves as white racial beings, and how and to what extent they engage in reflection on their whiteness. The prior theme described participants understanding of whiteness in general, and this theme tells the more personal story of how they have personally come to understand their whiteness. This theme also relates to the first research question in describing how white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness. Which is a necessary step prior to exploring how their whiteness influences their clinical work, which is the main component of the first research question that will be explored in subsequent themes.

Topics covered in this theme include white emotionality, identifying as part of the white collective, sitting with discomfort, distancing from whiteness, critical self-reflection, behavior change, and learning antiracist ways of being white. This theme's content was given deeper meaning by being organized into two subthemes titled: Emotional Responses to Whiteness, and Self-Reflection and Behavior. The content of the two subthemes is described in further detail, generally following a continuum from less to greater depth of critical reflection. Thus, all 10 participants are represented within the theme of Reflection on own Whiteness, yet there is a mixture of representation within the subthemes that will be described below.

Emotional Responses to Own Whiteness

In this subtheme, all 10 participants share a wide range of affect and reflections in response to how they understand their own whiteness. This subtheme dives into how participants experience themselves as racial beings. A few participants had not reflected on their racial selves very much, and most recognized patterns in their racialized emotional responses, had processes for managing their own white emotionality, and already had made behavioral changes. These emotional responses to their own whiteness showed up along a spectrum of affect: turning off and numbing emotions; uncomfortable and painful emotions; intense emotional responses that prompted further racial learning; positive feelings related to personal racial growth; attempting to hold the tension within their white emotionality; and a nonjudgmental approach and attempt to practice mindfulness of white emotionality.

Interpersonal conversations about whiteness and race were a common situation in which participants shared stories of how they have come to understand, and reflect on their own whiteness, and shared their associated emotions. Wanting to avoid emotions related to whiteness was a theme for Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern), who shared:

> I think I kind of turned off some emotions [laughs] in that discussion space. I just didn't know like what was appropriate or not for me to say. I remember it being like a really heavy space and I like had to cancel a meeting afterwards because the space was running over, you know our hour discussion was going much further past that, and it was emotional enough that I knew it would be super inappropriate if I just like left for another meeting in the middle of it. Um…and I don't really remember much of the content of what we talked about, actually.

Phoebe (she/her, 2nd year) also referenced situations in which she numbed her own emotions when starting to reflect on her whiteness. Phoebe also described learning to sit with uncomfortable, difficult, and painful emotions connected to her whiteness:

> I think shame, like I said, because I grew up in a family that was very racist, like some of those automatic thoughts like, were very like, anti to my values, and I didn't even realize them. So, like when you're first like made aware of like…those biases (…) I was like okay, that that is awful and I don't like that about myself and so, you know, feelings of like wanting to avoid and things like that, but I think the more I kind of just sat with it and like had those, had that space, with like in those classes in particular, I think of like, being able to just listen was really helpful.

This quote shows how Phoebe is working to sit with her uncomfortable feelings, and later on in the interview Phoebe describes how she started to utilize her Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) skills on herself to notice, name, and change unhelpful racist automatic thoughts, a situation in which her theoretical orientation mapped onto her approach for understanding her own whiteness.

Zachary (he/him, 3rd year) also described feelings of shame, as well as guilt, and shared his process for managing them as well as an unsolicited parallel to psychotherapy:

> I also have, you know, grappled with the stuff long enough that I usually think about those emotions and I'm like, I try to accept them, not push them away, not try to avoid them. And also think, okay, as you know, you would in any psychotherapy sessions like if you're feeling guilt, like maybe there's something you can do, some actions you can take, some behaviors that will help counteract that. So, what can you do to use that privilege in a productive way? And that leads to a greater sense of acceptance and a

greater feeling of being calm, relaxed, and greater, I'm much more at ease, I think, than I used to be when talking about my whiteness.

The majority of participants shared that attending college was key to their racial growth and development because of the increased racial and ethnic diversity, as well as the diversity of courses offered and taught. College was especially important to Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year), who shared that she grew up in a predominantly white community and her parents were close-minded. Vanessa illustrates how she managed her emotions during this time, stating:

> There were times at first that I was uncomfortable in some of those spaces, whether I was in class and somebody spoke up about their experience, or I was involved in a club or activity and certain things would come up, and I I would recognize in myself like, oh, this is a new experience for me. But I think once I kind of got over that initial…discomfort I was able to like lean more into it and interact more with people and do different activities and get involved in different events that would expose me to those things because I recognized that discomfort, and I was like, this is not cool. I don't want to be uncomfortable in these spaces. So, I embraced it a bit more.

Vanessa's ability to notice and name her discomfort and then mindfully and nonjudgmentally work through it was unique for a participant who had more individualistic understandings of whiteness in theme one. Vanessa's ability to move through her discomfort allowed her to learn from her peers and increase her racial awareness and learning, instead of becoming too numb or defensive to take in information.

Discomfort was the most common emotion mentioned by participants when reflecting on their whiteness. How participants managed their discomfort—if they noticed it—and what meaning they gave it ranged widely. A few participants named being uncomfortable in

conversations on whiteness and did not engage in further reflection. Most participants referenced turning towards their racial discomfort, recognizing that discomfort does not equal something bad in and of itself. Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern) shared that most of her racial growth occurred during her doctoral program, and explicitly stated, "if I had to put an emotion on that, I think it was just like, uncomfortable." Taylor was unique in that she reiterated her discomfort in relation to reflecting and discussing whiteness throughout the interview in both explicit and implicit and nonverbal ways (e.g., nervous laughter, many linguistic false starts), and was the only participant to minimally reflect on the meaning of her discomfort and state that she did not change her behavior.

In contrast, Grendel (they/she, 4th year intern) shared how they have worked to sensitize themselves to discomfort around whiteness. Grendel illustrated this by sharing how when younger they were socialized into white silence, thus experienced "feeling that you were breaking the rules if you talked about race." They shared they applied a recent personal learning that "discomfort doesn't automatically equal something bad" to navigating their white emotionality insofar as when they feel the "rule breaking" sensation rise up again, they now recognize they can "be uncomfortable and okay."

Although a few participants had a desire to run away from difficult emotions or a brief wish that they could separate themselves from whiteness, most participants owned their whiteness by turning toward it, acknowledging their complicity in white supremacy behaviors, grappling and questioning their white self, reflecting on their racial missteps and harm done, and shared times when they have sat with the dehumanization and horror of white supremacy. I would like to state at this point that this study did not assess how frequently or for how long this type of deeper reflection occurred, only that these were examples shared from these six

participants in how and what they have reflected on in relation to their whiteness. Lizzy shares an example of recognizing she will make mistakes and owning her responsibilities as a white person:

> Part of my whiteness is recognizing that I can mess up. Even with the best intentions in the world, I can and will, engage with my privilege. Engage with white supremacy, even. And I have to be open to that idea so I can be open to feedback from others, I can be open to conversations from my friends or my clients or my students. Otherwise, I would just like double down and never grow.

The ways in which participants processed their emotions related to whiteness varied greatly and had implications for if and how they changed their thinking, speaking, and behavior. The next section describes the next iteration of reflecting on their own whiteness.

Self-Reflection and Behavior

This subtheme describes in more detail the spectrum of all participant's self-reflection and behavior (including no behavior) regarding their own whiteness. This subtheme seeks to represent to nuances within the range of self-reflection. Although self-reflection was inherent in discussing white emotionality in the preceding subtheme, this subtheme homes in on self-reflection in and of itself as participants engaged in self-reflection quite differently. Further self-reflection is foundation to counseling psychologists and reflexive practice, and thus has implications for the following themes in this study. The subtheme of Self-Reflection and Behavior ranged from limited personal reflection and psychological and behavioral distancing to curious and critical self-reflection, to critical reflection of one's perception and engaging in behavioral change, to learning antiracist ways of being white.

Four out of 10 participants' generally shared experiences that showed limited engagement in reflecting on their whiteness, linguistic distancing themselves from their whiteness, or shared stories of how they physically disengaged or physically left conversations on whiteness in their personal lives. When asked to share what it means for him to be white, Tom (he/him, 4th year) responded, "Umm, ouf, um…I guess mostly for me it's about being aware of it. Like I, like the practice day to day? Being more aware of, being aware of the privilege." Tom later shared reflections on how his family has "moved towards whiteness" which indicated a level of critical reflection, yet Tom was unique in sharing a systemic understanding of whiteness yet sharing fewer examples of critical personal reflection on whiteness.

Most participants' shared examples of curious and critical reflection on their whiteness. Of these participants, many shared multiple examples of prior deep and nuanced reflection. Chris (he/him, 4th year) shared an example of recently reflecting on his white racial identity development because of a "full circle moment" in receiving feedback on an identity paper for a multicultural counseling class at the beginning of his master's program that was helpful to him, and then now teaching that course and providing similar feedback to white students. Chris also shared an apt analogy, "loosening the jar" for reflection on his whiteness and illustrated reflecting on his whiteness prior to the interview.

Most participants also named the necessity of continual and ongoing self-reflection and racial growth. Some participants highlighted the importance of dialectically pushing themselves to grow and accepting where they are at the moment in their racial learning journey. While reflecting on past racial missteps, Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year) commented on the process of her racial self-reflection, "If I reflect back, to before I really saw and understood whiteness, as if I'm

‘there’—I'm obviously not there right now—but I understand it better in this moment than I have in any other moment I've lived.”

Kate (she/her, 6th year intern) also reflected on past racial microaggressions she perpetuated, sharing that learning about whiteness and biases in college helped her change her perceptions and motivated her to take action to go back to several friends and apologize to them. Kate stated, “the psychology of prejudice class that was making me reflect on a lot of things. That was also when I realized I was in the wrong at that birthday party.”

Most participants shared similar experiences, reflections, and steps toward learning antiracist ways of being white. Participants shared small ways in which they were listening more, not speaking for individuals from the Global Majority, to learning when to interrupt white superiority traits in themselves and others. Some participants were observed intentionally using or and/or self-correcting to use more critically aware language (e.g., “white identifying”) during their interview. Some participants did not share steps or reflections toward personal antiracism, and for example, their racial learning was self-correcting linguistically from “minority” to “racial or ethnic minority.” Some participants discussed advocacy as a responsibility for white people and for them specifically too, and often this advocacy was in their personal life. However, Mairead and Chris also reflected on advocacy clinically. Chris centered advocacy in his response of what it means for him to be white. He stated:

> I think it is…continuing to do that deep dive, like I said before, to look into better understanding that privilege and that power that is carried with my racial identity as white. And then how can I use that to sort of get further into advocacy work. So, yeah I guess just being a strong proponent of advocacy, having these identities and knowing that there are other people with minoritized identities who can't be in a position like me to

have as much of a voice, um or to be in spaces where people will at least listen initially or like respect what I have to say and so using that to my advantage to help advocate.

Thinking about racial advocacy work in their professional and clinical realms was unique and only discussed by a few participants, most often by Chris. Other participants spoke to an overall interconnectedness and importance of developing their white racial selves to their development as clinicians and as human beings. This was clearly illustrated by Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year), who shared feeling proud of her racial growth and how it positively helped the client progress in session. She stated, "I'm recognizing my growth as, not only a therapist, but also as a human being."

A wide spectrum of self-reflection was represented within this subtheme, as well as some participants sharing changes to their thinking, speaking, and behaving in regard to whiteness. The absence of or the depth of self-reflection was an important aspect of the overarching theme of Reflection on Own Whiteness, showing the variability and creativity and nuance across participants.

Summary

In this section the theme of Reflection on Own Whiteness was explored through descriptions given by all 10 participants. A range of experiences were shared by each participant as they shared their understanding of and reflections on their whiteness. Participants articulated a range of emotional expressions as well as various types and amounts of racial self-reflection and behavior change.

Opinions, Attitudes, and Affect about Broaching Whiteness with White Clients

This theme describes all 10 participants' opinions about broaching whiteness with white clients. Further, their attitudes and affect toward the act, or prospect of broaching whiteness with

white clients is explored. Half of the participants stated that they had never thought about broaching whiteness with white clients until this interview. A few had limited experience, and a few had a range of experiences. Generally, participants who had more positive opinions, attitudes and feelings toward it had engaged in the act of broaching whiteness with white clients. Generally, those who had more negative as well as complex perspectives had little or no experience broaching whiteness with white clients. This theme relates to the first research question on how counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influences broaching whiteness with white clients in that the participant's whiteness impacts their opinions about broaching whiteness with white clients, thus impacting their engagement with broaching whiteness with white clients. This theme is understood through being organized into two subthemes titled: (a) Net Positive, and (b) Complex and Off Limits.

Net Positive

This subtheme includes the perspectives of the five participants who viewed broaching whiteness with white clients as an overall worthwhile endeavor. Their overall opinions, attitudes, and feelings toward broaching whiteness with white clients was that even though it could be uncomfortable and difficult, it was valuable and clinically useful. These opinions were largely informed by participants "actual" broaching experience (explored in the following major theme), and thus participants who engaged in active broaching and had successful experiences were largely the participants who had net positive opinions about broaching whiteness with white clients. For Chris (he/him, 4th year), the value of broaching whiteness was clear. He stated:

> I felt like I at least expressed myself in a way that was supportive of people, even if they weren't in the space to have that conversation, because I feel like it's especially important, we're talking about race as well. Like if I myself, as a white therapist, I'm talking to a

white client and they say something that's problematic and I don't say anything, that is just perpetuating white supremacy. Which is the exact antithesis of what I want as a future counseling psychologist.

Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year) discussed her feelings after successfully broaching whiteness with a white client. She stated:

> I kind of felt, excited and maybe even a little proud? of myself for making that clinical judgment call in the moment. Um, because I think that's very common as white therapists, or just white people in general to naturally shy away from those conversations and not address them. And say, well, that's out of my comfort zone, that's not something for me to speak on. But I think as I've developed as a therapist, I've been able to reframe things that I want to say (. …) I just remember, kind of reflecting on it and I think I even discussed it in supervision afterwards, um, that you know, me from a few years before that, I never—never—would have addressed it. It probably wouldn't have even come up in my mind as that client was, was telling that story. Um, so that's kind of where the pride comes in of like, I'm recognizing my growth as, not only a therapist, but also as a human being. And using that to my advantage, my client's advantage of changing her perspective too.

There were a range of net positive opinions that participants experienced and shared in regard to broaching whiteness with white clients, which were informed by their own whiteness and sequentially influenced their clinical behavior when working with white clients. The following section explores the second subtheme, Complex and Off Limits.

Complex and Off Limits

This subtheme includes the perspectives of six participants who viewed broaching whiteness with white clients as complex and potentially worth trying out as well as completely off limits and possibly clinically unethical. Their overall opinions, attitudes, and affect toward broaching whiteness with white clients included: doubt about the clinical applicability; fear of harming the therapeutic alliance, assurance that it is the white client's responsibility to name if of interest. Further, half the participants discussed clinical, ethical, and professional justifications as reasons why they have not, would not, should not broach whiteness with white clients. Additional perspectives included that talking about whiteness with white clients is awkward, which, can be interpreted to mean difficult, inconvenient, and embarrassing. Some participants who had not thought about broaching whiteness with white clients until the interview stated they were open to the prospect, yet often quickly followed this up with reasons why they have not and implicitly why it would not be a good idea to actively broach whiteness with white clients. Phoebe (she/her, 2nd year) shared an overall interest in thinking about broaching whiteness, and in the following except was open and nondefensive:

> I forget about race as like a construct with white clients. It's like just like not considering it an important thing to bring up I guess, or maybe not considering, but like not thinking about it prior to this conversation [smiles, laughs], um, of being an important thing to to bring up. And then just I think, I've never felt like uncomfortable in those conversations because like I said, it's always been with clients who've kind of brought it up first. And I will say too, like as a side note, like, that surprise is coming up again because I'm like, why have I never thought about that?

However, Phoebe later shares additional thoughts that came to mind that seemed to anchor her in the status quo of silence, for fear that she would be imposing her beliefs on a client if she were to broach whiteness. She shared:

> I think to something that we've talked about in our program, that's coming up is like, what's that line of like, "imposing your beliefs" on someone, especially like white clients and being like a socially and racially just clinician and so I don't know. So like as I'm like talking about this like that's what I'm kind of thinking about like I'm unsure of like exactly like where that line is, still.

Tom (he/him, 4th year), who had no active broaching experiences, shared complex thoughts about broaching whiteness with white clients. He shared, "up into this point hasn't been something I necessarily do. Open to it. You know, I think there's, I'd be very open to it but, um, you know like we, I, so I helped us rewrite our intake…"

A focus on what the client had named as their presenting concerns was a key component of what shaped Zachary's (30-year-old heterosexual cisman, he/him) perspective. He stated:

> Even as I found myself kind of eager, like, oh, could we talk about whiteness—like I always think this is interesting to talk about because my own personal experience and involvement in these training subjects—I did find myself pausing to be like, is this inside my scope of practice as a psychologist in training? I'm not sure that it really is, given this person's other things that they're naming as concerns.

Zachary when on to explain that although he is comfortable and consistently broaches race and his whiteness with his clients from the Global Majority, he suppressed his urge to actively broach whiteness with white clients, as well as his reasons not to:

> With white clients I am a little bit more hesitant in part because almost I guess I'm worried that I'm going to, either unintentionally, or appear that I am intentionally trying to voice my views of whiteness on them when they may tell themselves like I didn't come here for that, I came here to do problem solving, not to add another dimension to the problem that I'm thinking of. Which again, as I said that I'm like, yeah, well therapist's do that all the time. We always problematize things, but, uh, I don't always feel comfortable with it. It does make me hesitant and probably much more, standoffish perhaps when I put that thing forward.

Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year), like Zachary, expressed during her interview deep critical thinking about her whiteness, and similar to Zachary was comfortable discussing whiteness in her personal life. However, her views about broaching whiteness with white clients were complex, as she had not directly thought about the topic until this interview. Lizzy stated:

> Racism and white supremacy prevail because we don't talk about it. Because we're not thinking critically about it, because we are avoiding it [small laugh]. And then here I am, clinically, avoiding it. And I'm trying to do the thing where I'm like, well, I make up for it in other ways and other spaces and, you know, maybe, maybe you don't get to be an activist in every space of your life. Um. But I'm also wondering like, yeah, I mean, 5-10 years ago I didn't have conversations about whiteness with my family. This idea that you're not supposed to talk about it at the dinner table. And I think as a, as a collective, as maybe a generation or, as a culture, whoever is in charge of that shift, [small laugh] we've been shifting to have those conversations in our personal relationships. To talk about whiteness. Mmm it's less, it's showing up less in professional relationships. And then clinical relationships feels like a Massive extension of professional relationships. There

> are elements about it that feel so, so personal, because you're talking with a person about things they may not talk with any other person about. But from our end, as the professionals in the room, we're still responsible for maintaining a professional conversation. Or, a professional-ish conversation or whatever. And I'm wondering if, like, that's why I'm like, yeah, let's not talk about race, let's not talk about politics for the sake of it. Sure, we'll talk about religion or race or politics if that's, umm… what the client is coming in to talk about, whether it's a point of distress for them or a point of, you know, strength or support. But we're not just talking about it because it's what's going on in the world the same way I bring it up with family.

Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern) also referenced scope of practice as a key influencer of her negative opinion about broaching whiteness with white clients. Taylor did not have active broaching experience, yet described her overall opinions on the topic in reference to a standard intake question about identities that she has asked white clients:

> Yeah, feel feels a little bit awkward I think for me. And not, they don't think I'm trying to push an agenda or anything, but I think that also crosses my mind of like, okay, like they don't know what identities are really, or like, they don't know what I'm asking, is like, is this even relevant for what's going on with them? Am I trying to like introduce some agenda that's not relevant for their care? But I think it probably is in some ways, but also that piece of like, I don't want to seem like I have an agenda or that I'm trying to, you know like, teach them things or make them think about things a certain way. And I, I don't think it's…I think it's just they don't happen to really know what that is and probably haven't been in a lot of spaces, you know my white clients, where they've had to really think about that. I don't think it's, and my experience with them has not been like,

> you know, identities are, you know, like really anti that. I think it's just more like ignorance about it and just like not knowing. But I do, yeah, it feels awkward, and I worry, I think a little bit that I'm, like, introducing something that's not necessary or that like, I'm making it weird in some way by asking about that when they don't know what I'm talking about. A lot of times they're like, eh, yeah, like, no, not really, and I'm like, okay, cool. Moving on to the next question in the intake but, yeah, it feels awkward when they don't know what I'm referring to.

Taylor's response shows some of her internal dilemma about the importance of making space to ask about identities and some of her intrapersonal and white racial developmental concerns. Additional participants referenced fear of "pushing an agenda" with their white clients. Overall, half of participants viewed broaching whiteness as largely off limits for the counseling room, when working with white clients.

Summary

The above description of the theme, Opinions, Attitudes, and Affect about Broaching whiteness with white Clients offers a window into the minds of the 10 participants in this study. Participant's stories and meaning making were illustrated across two themes, (a) Net Positive, and (b) Complex and Off Limits. These subthemes provided rich descriptions of the patterning that occurred in their opinions about broaching whiteness with white clients.

Category and Techniques for Broaching Whiteness with White Clients

The fourth main theme addresses the heart of the first research question, the act of broaching whiteness with white clients. The previous themes painted the picture of white trainee's lived experience of whiteness, to set us up to better understand how that lived experience of whiteness influences their broaching whiteness with white clients. Category and

Techniques for Broaching whiteness with white Clients describes the experience of the act of broaching (or avoidant broaching behavior), how participants approached it, and the strategies they employed consciously and unconsciously.

This theme is understood most clearly through the organization into three subthemes that show a spectrum of broaching approaches, strategies, tips, and techniques. These subthemes naturally emerged from the data, and then I mapped them onto the existing broaching literature in the writing of the results stage of the study. The subthemes are titled: (a) Avoidant; (b) Continuing-Incongruent, and (c) Integrated-Congruent and Infusing, and they correspond with Day-Vines and colleagues' continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). Further, this theme could be further analyzed utilizing Day-Vines and colleagues' multidimensional model of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2020, 2021). However, analyzing all the data in terms of the four specific broaching domains of intracounseling; intra-individual; intra-racial, ethnic, and cultural; and inter-racial, ethnic, and cultural, was beyond the scope of the present qualitative study, and presents a relevant direction for future research.

Each subtheme describes various ways participants engaged in that part of the broaching continuum. All participants were represented in this theme. However, not every participant was represented within each subtheme, or they did not share many examples of their participation in that subtheme and thus they were grouped in the subtheme to highlight the predominant method of broaching. These groupings will be explained in the relevant subtheme. A few participants only broached whiteness with white clients one or two times, yet these were significant stories and therefore they were represented in the integrated-congruent and infusing subtheme. This is not to say that they did not engage in avoidant or continuing-incongruent style broaching. The subthemes more so represent the most advanced broaching category achieved by the participant.

Thus, it is safe to say all participants engaged in silence and avoidance, yet only the participants who that was their *only* approach and technique are described in the avoidant subtheme.

Avoidant

In this subtheme, participants share experiences of not actively broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC). This is categorized as avoidant in the continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). All 10 participants in this study likely had times when they sidestepped discussions of whiteness with their white clients. Some participants who did engage in BWWWC also explicitly described experiences where they were silent or later reflected that they missed a broaching opportunity with a white client. However, half of participants *only* utilized silence in regard to BWWWC. In other words, five of the participants in this study had never initiated communication about whiteness with white clients. Among these five participants who silence and avoidance was their only approach, some thought about whiteness when working with a white client, while some others had not.

Phoebe (she/her, 2nd year) spoke to this when reflecting on her lack of thinking about whiteness when working with white clients. She shared:

> I don't think that there's ever been a time I'm like, oh, I should talk about this and then don't. I think it's like I haven't even thought about whiteness as a thing that needs to be a part of this conversation.

When asked to share her thoughts or experiences broaching whiteness with white clients, Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern) stated, “Mmm. I find that to be really hard to do. I don't think we talk a lot about whiteness with my clients that are white.” Taylor’s use of hedging language (i.e., “I don’t think”) and third person language (“we”) conveyed some doubt and hesitation to share a definitive response to this question. Taylor later clarified she had never thought about or

initiated communication about whiteness with a white client. She stated, "…um…yeah, more in the sense of like…well, no, I don't think I actually really bring it up if they don't lead with it. Now that I think about it."

Similarly, Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year) reported that she had never explicitly talked about whiteness with a white client. Lizzy reflected:

> If you had asked me how I talked about whiteness with my supervisor, or with my clinical peers, or with my clients who are not white, that would have been much, much easier. I have examples of that, of how I've grown. What I don't necessarily have are examples of how I've talked about whiteness with other white clients.

This realization seemed to come as a surprise to Lizzy because she discussed her experiences talking about whiteness in other spaces and with people from the Global Majority. Further, Lizzy shared she had thought about whiteness in "really small ways" with white clients but had not broached. Tom (he/him, 4th year) definitively shared that he did not have experience communicating about whiteness with white clients. Tom stated, "Don't have to do it. Um, or rarely have to." When asked specifically about BWWWC Tom elaborated, "I think in some ways that's the water filter…if my client is white it's kind of the water we both swim in and understanding them, um up to this point hasn't been something I necessarily do. Open to it."

Another example of avoiding broaching whiteness were experiences trainees shared when their white clients initiated conversations about whiteness. Kate (she/her, 6th year intern) shared:

> There were a couple of clients I saw who were white women, who were kind of like in activist circles. And so they would like, they probably like made comments about their own…they probably make comments about their own whiteness, and I, I was just like, nodding. I don't know. I, I don't think I like explored that or deepened that.

The above examples illustrated how participants engaged in silence and other forms of avoiding broaching whiteness with white clients. Silence and avoidance were the most commonly employed approach and was selected both consciously and unconsciously by participants. There were five participants whose first time thinking about broaching whiteness with white clients occurred during the interview, and some others who had thought of it in vague ways yet had not initiated this communication with their white clients. A few participants discussed times when their white clients' initiated conversation about race-related topics in general or even whiteness and they stated they merely nodded along. This subtheme was the most common experience for participants in this study and was the only method that five out of 10 participants utilized to broach whiteness with white clients.

Continuing-Incongruent

This subtheme consists of passive, indirect, and ineffective approaches to broaching whiteness with white clients that a few participants engaged in. This is categorized as continuing-incongruent in the continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). Although there were fewer examples and less frequent, they are significant as they represented attempts at broaching, and thus important to note from a continuum of broaching behavior and a racial developmental perspective. A few participants mentioned that during clinical intakes they often ask all clients a question about racial or cultural factors that would be important for the counselor to know about. Tom (he/him, 4th year) shared:

> Where I'm at now there's an intake question like…do you have any significant cultural practices that you would like me to know about, or something like that. And yeah, you just get, you get white clients and … they just don't reflect on it. Um, and it's part of privilege, is not having to reflect on it so. … we move on. But yeah, you see them have

> that puzzlement. (. …) I know it's gonna happen before it happens, you know what I mean? I think like, yeah, my advisor I think told me that's kind of what happens. So, it's not that surprising. I mean ultimately for me it's like, what's the next question.

Similarly, Taylor (she/her, 4th year intern) shared that she tries to follow up if a client has indicated on their intake paperwork an identity that's impacting their presenting concerns. She stated:

> When I've brought that up with white clients in particular, a lot of times they're like, identities, like, what do you mean? And so I'm usually like, try to go back to that question on the paperwork. I'm like, well, you know, it could be, *daduh dadadah*, things like that. And a lot of times, if it's white clients they're just like ohh like no? [laughs] A lot of them share, visibly share a lot of identities with me, with white, white women probably being the biggest percentage of my clients. So…a lot of them seem kind of confused by that question.

In both examples, Tom and Taylor do not mention whiteness nor do they follow up on the client's expressed confusion. Thus, these examples illustrate a passive approach to broaching whiteness that although categorized under this subtheme, I consider more in line with the previous avoidant subtheme. This is because of the lack of *intention* to broach whiteness. Tom and Taylor's intentions in the above examples are to be clinically consistent and ask a standard intake question of all their clients, without thinking about how to adapt it to facilitate racial curiosity and exploration with white clients. This emphasized that the intention and the process of broaching is just as important as the context of broaching.

The importance of the *process* of broaching is highlighted with the next example of ineffective broaching. Zachary (he/him, 3rd year)—who previously shared a robust

understanding of the horrors of white supremacy and has deeply and critically reflected on his whiteness—broached whiteness with several white clients utilizing direct, close-ended questions. Here he describes his unsuccessful broaching attempts:

> You know, you had this negative interaction with a coworker of color, and I found myself thinking like, maybe there's some racial tension there, do you want to talk about race? Usually I don't get any affirmative response. And I've had some clients say I'm really grappling (…) with my identity and I'm thinking about what it means to be, you know, a gender nonbinary white person and what it means to have a marginalized identity and a privileged identity. And sometimes I've said, oh, do you want to talk about whiteness? And typically I get rebutted when I phrase it like that, and so for better or worse, I don't often bring it up with white clients because it doesn't seem as relevant a dimension to my personal relationship with them, even as I know, and I am aware of the fact that it's a relevant dimension for how they move in the world.

Zachary was the only participant to share unsuccessful attempts to broach with direct, close ended questions. He interpreted these experiences as evidence that broaching whiteness was not therapeutically possible and shared that he did not further engage in broaching whiteness with white clients. Participant's passive and ineffective experiences with broaching were hugely impactful on their conceptualization and sense of efficacy about broaching whiteness in general as well as self-efficacy to do so. Participants represented in this subtheme of continuing-incongruent essentially reverted to patterns of broaching behavior in the avoidant subtheme. The next section describes the third subtheme that includes the greatest range of approaches and techniques for broaching whiteness with white clients: integrated-congruent and infusing.

Integrated-Congruent and Infusing

Four out of 10 participants had at least one example of actively broaching whiteness with a white client. This is categorized as integrated-congruent and infusing in the continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). This subtheme describes the wide range of active broaching approaches and techniques that these participants utilized. Overall, active broaching incorporated: an open, nonjudgemental, collaborative approach; curiosity; tentative, slow, and gentle language; invitations to engage in perspective taking; naming and noticing; patience; modeling; self-disclosure; following affect; intentional timing; and meeting the client where they are.

All four participants who engaged in active broaching described utilizing an open and nonjudgmental approach. Participants shared examples of asking open ended questions and making space to allow the client to explore their relationship and make the connection to whiteness. Further, patience and a slow, collaboratively informed, guided process to assist the client complete the role of whiteness and engage in perspective taking was common. Deepening the discussion, use of tentative, thoughtful, gentle language, without rushing to provide answers were among other intentional strategies used. Chris (he/him, 4th year) shares an example that illustrates many of these techniques:

> This is a chance for learning and development for this person, so in this instance, how can I again tap into those advocacy skills and maybe look at it from a perspective taking, for, at least for this student. And say, like, you know in that instance, if, given the backgrounds that you described for the roommate, if someone might have said that to you, how do you think you might have responded? And then I think that led to a conversation naturally about race, because they're different races—I forget the race of the

roommate but the person in therapy was white—and sort of talking about like, do you think it would be, we'd be having a different conversation if you weren't white, and in this context like what role do you think that had? So, so it turned into more of like a psycho-ed related to privilege, basically.

Another technique included naming white cultural pieces, with or without explicitly naming them, all while holding a nonjudgmental, curious approach. Grendel (they/she, 4th year intern) describes some of their experiences doing this:

> I have these conversations with white people, but I'm like the way it looks is always a little bit different. So sometimes I will have to say, do you think it's possible, like, I'm not saying that's what this is, but do you think it's possible this could actually be connected to, like, white culture in some ways? Some people have never, like, heard the phrase white culture. They're like, white people don't have culture [small laugh]. And then we have to have a discussion about like, oh, well, you know, what's like Midwest culture? What's something that I wouldn't know about this area just by nature of me being like an outsider in some ways? Uh, in Illinois, like a small one that I'll often bring up is Italian beef being a big thing. I'm like, this is just the Midwest cheesesteak, and they do not like that [laughs]. So just pointing out like ownership of certain things can come up. (. …) Sometimes coming in from the framework of things they're missing out on, kind of then makes the conversation of privilege a little bit easier. Like, wow, it's so sad that you say you're like a Nordic American, but you don't know any of your families' own traditions because they had to give those up to like integrate and settle into this community. And now you don't feel like you have anything that's like uniquely yours—even though like yeah, we do—but sometimes that's the way that we could kind of come in with it.

All four of these participants who actively broached whiteness with white clients, utilized the above named foundational therapeutic factors such as a nonjudgmental approach, as well as many more counseling techniques to broach whiteness. Participants described examples in which they modeled systems focused language, utilized appropriate self-disclosure related to their own whiteness, followed the affect and helped client's process their white emotionality; tended to the therapeutic rapport and stage of relationship with the client; assessed the client's racial awareness; utilized appropriate humor, practiced patience, flexibility, adaptability, and were thoughtful about the timing of their broaching interventions. All these skills are utilized in the course of counseling, and these participants described how they engaged them in the often-taboo topic of whiteness.

Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year) had the least amount of experience broaching whiteness with white clients compared to the other three participants who actively broached, yet she utilized many of her counseling skills and personal racial development insights to broach whiteness with one of her white clients. She shared:

> And just the way she was describing things I wanted to poke a little bit more and understand a little bit more. So, again, working with cognitions, I wanted to know the thought process of, okay why, why were you saying those things to yourself? What was coming up for you in that moment that, that was your first reaction? You know, what if, their card got declined. They knew they had money on it. But they just got really upset. Wouldn't you be upset? And after exploring some of those pieces, again, just kind of the way that conversation naturally shifted, I felt comfortable to ask more direct questions of like, do you think you would have had the same reaction if, they were white and they weren't Black? And her response—or like her nonverbal body language—I could tell got

very uncomfortable. But I felt like it was important to explore that and lean into it and I think it, it ended in a good conversation and she was able to kind of be reflective in that moment and tell herself, she was able to tell herself like, you know, I do want to be more mindful of those things and recognize where those thoughts and emotions are coming from and really, kind of a similar process of what I went through. Like she, I kind of pointed out the discomfort, and she said, oh, I don't like that. So how do I change it?"

Mairead (she/her, 2nd year) had and described a wide range of experiences broaching whiteness with white clients. The below example she shared illustrates meeting the client where they were and utilizing many counseling techniques in the service of broaching whiteness with a white client:

> They were feeling a lot of guilt but they weren't relating it to whiteness, and so they were really struggling with guilt … and I believe this situation came up specifically after one of like the police brutality instances … and I kind of just self-disclosed a little bit in terms of like we're both, we both share that whiteness … and I can relate to, you know, like feeling some sort of way about this, and for me like I, I'm feeling some of that like shame and guilt and like disgust and like hopelessness like because of my whiteness and because of my identity and because like, I have the awareness that like our identity is like a big part of the issues that we're seeing, um, is that something that like you are relating to? Or is that like just not it at all? And then usually like the answer is somewhere regarding the lines of something similar to what I said. And then it really is just like diving deeper into like, you know this is a space where like we are two white people discussing this, so like this might be a really beneficial place to really go there and um get uncomfortable so that we aren't you know, maybe making those mistakes or misspeaking or continuing to do

> things that you might feel guilty about, in, in your regular interactions with people that maybe don't share that same identity. So, kind of like working through that, um ... and again the levels of awareness and acceptance towards like ... that nature of like how whiteness is a real construct that shows up, you know I find varying degrees of that awareness and so unpacking that can look different for different people.

These four participants had a wide range of active broaching skills that they utilized to broach whiteness with white clients (BWWWC). Each participant had varying degrees of experience broaching, from one or two examples of BWWWC to numerous examples in numerous clinical settings. These four participants ranged from being second years in their doctoral programs to being on internship, and all four had engaged in substantial critical self-reflection on their own whiteness and most of them had more systemic and psychological understandings of whiteness.

Summary

The above theme, Category and Techniques for Broaching whiteness with white Clients represented all 10 participants and illustrated how each engaged in broaching whiteness with white clients. Three subthemes helped organize the spectrum of broaching approaches, styles, and techniques into categories, previously outlined and empirically supported (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). The first subtheme, avoidant, shared how half of the participants engaged in silence and other avoidant broaching approaches, like nodding along. The second subtheme, Continuing-Incongruent, described the unique experiences of a few participants who attempted to directly broach whiteness utilizing direct, close ended questions, as well as explored the passive and indirect approach of asking standard vague intake questions about identities. The third subtheme, integrated-congruent and infusing, illustrates using examples from four

participants multiple ways of approaching and broaching whiteness with white clients. These three subthemes describe examples from all along the continuum of broaching behavior. The following section explores the fifth theme, Managing Own whiteness while Broaching whiteness with white Clients.

Managing own Whiteness while Broaching Whiteness with White Clients

In this theme, strategies (or lack of) for managing their own whiteness while broaching whiteness with white clients are explored. The examples and stories all participants shared arose while discussing their approach and experiences of broaching, and again illustrate a spectrum of experience. Similar to previous themes, avoidant is conceptualized as at the beginning of the continuum of broaching behavior, and Infusing is the most advanced. Thus, the six participants previously represented by avoidant broaching and continuing-incongruent broaching are conceptualized and discussed within the first subtheme, Stifling White Emotionality. The four participants previously represented by integrated-congruent and infusing broaching are represented and discussed in the respective second and third subthemes: Active Engagement with White Emotionality and Utilizing External Support to Manage White Emotionality. Managing their own whiteness while broaching was also highly connected to how participants understood and reflected on their own whiteness. The difference is that theme two, Reflection on own Whiteness was focused on their understanding of their personal whiteness. This theme is more narrowly focused on how they coped with their whiteness and their own white emotionality in a clinical setting, the counseling room.

This theme is associated with the second main research question focused on how broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white trainees. Managing their own whiteness was a central aspect of both trainee's thoughts, emotions, and

behaviors, and thus impacted them in multiple ways before, during, and after broaching whiteness with white clients.

Stifling White Emotionality

This subtheme represents the experiences of the six participants within the Avoidant subtheme of broaching experiences. All six of these participants engaged with silence and avoidance as a key method to manage their whiteness. Silence was utilized as a shield. However, the process of silence and avoidance was different among participants. For some, especially those who had never considered broaching whiteness with white clients, their silence appeared to be unconscious. Thus, to manage and maintain their white silence, they appeared to engage repression of affect and repression of critical racial self-reflection. Further, the strategies of avoidance, distancing (cognitively and physically leaving race-related conversations), and unconscious acceptance of the status quo were utilized although not always explicitly named. Engagement in *unconscious* silence was enacted by three of these six participants. This unconscious silence appeared to be fueled by fear. Fear was a common emotion described during the interview, and the coping strategies of avoidance, withdrawal, intellectualization, discounting, dismissing, minimizing, and perfectionism were often utilized to manage fear.

Phoebe (she/her, 2nd year) described an example of when she did not broach whiteness, and instead responded to the white client's racially salient content by shutting down her relational therapeutic approach and shifted into a Socratic questioning intervention. She shared, "I almost took like a detached, like do the Socratic questioning…like putting a block up I guess." Phoebe shared at other points during her interview that she is comfortable when she has a white client who has explicitly expressed liberal values and who initiates conversation on whiteness. However, the above example was different because the white client came from a conservative

background and was implicitly expressing her uncomfortability around people from the Global Majority, yet in racially (white) coded terminology. Phoebe reflected:

> I think there was like, fear of like imposing my own like beliefs onto her (. …) but it felt like … instead of having this like authentic conversation, it's like I have to like put on this like almost mask because it's like I can't or I felt like in the moment I think that I couldn't like, I was worried about putting my own values of like all of those things onto her and, honestly, like making her uncomfortable, which like saying that out loud is like, mhm [worried affect].

Another way participants managed themselves as white racial beings when not actively broaching whiteness was to tap into fear management strategies. Participants shared their fears of causing a therapeutic rupture if they communicated about whiteness with a white client, fears of being negatively evaluated by supervisors or their program at large, and so they consciously elected silence, to quell their fears. Kate (she/her, 6th year intern) shared an example of how she intentionally engaged in silence to reduce her fear:

> I didn't acknowledge it in any way, I didn't, um, point out how harmful that was because I was coming from like a place of fear, and like my supervisor is right there, she's not saying anything, like, this guy is like, one missed step away from running out of this room and filing a complaint against us like he, he was just not happy. And so I was like…it just felt risky to me. And then after the session I I brought it up with my supervisor of like, you know, I really kind of wanted to say something about that. Of like the impact of him saying that as a white man, like how it lands, and give some feedback to him. And she was like, yeah, but the like therapeutic alliance is sooo … like, we're

barely getting this guy to like agree to come back. And I think you made the right call, was kind of her assessment of it. Um…but I don't know…yeah.

Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year) stated, “I don’t feel great about it.” regarding her intentional silence around whiteness with a white client. She further explained:

> Yes, like I, I have the thought, and the reason I don't say it out loud is because…it's like, ‘not clinically relevant’. And there are big air quotes around that, because ‘not clinically relevant’, determined by who? Well, by me, by the other white person in the room who, thinks that if I challenged this potentially conservative leaning white person on their white privilege, it would, ahh not go well. (. …) I'm fearful that it wouldn't be received well. (. …) and if I tried to support you in seeing your whiteness, I think it would rupture our relationship. I think, it could bring into question the work we've done together.

Further, Lizzy shared an overall negative affect that accompanied her silence, and it appears she continued to suppress her negative affect in order to maintain silence. Lizzy summarizes her thoughts on the situation, “Clinically, I'm avoiding talking about race. I'm avoiding talking about whiteness. Not always race, but almost always whiteness with white clients. Personally, I don't avoid that at all. (. …) So I don't love that.”

Most of the participants managed themselves as racial beings while not broaching by stifling their emotions. All six participants represented within this subtheme at times consciously and unconsciously engaged in silence, avoidance, and distancing themselves to sit with their lack of active broaching whiteness with white clients.

Active Engagement with White Emotionality

This subtheme describes the ways in which the four participants who actively broached whiteness with white clients (integrated-congruent and infusing subtheme) engaged with their

emotions and other aspects of their whiteness in ways that supported them before and during counseling sessions. Active engagement with white emotionality included a wide range of skills: utilizing mindfulness; re-centered to focus on the client; self-monitoring; trusting clinical intuition; reassurance; coaching self; leaning into a growth mindset for clients and for themselves; embracing humility and anti-perfectionism; trusting the process; and remembering and utilizing their anti-racist values to guide and motivate their therapeutic work. These participants build upon their understanding of whiteness at large, their critical self-reflection on their whiteness, utilized and applied their knowledge of counseling skills to themselves and to their work engaging a white client in communication about whiteness. These participants did not see whiteness as some distinct topic that was inaccessible by their clinical tools, but instead often conceptualized it like other difficult, potentially uncomfortable topic (e.g., trauma) and therapeutically and humbly leaned into it.

Mairead (she/her, 2nd year) described an example of this process for her when broaching whiteness with a white client:

> I was definitely battling with like, I wanted to get on my like advocacy high horse of explaining like (…) but then also realizing that you know this person knew that [small laugh] and some sort of level, and so me just lecturing to them, or explaining somebody else's experience, wasn't going to get through to them. And so like I needed to like...take a step back and like...go there myself like it felt, it felt vulnerable, and it felt like a little scary and it felt a little embarrassing for me as a clinician to have to also admit like (...) I know these things and also like I still you know create harm to some capacity for other people and like...that sucks (…) have to admit those emotions as I'm still like always I think going to be like working through that like process is hard, because I think as a

clinician like we're not used ... at least I guess like as a white clinician I'm not used to going there...and having to discuss…those personal issues, that can come up in therapy.

Mairead continued by explicitly stating she had felt nervous and tense in session, and reflected, "just knowing like, we're going to go there [small laugh] (…) maybe that like...shifting in the seat moment happening um...and having to you know, just like kind of take a deep breath and refocus on the session." Mairead was able to utilize self-awareness and mindfulness of her racialized reactions to the session content to re-center and focus on the client and how to be most helpful to their racial growth in that moment.

Grendel (they/she, 4th year intern) discussed a different topic that not many other participants described, thinking about their physical safety when engaging in clinical work in rural "big gun" communities, as well as when physically bigger and taller white male clients got defensive in session. Grendel shared:

> I guess that ping ponging between like the fear of the reaction, the excitement of what was happening clinically, the discomfort and some fear of like, oh, we're breaking the race rule again. And then the excitement of like, yeah, it seems like it's clinically helpful for this client. Like we got an emotion up when they're saying like no, I'm not feeling anything like, and then for them to get defensive and be like, hey, what is that? Um, what's happening for you right now? Like, that was exciting, and then it was scary, and then it was exciting. So those two just ping ponging back and forth.

Grendel recognized the clinical utility of naming and discussing whiteness in the above example, and so they let their fearful emotions come and go in session, and stayed with the client, reminding themselves of their solid therapeutic rapport with the client at the time they discussed whiteness.

Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year) also coached herself to stick with exploring whiteness in session:

> As I was asking those questions and piecing together her responses, and it was pointing down, okay, let's go down this road…I do feel like my heart probably started to beat a little faster, probably started to get a little sweaty. Yeah, because I don't know if I would label it uncomfortable, but I was nervous of how it would be received. But again, I felt like I had enough rapport with this client that I could kind of explain to her well, here's my perspective, here's where I'm coming from. So, even though I was having those reactions and I was questioning myself, well, should I even go here? How's it going to be received? I still like had this gut feeling, or this clinical intuition that I needed to push past that and dive into this. Because I could have noticed those sensations and those thoughts and feelings and been like mmm I'm too uncomfortable, I'm not going to do it. I'm not going to address the situation. But…I didn't want to do that. I didn't want to abandon it. I felt like it was an opportunity to have a rich, meaningful moment. And, I told myself if it goes wrong, we can process that too. So I think, as I was asking those questions and I could see her discomfort, again, I still had some of those thoughts of like, oh, no, I'm going to have to do some repair. We're going to have to process in a different way than I was intending. Um, but by the end, when I realized like she was being more open, and receptive and reflective and she thanked me for kind of diving into those things. I was able to calm myself down. I was like, okay, that was a cool therapy moment!

Managing intrapersonal reactions while broaching whiteness with white clients was challenging at times. Chris (he/him, 4th year), described how he navigated one surprising situation:

> My initial reaction was, wow, that's messed up [small laugh], how do I contain my reaction to that, in the space that's really focused on you are the client. And you are the person who perpetrated this, right and sort of hold space for that, so it was sort of like being, and I feel like, you know, as a therapist or developing therapist, feeling like I have a pretty good poker face at times, but feeling like I needed to be extra attuned to my affect in that moment and then sort of going back to it and putting it aside to say like this is a chance for learning and development for this person.

Chris's work to bracket his automatic personal emotional response in the moment and re-center himself on the client and how to hold space for them to grow, while also sticking to his values as an emerging counseling psychologist shine through in the above example. Chris later described reminding himself of his, and his field's values of social justice, and discussed holding both those values and the client's benefit in tandem. All four of the participants represented in this subtheme found ways to manage their whiteness and their emotional reactions before and during sessions communicating about whiteness with white clients. The following section describes the subtheme, Utilizing External Support to Manage white Emotionality.

Utilizing External Support to Manage White Emotionality

This subtheme captures the value of clinical supervision to developing the applied skill of broaching whiteness with white clients. Three participants shared that they sought and utilized supervision at some point regarding communicating about whiteness with white clients. All three of these participants engaged in active broaching. The one participant who also engaged in active

broaching not represented within this subtheme did not mention supervision, however, there was not a specific interview question about supervision, therefore, their use of supervision for this topic is unknown. Of note, one participant, Kate (she/her, 6th year intern), who did not actively engage in broaching mentioned that she wished she currently had a supervisor who she felt could help her grow in broaching whiteness. Kate explained:

> I feel like this is an area I want to further like explore and develop. And I don't feel like I have the…um…I don't feel like I have the, like, supervision…I like my supervisors this semester. Like, I, I really like my supervisors, but I don't know that they…would be the best source for developing a skill like this.

A few other participants who did not actively broach whiteness also mentioned that they had not received professional guidance on broaching whiteness with white clients.

All three participants presented in this subtheme mentioned supervision in a context of it being helpful in a variety of ways: affirmation of the applicability of communicating about whiteness, assistance in processing emotions, support in identifying parallel process and potential countertransference, and support in working through related white emotionality. For Vanessa (she/her, 2nd year), supervision provided an opportunity to check in on her process in session with a client, and to see if there was something she was missing due to her level of white racial awareness. Vanessa describes:

> Timing is important (. …) like something in my gut or my clinical judgment was telling me not to at that moment…um, again, I would recognize that flag, kind of set it aside. And after the session I would try to check in with myself of like okay well, why did that come up for you? And why did you hold on to it? What's going on there? And I would, I would reflect on it and think through some of those pieces. And then usually I would go

into supervision and say, hey, I had this moment, I don't fully understand what's going on, like can you help me navigate, you know, like my process here? And usually like we would be able to, to figure out you know if there's something personal that's going on in my life that is related in some way, you know, with that being unresolved for me if I had brought it up in session it may not have been as therapeutic as it could be so. Yeah, I feel, like, again, being more mindful, open, aware, has been important to me. But also practicing these clinical skills of judgment, timing, processing, those things are important to me.

Although supervision was not a focus of this study, participants sharing of their experiences seeking and receiving this support was relevant to how they managed their white emotionality and increased their distress for the at times uncomfortable experience of communicating about whiteness with white clients.

Summary

In this section, the theme, Managing Own whiteness While Broaching whiteness with white clients was explored through examples and strategies provided by all 10 participants. The spectrum of strategies was described through three subthemes: Stifling white Emotionality; Active Engagement with white Emotionality; and Utilizing External Support to Manage white Emotionality. Participants were split across this theme, with those who did not engage in active broaching being interpreted in the Stifling white Emotionality subtheme, and those who did engage in broaching being represented in the second and third subthemes, all three of which illustrated different strategies utilized to manage their racialized selves. The following section explores the sixth and last theme, Experience Post Broaching whiteness with white Clients.

Experience Post Broaching Whiteness with White Clients

This theme describes the experience, thoughts, and meaning making of the four participants who actively broached whiteness with white clients as well as of two participants who did not broach but had shared examples of times when they thought about whiteness in session in relation to a white client, or engaged in passive, ineffective broaching whiteness with white clients. This theme does not include the voices of the participants who did not actively broach and had not thought about communicating about whiteness with white clients prior to this study. This is because although their silence could be investigated, it was not an active contemplating silence that was intentionally reactive to broaching whiteness with white clients. Further, their opinions about broaching whiteness and perhaps reasons for their silence are represented earlier, in theme three, Opinions, Attitudes, and Affect about Broaching whiteness with white Clients.

This theme directly relates to the second research question on how does broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology trainees. This theme has two subthemes to organize the experiences of the trainees: (a) Positive Experiences, and (b) Mixed and Negative Experiences.

Positive Experiences

This subtheme portrays the positive emotions and cognitions participants experienced and reflected on after broaching whiteness with white clients. Four participants voices are represented in this subtheme, the four who engaged in active broaching. Overall, emotions and cognitions expressed included feeling relieved, reassured, calm, pleased, excited, more confident, surprised, and proud. Further, reflecting on the success of the intervention, feeling more certain and pleased about their intervention were also expressed as thoughts and feelings experienced

post broaching. Chris (he/him, 4th year) succinctly reflected, it “felt really great” doing clinical work congruent with his racial justice values. The theme of feeling good when behaving in line with antiracist values was also expressed by Grendel and Vanessa.

Positive affect afterward also functioned as a behavioral reinforcer. Many of these participants described how feeling good afterwards boosted their confidence to continue broaching whiteness with white clients. Mairead (she/her, 2nd year) shared:

> I felt a little relieved like, knowing that I was able to do it, and do it effectively, I think it was like a good reassurance for me, and I felt confident and like to see that approach recepted well, and like, meaningful for like, the conversation and like the therapeutic process and relationship like I kind of got to witness that be effective and so, it was very reassuring. And I definitely, like it definitely helped build my confidence to feel comfortable to like go there again, even though it does feel uncomfortable to do it, um but to know that like that's okay to feel uncomfortable and it's still important and it's useful.

The combination of positive affect and positive, self-efficacious cognitions were a strong behavioral reinforcer of an effortful experience. These positive experiences were needed, as there were also many negative post broaching experiences with which to contend. The following section explores the next subtheme, Negative Experiences.

Mixed and Negative Experiences

This subtheme describes the mixed and negative emotions and cognitions participants experienced and reflected on after broaching whiteness with white clients. Five participants voices are represented in this subtheme, the four who engaged in active broaching and the one who engaged in ineffective broaching. Overall, some of the more mixed experience emotions

and cognitions expressed included: increased clinical contemplation, insightful and critical racial self-reflection, disappointment at the stage of the white client's racial awareness, feeling caught off guard, like a beginner, and finding humor. Negative experiences including more of the following emotions and cognitions: feelings of guilt, shame, anger, embarrassment, fear, confusion, worry, vulnerability, nervousness, surprise, tension, anxiety, feeling challenged, uncertain, exhausted, drained, frustrated, irked, doubtful, uncomfortable, concerned, wishful, regretful, full of suspense, and a loss of motivation. Further, a few participants expressed being worried about the professional ramifications of discussing whiteness if someone in power in their program, licensing, or insurance did not agree or understand how communication about whiteness with their white client was in line with the client's treatment goals. This worry about justifying broaching was also expressed by others and is more fully explored in theme 3, opinions, attitudes and affect about broaching whiteness with white clients.

Mixed and negative experiences had a powerful impact of trainees and could set in place a notion that all communication about whiteness with white clients would not go well or was too confusing for white clients and not warranted in therapy. Zachary (he/him, 3rd year) largely had ineffective broaching experiences by asking white clients direct, close ended questions. He shared:

> I'd say it usually gets kind of ignored or waved aside by my clients, and I don't always feel the imperative to say let's talk about race again because I think it's an important construct to talk about, in part because I am not always sure how it fits into my scope of practice.

Mairead shared a mixed affective experience that included reflection during and post broaching. She stated:

> I started to ... do a little bit of that like education on privilege, and then I think as I was seeing the reaction to that conversation from the client, realize like, this isn't resonating, um and I think like I need to (…) be more personal (. ...) I was able to reflect more on after the fact like, you know oh like maybe from the beginning like knowing this client I could have skipped over that like education piece (…) like oh I can just go there with clients ... I can use like, I need to, it's important for me to use my own language on my experience and share that um, when it's relevant, rather than like point the finger and say like, this is what this means.

Participants experienced a range of mixed and negative cognitions and affect after broaching whiteness with white clients, and similar to other difficulty clinical topics, participants at times were unsure how much of the mixed or negative affect was because of a possible misstep on their part, or simply part of the process. The interpretation the participant gave to their experience post broaching had a large impact on their feelings of self-efficacy to engage in future broaching whiteness with white clients.

Summary

Experiences after broaching whiteness with white clients ranged from positive to mixed to negative, and represented a range of affect, cognitions, and somatic sensations. Participants experiences post broaching were highly influenced by their experience while broaching, both of which influenced future broaching, as well as their ability to manage their white emotionality throughout.

White Privilege Attitudes Scale

All participants also completed the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS; Pinterits et al., 2009) at the conclusion of the main 90+ minute interview. The WPAS is a multidimensional,

self-report 28-item scale with four factors: 1) willingness to confront white privilege (12-item behavioral dimension, “I intend to work toward dismantling white privilege”), 2) anticipated costs of addressing white privilege (6-item mix between affective and behavioral dimensions, “If I address white privilege, I might alienate my family”), 3) white privilege awareness (4-item cognitive dimension, “Our social structure system promotes white privilege”), and 4) white privilege remorse (6-item affective dimension, “I am angry knowing I have white privilege”) (Pinterits et al., 2009). Higher scores correspond with high levels of acknowledgment of white privilege.

Overall, all participants’ subscale means were higher than development and initial validation study means, which is not surprising considering recruitment of this study included naming white identity and broaching, a commonly revered multiculturally competent counseling technique. Given that this study is qualitative in nature, an in-depth exploration of the means of the subscales will not be explored. It is worth nothing that in general, participants who expressed an individualistic understanding of the concept of whiteness (e.g., Phoebe and Taylor) generally had lower mean scores across WPAS subscales compared to participants (e.g., Mairead, Chris) who exhibited the infusing broaching style and had systemic and psychological understanding of whiteness (see Appendix M). Further, the white privilege awareness subscale has been utilized in research as a stand-alone variable and found that higher white privilege awareness was connected to individuals being more driven toward antiracist practices (Collins & Walsh, 2024), which parallels this study’s findings of the same nature if conceptualizing broaching whiteness as an antiracist practice. However, given the complexity of the different constellations of broaching behavior of participants and the WPAS data, further exploration of this data is a topic for future research.

Conclusion

This chapter describes the results of a qualitative phenomenological analysis of in-depth interviews with 10 white counseling psychology doctoral students (aged 24-31) in the United States. Of the 10 participants, six identified as cisgender women, three as cisgender men, and one as a nonbinary person. In terms of sexual orientation, six participants identified as bisexual, three identified as heterosexual, and one identified as gay. Of note, three participants were on their doctoral internship at the time of the study, and all five geographic regions of the United States were represented (one in the West, three in the Southwest, three in the Midwest, two in the Northeast, and one in the Southeast). All participants were emailed their transcripts and met for a virtual 20+ minute member-checking interview to review the transcript for accuracy.

Using interpretative phenomenological analysis, this study seeks to answer the two research questions: 1) How do white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC)? 2) How does broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students?

The six main themes that emerged from participant data included: (a) Understanding of whiteness, (b) Reflection on own whiteness, (c) Opinions, attitudes, and affect about BWWWC, (d) Category and techniques for BWWWC, (e) Managing own whiteness while BWWWC, and (f) Post BWWWC experience. Subthemes were also described, and convergences and divergences amongst the subthemes and themes were highlighted and commentated on to provide an interpretative comparison between all participants in relation to the research questions.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter provides a discussion of the study results in relation to the research questions and current broaching and critical whiteness studies literature. The six main themes that emerged from the data are discussed and interpreted in light of the research questions. Reflections on researcher reflexivity throughout the research process will be provided in light of the implications of reflexivity work on qualitative research. Contributions to the field will be outlined, and a discussion of implications for research, training, and practice follow. A discussion of limitations as well as strengths of the current study are also included.

Summary of Research Findings

This qualitative study sought to answer two primary research questions: 1) How do white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC)? 2) How does BWWWC cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students? Results came from data collected from a demographic survey, in-depth interviews, the White Privilege Attitudes Scale, as well as member checking interviews. Six themes emerged from the data, each contributing a piece to the puzzle that provided a greater understanding of the research questions, and each adding greater understanding of other themes. The themes interconnected in many ways, spanning from an awareness of whiteness itself, to reflections on what whiteness means to them personally, to engagement in and cognitive and affective experience of BWWWC. The six themes are: (a) Understanding of whiteness, (b) Reflection on own whiteness, (c) Opinions, attitudes, and affect about BWWWC, (d) Category and techniques for BWWWC, (e) Managing own whiteness while BWWWC, and (f) Post BWWWC experience. The first two themes contextualize participants in

their base understanding of whiteness as a construct and how they have come to understand themselves as white racial beings. The remaining four themes center around BWWWC, namely: exploring and describing how participants view, enact, and manage themselves during and after BWWWC. Along with elaborating on important concepts already present in the literature (e.g., importance of broaching, underdevelopment of white trainee's racial identity), this study captures white counseling psychology doctoral students' understandings, views, and self-management techniques for their whiteness while BWWWC. Exploring white trainees' BWWWC experiences was essential, as no communication is communication, and all participants had views, opinions, and ways they soothed themselves when the thought or action of BWWWC came up in session. Greater understanding of the current state of white doctoral trainee's perceptions and engagement in BWWWC has the potential to extend and deepen counseling psychology training, supervision, research, and practice in this area with the ultimate goal of deconstructing whiteness and moving toward antiracism.

Research Question 1: Describing Whiteness Conceptually and Personally

The first research question of this study was: How do white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients? This question aimed to increase understanding of how white counseling psychology doctoral students' (trainees') broach whiteness with white clients (BWWWC), while considering how they currently understand whiteness and have come to understand themselves as white racial beings. While investigating trainees' white racial developmental journey in and of itself was beyond the scope of this research, understanding how trainees understand themselves as white was foundational to this research question. Exploring how participants make meaning of

their whiteness was conceptualized to prompt a more nuanced exploration of the ways in which trainee's BWWWC.

Congruent with the literature, participants who shared a more individualistic understanding of whiteness generally had limited reflection on their racial identity and constricted emotional processing of their whiteness (Helms, 1995, 2013). Participants with a systemic and nuanced (i.e., psychological) understanding of whiteness engaged in deeper and more critically conscious reflection on their racial identity and experienced a wider range of emotions in response to their whiteness which often prompted them to engage in additional racial learning. Further, participants with more systemic understandings of whiteness and reflected on the pervasiveness of whiteness were often able to sit with their uncomfortable emotions, hold the tension, and practice a nonjudgemental approach for noticing their whiteness and working to change their behavior to be in line with their stated antiracist values. Half of the participants discussed learning antiracist ways of being white and all shared an understanding that this was continual and lifelong work. This recognition that working toward antiracism is a lifelong journey is a key feature of more advanced white racial identity development (Helms, 1995, 2013, 2020). Whereas distancing self from uncomfortable race-related conversations and engaging in emotional numbing during these conversations can be understood as along the earlier stages of white racial identity development (Helms, 1995, 2013, 2020).

Though all participants understood whiteness as a social construct, the differences described above between the individualistic and systemic and psychological understandings of whiteness proved to be a key turning point for level of reflection on own whiteness, which then influenced their continuum of BWWWC. In other words, the different subthemes that emerged to explain participants various understandings of whiteness proved to be a specific track for the

participants pattern of understanding whiteness personally and how they viewed and enacted and managed while BWWWC. To illustrate, the first track included: individualistic understanding of whiteness; emotional numbing in response to being confronted with own whiteness, general discomfort when reflecting on their own whiteness and in conversations about whiteness, distancing and limited personal reflection on own whiteness, and no evidence of behavioral change thus far in response to personal white racial development.

The second track included a systemic and psychological understanding of whiteness; a wider range of emotional responses to reflecting on own whiteness including feeling uncomfortable, yet often these strong emotions prompted further racial learning; ability to tolerate the distress of their whiteness longer which allowed them to name their whiteness and take responsibility for their need to continue learning and moving toward antiracist action. Further, this second track more often included participants who took a nonjudgmental approach while reflecting on their whiteness, critical self-reflection, increased curiosity and interest in learning how their whiteness influences their interpersonal interactions, and five of these participants also shared examples of how they are learning antiracist ways of being white.

These two tracks help explain understanding of whiteness and reflection on own whiteness. When it came to sharing their thoughts and experiences of BWWWC, the first track of participants stayed together and expressed that BWWWC is more of less off limits and too complex to engage in, and possibly unethical unless the white client explicitly stated they wanted to discuss whiteness as part of their presenting concerns. Thus, these participants shared they had never engaged in communicating about whiteness with white clients, and some stated this interview was the first time they had ever thought about it. Thus, they engaged in silence and avoidance as their method of BWWWC. This first track is in line with the literature and critical

whiteness methodology around speaking whitely, preventing deep, meaningful, or critical engagement with whiteness (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019). Further, this pattern of meaning making is congruent with Helms's continuum showing that initial understanding and cognitive change comes before actual behavior change (Helms, 1995). Participants in this first track were reflecting on how much they have learned about whiteness as a construct, comparing themselves to their home environments, tended to believe they were further along than they were, and categorized as avoidant broachers on the continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020, 2021).

Participants in the second track up evenly split off into two distinct constellations at this point. The middle constellation of meaning making merged closer to the first track, in that these participants also expressed that BWWWC was not possible to do therapeutically, and that generally they do not think it would be helpful to white clients and feared damaging the therapeutic alliance with white clients. One participant in this middle track engaged in ineffective broaching, and another discussed how they passively held space for white clients to explore their whiteness on their own, but they did not further or deepened the conversation in any way. This aligns perfectly with the broaching literature category of continuing-incongruent (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020, 2021). This middle constellation had previously shared deeper reflections on their own whiteness, and here some discussed how they discuss whiteness with friends and family members, and they had more nuanced, intellectualized understandings of whiteness. However, consistent with a pseudo-independence stage of white racial identity development, their intellectual understanding was more robust, and there was less focus on discussing the emotional elements of whiteness for white people, and a lingering emphasis on calling other white people "out" (Helms, 1995, 2013, 2020). These participants at times expressed a desire for

training on BWWWC, yet at other times shared how difficult discussing whiteness was in their personal life that they could not imagine talking about whiteness with white clients. Kate (she/her, 6th year intern) stated: “I just don't know how to do that…Yeah, I guess like my experience of…my experience of talking about whiteness with white people in my personal life is contentious, and so with clients, I'm like…don't want to go there.”

Four participants comprised the more advanced constellation, who articulated a more nuanced reflection on their own whiteness and had an overall positive attitudes and opinions about BWWWC. These participants were the only participants who engaged in active BWWWC. Among these participants, one stated she had only one example of actively BWWWC, sharing that her personal racial learning and therapeutic skill development had only recently gotten her to the point of being comfortable pushing herself to be uncomfortable and explore whiteness with a white client. The other three participants in this advanced constellation of understanding whiteness shared a range of experiences BWWWC. Some shared it did not often come up, yet the times it did might be connected to a client naming an interpersonal conflict with another person with a Global Majority identity, and the trainee utilized this window as an opportunity to explore whiteness. These participants tended to utilize more creative ways of broaching and incorporating exploration of affect that was connected to whiteness, and sometimes they would not name whiteness explicitly, but instead discuss concrete cultural values of the white client. These nuanced ways of communicating about whiteness were only possible because of the participants nuanced understanding of whiteness and how it operates and impacts white people psychologically. This aligns perfectly with the literature on the categories of integrated-congruent for the one participant with one broaching whiteness example and infusing for the

other three participants with multiple examples and an emphasis on advocacy as part of their lives (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020, 2021).

Understanding how whiteness and internalized white supremacy harms white people in unique ways is supported in the literature (Macleod, 2013), yet often not understood by those with less developed white racial identity where the focus is on white privilege. Further, a more nuanced understanding of whiteness necessitates understanding of the violence and exploitation perpetuated by white people. Understanding the violence of whiteness was a theme that participants in the advanced track shared, and it seems fair to say they utilized this knowledge in the formation of their antiracist values, and to inspire them to fold whiteness into their client conceptualizations and communications even when difficult, uncomfortable, anxiety provoking, and unsure. These participants' ability to broach whiteness also necessitated a range of skills to manage their own white emotionality and potential countertransference when BWWWC. Similar to how counselors are taught to be aware of topics that might be especially activating to them (e.g., being a survivor of sexual assault), and to engage in additional reflection and support when working with a client with similar experience, the participants in this advanced track engaged in strategies to be mindful of their own whiteness reactions when BWWWC. This is the topic of the next section.

Research Question 2: Impact of Broaching Whiteness on Trainees

The second research question of this study was: How does broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC) cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students? This question aimed to understand what the experience of BWWWC was like in multiple dimensions (i.e., cognitively, affectively) for white counseling psychology doctoral

students' (trainees') and how the impact of BWWWC adds perspective to their previously shared understanding and reflections of their own whiteness.

Participants previously described in the first track of having an individualistic understanding of whiteness utilized a range of strategies to stifle their white racial responsivity while they enacted silence and avoided BWWWC. These participants' silence represented the beginning point on the broaching continuum described by Day-Vines and colleagues as avoidant (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020). White trainee's silence and avoidance of BWWWC is congruent with the literature that white people with a less developed racial identity engage in more white silence, as a protective strategy as well as via cognitions that discussing race would make the situation worse or implicate critical engagement with whiteness (Corces-Zimmerman & Guida, 2019; McIntyre, 1997).

Given that silence and active verbal communication are two sides of the same coin of broaching (e.g., they are both points along the broaching continuum), both of these techniques impact white trainees in various ways. White trainees in the first track and white trainees in the middle track who enacted silence while BWWWC worked to stifle their emotions by avoiding or not have the racial development needed to think about the topic. Further, some white trainees who chose white silence were accepting of the status quo of silence and had come to expect that white clients would not want to bother thinking about any element of white culture, and they would then brush past potential BWWWC opportunities. This was seen in reflections by participants in this middle track who interpreted white client's puzzled look when being asked a standard intake question on if they had any significant cultural practices important for the counselor to be aware of as a sign to "move on". Other white trainees in this middle track suppressed their curiosity about BWWWC and told themselves that this curiosity was not

clinically justified to broach with the white client, or that it would not directly help the client with their presenting concern, or that they did not want to add another "problem" for their white client to think about. Further, concerns like "I just don't know how to do that" were brought up as reasons not to BWWWC. Overall, participants in the middle track understood the horror of whiteness, and were engaged (to varying degrees) in their personal life in examining their whiteness and discussing whiteness related topics with white peers, family members, and friends, yet they perceived examining whiteness as a personal life endeavor, and at times stayed in the intellectual understanding of whiteness, and most of the participants in the middle track did not have a nonjudgemental approach to processing their own whiteness. Thus, it could be interpreted as they were not yet able to conceptualize how they could slowly and nonjudgmentally explore whiteness with the client, as they were still engaged in figuring out this process for themselves.

White trainees in the advanced track who actively engaged in broaching also were active in their engagement with their own white emotionality. For example, these white trainees noticed and engaged in mindful awareness of their own feelings of frustration, irritation, white guilt, white rage, and white superiority come up in session while BWWWC, and then re-centered themselves on the client and the client's developmental level. These white trainees discussed the importance of self-monitoring and self-regulation in session, of battling their own whiteness in session, with questioning and managing their reactions, differentiating between discomfort as a sign to switch tasks or discomfort as a part of their white racial socialization and that discomfort does not equal something bad and that they can stick with discomfort and follow a clinical intuition to broach and explore content related to whiteness with white clients. Thus, these white trainees experienced a range of emotions while BWWWC, yet they were able to utilize a range

of skills to manage and cope with their reactions and tolerate distress and follow clinical intuition and discussed whiteness in various ways with white clients.

Along with actively engaging their emotions and self-monitoring, these white trainees also experienced doubt and fear, yet they engaged in a range of self-coaching strategies and leaned into a growth mindset. The growth mindset helped them engage themselves in BWWWC by reminding themselves that something is better than nothing when it comes to examining whiteness, or coach themselves that it is an "opportunity" for a "conversation" and accept that they will make mistakes, yet they can engage in rupture and repair work with the client if needed. Thus, understanding that white trainees who actively engage in BWWWC also have fears and anxieties about the process, yet utilize self-soothing techniques, a growth mindset, check the facts, remind themselves of their values, and encourage themselves to lean into anti-perfectionism and humility, allows greater understanding of how to scaffold other white trainees toward this process.

Further, although the research questions in this study did not specifically inquire about the role of external supports (e.g., clinical supervision) to BWWWC, clinical supervision was mentioned by four participants. Three of these participants mentioned it in they received support in discussing and checking in on their own white emotionality in clinical work with white clients. One participant discussed how she wished she had a clinical supervisor who she felt had the racial identity development and knowledge to provide her guidance to grow in BWWWC. However, as this research question sought to understand the impacts of BWWWC on white trainee's, it is important to recognize that white trainees who actively broached shared they sought and received external support for this clinical skill. Thus, understanding the cognitive and affective impact of BWWWC on white trainees is important so as to identify and recommend

strategies to implement ways to support and scaffold white trainees in managing their whiteness in this work.

Finally, in looking at those participants who did actively engage in BWWWC, all experienced positive thoughts and emotions during and after broaching, and all experienced mixed and negative thoughts and emotions during and after broaching. In other words, BWWWC was complex, and all white trainees who actively engaged in BWWWC experienced a range of negative, mixed, confusing, and positive emotions and cognitions about the experience. Comments included it "feels really great" engaging in clinical work congruent with racial justice values, and that BWWWC went better than anticipated, along with feeling proud of own personal and clinical growth, excited for the client's growth, feeling surprised, relieved, and reassured. All of the participants who actively engaged in BWWWC also shared examples of feelings of discomfort, worry, anxiety, frustration, reduced motivation, anger, embarrassment, and somatic tension as well. One trainee described BWWWC as challenging and like walking a "tightrope with leading and pacing whiteness in session" (Mairead).

Participants who described how they reminded themselves of their antiracist and social justice values and how that helped motivate them to actively engage in BWWWC is supported by the literature on advanced white racial identity development of integrating antiracist values into their personal values as well as advanced broaching skills present in the infusing category, that view broaching as an aspect of personal identity and view social justice advocacy as a part of their identity (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013, 2020, 2021).

Reflections on Reflexivity

During the course of this study, I engaged in several forms of reflective practice. First, I maintained a reflexive research journal that I utilized throughout the interviewing and data

analysis process. I documented my assumptions, questions, affective experiences, reactions, and connections. Engaging in this process helped me to see how things I was learning in my personal and professional life was influencing how I was responding to and interpreting participant stories and responses. For example, as I personally read content on the White Supremacy Cultural Characteristics website (Jones & Okun, 2001), the cultural characteristics I read about came to mind more often as I interviewed participants and analyzed their transcripts. Then, when I started my doctoral internship at Michigan State University Counseling & Psychiatric Services and learned about Dialectical Behavioral Therapy (DBT) and co-facilitated a DBT group, I noticed that I was seeing more themes inspired by my DBT learning: all or nothing thinking, going into rational mind and avoiding emotion mind, the difficulty and potential for peace of walking the middle path in how to broach whiteness with white clients. Engagement with myself via reflexive journaling helped me see how my frame of reference was influencing what details I might be attending to in participant's narratives. As these thoughts came up for me while I was engaging in writing exploratory notes and condensing these notes into participant experiential statements, I wrote memos in NVivo, thus connecting my personal realization to a specific part of the transcript or experiential statement. Thus, when I returned to condense the personal experiential statements into personal experiential themes, I was able to see my reflection memos and determine if I still agreed with my interpretation, or, if after some time and space away from the content I saw a different interpretation that would better explain the participant's meaning.

Second, I engaged in a range of reflective practices I have embedded in my personal and professional life. I engaged in community and peer monthly racial discussion groups, continual conversations with friends and family about my research topic and topics related to whiteness and race, a weekly Cultural Humility and Racial Responsiveness Seminar at my internship site,

discussion in multiple forms of supervision of my and my client's identities and how they influence clinical work, discussion of various forms of identities and race in seminars, peer-consultation, and presentations. One specific example that I intentionally engaged in immediately prior to data-analysis work sessions was reading and detailed reflective journaling in the guided workbook, *Me and white Supremacy* by Layla Saad (2020). Engaging in this process in a slow and deliberate manner allowed me to sit with each prompt and really excavate aspects of my internalized white supremacy that I was not consciously aware. I learned that the process of writing out my thoughts to the prompts allowed me to think of and sit with memories of racialized harm I have perpetuated and sit with uncomfortable feelings. This is very much the process I was asking my participants to engage in during the interview, and is what I am investigating, broaching whiteness with white clients. However, it was only through the slow and deliberate process of facing my emotions, behaviors, and thoughts that manifest in me that I can begin to excavate them and change my behavior going forward.

This deeper reflexive journaling addressing a range of topics in Layla Saad's workbook also helped me gain a deeper understanding of various aspects of white supremacy. For example, after reading and journaling to the prompts in the section on white superiority, I noticed themes of white superiority in participant transcripts that I previously had skipped over. This reinforces my awareness of the double hermeneutic of IPA research, that all participants' meaning making of the interview topic is also filtered through my meaning and sense making of what they share. Thus, another white counseling psychology doctoral student with a different understanding of whiteness and white supremacy may see different themes in the participant's interview data. However, to do my best to counter this, I kept an audit trail of each exploratory note I created, each personal experiential theme noted, personal experience theme created, and ultimately the

creation and reorganization of the group experiential themes. Thus, I have a record of all the themes that were not included as the analysis progressed.

When I started this research, I expected that I would learn from my participants. However, I did not realize how much I would learn. Prior to interviewing participants, I was not sure if I would have any participants who had active experience broaching whiteness with white clients. However, not only did some participants have experience broaching whiteness with white clients, but some of them also engaged in broaching in creative and therapeutically nuanced and helpful ways. I felt impressed, inspired, and motivated as a trainee many times during interviews.

I also experienced a range of emotions and had various thoughts in reaction to participant's sharing during the interviews. At times I found myself feeling disappointed that most participants perceived broaching whiteness with white clients as not therapeutic and off limits. I found myself considering the topics participants voiced and really thinking about what they shared well after the interview. I found myself at times wanting to go into psychoeducation about the benefits of broaching whiteness with white clients, yet I reminded myself to stay in my lane of researcher. I noticed counter arguments coming to mind during the interview and I let them go and re-focused on the participant.

I was also curious and perplexed that participants could describe various techniques they engaged in when broaching taboo or difficult topics (e.g., sexual assault), yet did not see the parallel to how they could engage in a similar process to broach whiteness with white clients. I had to name and suppress my urge to point this out. I felt impressed and excited when one client directly named this pattern and named her own cognitive dissonance. At other times I found myself subconsciously comparing my racial awareness to the participant's racial awareness, my

clinical experiences with their clinical experiences. I noticed that at times when a participant shared a specific example, my mind made note if I could learn from the participant's example of broaching whiteness with white clients or not. I often found myself expecting that participants would not have many experiences of broaching whiteness with white clients, and thus the examples came as a pleasant surprise. I felt excited when hearing about nuanced ways participants discussed whiteness with white clients. I really enjoyed the interviewing experience. I had sticky notes near my computer during interviews that said things like "Naïve Curiosity", "Listen 110%", and "Participant Lifeworld, Sole Focus." I looked at these sticky notes to re-center my focus and attention on the participant as I knew the topics shared would trigger many thoughts and feelings in me as a person and clinician, and these notes helped me return to my role as a qualitative researcher.

While on internship and coding data I became more motivated and inspired to try new ways of naming whiteness and aspects of white culture in session with my white clients. I asked myself more frequently, am I broaching whiteness with my white clients? I realized I was often not, and then accepted where I was, and challenged myself to grow. I was able to utilize techniques and skills that my participants who engaged in broaching whiteness discussed to manage their emotions while broaching (e.g., mindfulness). I have worked to mindfully acknowledge where I am in broaching whiteness with my white clients and nonjudgmentally encourage myself to act in value congruent ways and to utilize additional counseling techniques to do so. During the course of this study, I found myself incorporating discussions of whiteness into sessions in more nuanced ways with my white clients.

This research challenged my belief about myself as a white counseling psychology doctoral trainee. Prior to conducting interviews, I thought I discussed whiteness when I got the

chance. However, the results of this research showed me how "when I got the chance" mentality was in line with avoidant patterns and themes. Participants who actively broached whiteness in this study showed me how many creative and nuanced ways there are to integrate discussions of whiteness into sessions with white clients, and how much more similar broaching whiteness is to discussing other seemingly "difficulty" or "taboo" topics. These active broaching participants changed my perspective about how applicable broaching whiteness with white clients can be. From the start of the study, I believed strongly in the importance and value of broaching whiteness with white clients, and, I had some unconscious beliefs that it would be rare to find a white trainee who had this experience and that it would be a more direct broaching process. However, my position on the applicability of broaching whiteness with white clients was expanded and my excitement strengthened.

This research has motivated and challenged me to keep digging and excavating my internalized white supremacist thoughts, feelings, and behaviors and to do the work to specifically call in my white colleagues, peers, and family members to examine their own whiteness. This research has strengthened my personal and professional antiracist and social justice values. I am left thinking about a quote from a participant that summarizes how I have often felt about my own racial identity growth, at times feeling as though I have learned a lot about myself as a racial being, and other times feeling surprised and confused by how little I know and how shallow my excavation has been. Lizzy (she/her, 3rd year) shared: "I'm obviously not there right now—but I understand it better in this moment than I have in any other moment I've lived." This quote helps me sit with how both of my sentiments can be true: I can know a lot about myself and also have a lot of racial work to do.

Contributions

This article makes three main contributions. First, previous research on the continuum of broaching behavior has largely focused on cross-racial or different-identity dimensions in counselor-client dyads (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2018). Day-Vines and colleagues' (2020) multidimensional model of broaching behavior (MMBB) and sequential implementation scholarship (Day-Vines et al., 2021) make mention that counselors also explore shared identity dimensions and client's privileged identities. However, little broaching or counseling psychology research has focused on white counselors broaching whiteness with white clients.

Second, seminal white racial identity researcher and Scholar of Color, Janet Helms recently urged white psychologists to move beyond "their virtually exclusive focus on race and racism, defined as experiences of others, with self-exploration of Whiteness and self-disclosure about race and racism as they affect themselves" (Helms, 2017, p. 724). This study heeds Helms' call and provides a detailed examination of white counseling psychology trainee's understanding of their whiteness and deconstructs how their whiteness impacts their broaching whiteness with white clients.

Lastly, a recent content analysis of counseling scholarship specifically related to whiteness spanning a 35-year time frame since Janet Helms's seminal work on white racial identity (1984-2019) showed that only eight out of the final sample of 63 articles utilized a qualitative methodology (Bayne et al., 2021). Further, the authors recommended that future research on whiteness focus on behavioral and clinical manifestations as well as developing a better understanding of how whiteness functions for self-protection (Bayne et al., 2021). Thus, this qualitative scholarship with a focus on broaching whiteness with white clients in the

counseling room and how this experience impacts white trainees' addresses a research gap. These contributions are important insofar that they increase

These contributions are important because white supremacy is perpetuated and maintained by white silence, thus examining and naming whiteness in white trainees and in clinical practice with white clients is a step toward deconstructing whiteness, as the counseling room is a microcosm of society. Further, these contributions are significant because they put whiteness under the microscope within the competencies called for in the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC) (Ratts et al., 2016), essential for the advancement of the field of counseling psychology.

Implications

Findings from the current study have implications for research, training, and clinical practice in the field of counseling psychology. Further, the results from this study also have implications for the broader helping professions and social science disciplines, and all programs, fields, and interpersonal interactions that may benefit from white people having greater self-awareness of their racial identity and of their ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving whitely with other white people.

Implications for Research

This study contributes to broaching, white racial identity, and critical whiteness literature. Although scholars have explicated the continuum of broaching behavior and urged counselors to broach similar as well as different social identities with clients (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2018, 2020, 2021; King & Borders, 2019), this is one of the first studies to specifically focus on white counselor-client dyads and focus the spotlight on understanding and deconstructing white trainees' behavior of broaching whiteness. This study also adds depth and additional points of

connection between the white racial identity and broaching literatures, as these findings support previously proposed parallels between the counselor's development along the continuum of broaching behavior and their development of white racial identity (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2020, 2021). Future research could examine if and how counseling psychology training programs discuss and practice broaching whiteness with white clients, especially for white trainees. In addition, researchers could examine supervisors' awareness and practice discussing broaching whiteness with white clients with their white supervisees, as this was a topic mentioned by participants as either being lacking or supportive and facilitative to their personal and professional growth.

This study's findings do center whiteness, which is problematic if the focus is not kept on deconstructing whiteness and dismantling the operations of white supremacy (Leonardo, 2013; Matias & Boucher, 2021). Thus, future studies might evaluate this study or similar research using a critically informed process approach. For example, this study included process questions after the conclusion of the main interview questions (i.e., asking participants how whiteness showed up in the interview), and although analyzing these questions was not an emphasis of the current study, a processed focused approach could be the focus of future research to deconstruct another aspect of whiteness in the research process.

Further, given the findings of this study on the connections between systemic understanding of whiteness, critical self-reflection on white racial identity, more nuanced techniques to manage own whiteness, to being further along the continuum of broaching behavior, future research may investigate the supportive factors and barriers to developing these skills among white people in the field of counseling psychology.

Implications for Training

From a training perspective, counseling psychology training programs' administrative leaders, faculty, staff, directors of training, practicum and internship instructors, and supervisors should collaborate and model and scaffold white trainees' awareness and reflection on their personal whiteness and its influence on clinical work with clients, especially broaching whiteness with white clients. Since learning and racial socialization occurs in context, all white individuals in counseling psychology training programs should attend to and engage in their continuous learning about white supremacy, reflect on their whiteness, and model naming and discussing whiteness in all realms of the training program. The burden of making whiteness visible and facilitating white trainee's racial identity and broaching whiteness should not fall exclusively on Black, Indigenous, and instructors and staff members of Color. Therefore, in order for white trainees to advance in their racial self-awareness, all white identified people in the training programs must step up and dig into their personal racial learning and growth.

Previous research has identified helpful strategies that faculty, lecturers, and others in teaching roles can employ when facilitating difficult dialogues on race, including validating emotional reactions, facilitating an open discussion of feelings, and instructor's openness and acknowledgment of own biases, weaknesses, and feelings (Sue et al., 2010). Instructors might use these strategies in didactic courses and clinical practicums to help white trainees and to help themselves reflect on the social construct of whiteness and their personal whiteness. Further, the results of the current study highlight white trainees broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC) is often a topic not mentioned, discussed, practiced, or supported practically, emotionally, or theoretically. Training programs in counseling psychology should emphasize,

model, teach, and encourage this important counseling technique and support white students in valuing this aspect of broaching and self-awareness.

Training programs may incorporate themes of extended identity exploration for emerging adults, especially scaffolding the development of trainees' racial identity. Faculty and instructors should explicitly and implicitly model and require trainees to engage in reflective exercises such as reading and reflecting via workbooks on race, whiteness, and white supremacy as part of coursework and practicum. Faculty, practicum supervisors, and all white individuals involved in training should engage in this work alongside white trainees and discuss how racial learning and unlearning is life-long work. Further, white trainees could be assigned texts, resources, and materials to examine and continuously self-explore their whiteness in order to work toward a more advanced healthy white racial identity (Helms, 1990). Indeed, knowing oneself as a counseling psychologist is key to clinical work (Berzoff, 2016), and knowing oneself racially is connected to advancing on the continuum of broaching behavior (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2021).

The importance of broaching in general should be emphasized, as well as making whiteness visible to deconstruct it, and practicum instructors and field placement supervisors should model these actions and require trainees to practice broaching in actual client practice. Recent research on broaching found that discomfort and uneasiness was common among trainees when learning broaching, yet actual (required) practice helped shift mindsets from a negative stance to a positive stance that included appreciation for the clinical benefits (Barraclough et al., 2024).

White trainees interested in increasing their skill set with broaching whiteness with white clients should take a holistic perspective and recognize that the technique of broaching is most effective when infused into one's identity, thus, examining their own whiteness on a personal

level is a necessary first step. Further, something is always better than nothing. Perfectionism is antithetical to the work of increasing racial growth. Trainees are encouraged to identify tangible ways to increase their racial awareness and work to expand and add on as they continue to progress in their white racial identity development (see Appendix L for a brief resource list). For example, white trainees should identify books to read to increase their understanding of whiteness and reflection on their whiteness. Reading books that match one's current racial developmental level would be most effective (e.g., *White Fragility* by Robin DiAngelo for less awareness of white fragility, *White Rage* by Carol Anderson and *Me and White Supremacy* by Layla Saad for deepening personal learning and reflection). White trainees should progress from passively reading and learning to interactive personal critical reflection and journaling, engaging in conversations with others, identifying ways to change their behavior, and continue examining and excavating their internalized white supremacy patterns of thinking, speaking, and behaving. Finding accountability partners to engage in the work of examining one's whiteness is encouraged, as well as reflecting on values and making a mission statement with reasons to engage in antiracism learning (e.g., idea from Layla Saad's reflection prompts).

In addition to reading books, newsletters, websites, and articles, listening to critically conscious race-related podcasts, music, audio books, videos, as well as watching a range of movies and television shows that are critically conscious will help the process of increasing racial awareness in all realms, thus increasing the trainee's ability to notice themes related to race in the white client's narrative. Getting involved in local antiracist and antioppressive organizations is also a helpful way to increase learning about how race manifests in day to day interactions and cultural dynamics, and thus increase the ability to see how race and whiteness interacts with client's presenting concerns. Like when learning about gender roles and the

impacts of patriarchy on everyone, the more learning, reflection, and behavior in line with gender inclusive values the better the trainee will be able to engage therapeutically with the client and explore gender roles.

Within implications for training are implications for policy that impacts training. The counseling psychology model training program (MTP) outlines four core values, "growth toward full potential, holistic and contextual, diversity and social justice, communitarian perspective" which includes encouragement for trainee self-reflection (Scheel et al., 2018, p. 6). However, the MTP article does not once mention whiteness, and the results of this research indicate a lack of reflection on personal whiteness and how this super-ordinate identity negatively impacts broaching whiteness with white clients. Further, the MTP does not mention broaching. A policy recommendation could be that all APA accredited counseling psychology doctoral programs require as part of orientation engagement in a multiple day, local, community-based antiracist organization training on systemic racism and white supremacy. Further, all trainees, especially white trainees could be required to engage in ongoing written personal reflection to assist racial growth and development throughout their didactic and clinical training. Further, required practice of broaching could be implemented so that it is a central topic in practicum classes, not a topic relegated as optional or the last chapter to cover. These policy recommendations are just the beginning, and show a few potential ways to bridge the disconnect between the reality of white trainees' racial developmental stage as highlighted in this research and the values of counseling psychology and the lack of specific recommendations in the MTP.

Implications for Practice

Findings from this research have implications for the work of counseling psychologists, particularly considering leaders in the field have noted that whiteness is often invisible (Sue,

2004). Thus, white counseling psychology trainees must first make it visible, conceptualize it, and discuss whiteness with white clients to move toward antiracism (Grzanka et al., 2019). As the field of counseling psychology strives toward social and racial justice and multiculturalism, understanding and deconstructing whiteness must be on white clinicians' agendas, and thus, must be a part of counseling psychology trainees' clinical experiences. Field placement and practicum supervisors, internship training directors, and supervisors of supervision should assist white trainees in developing skills to deeply reflect on their whiteness in general and manage their white emotionality in session, particularly with white clients. Further, these clinical practice leaders should model and assist white trainees in engaging in racial identity reflection and help them see the transferability and adaptability of their general counseling skills when broaching whiteness with white clients.

If white trainees are lacking in general broaching skills, Day-Vines and colleagues' (2020) multidimensional model of broaching behavior (MMBB) and sequential implementation scholarship (Day-Vines et al., 2021), should be reviewed by clinical supervisors, and be utilized in guiding therapeutic training and clinical supervision on broaching. Then, discussions of how whiteness is another identity that can be broached in many ways can be explored and practiced. Supervisors could set up or engage in role play scenarios to help white trainees practice broaching whiteness with another white person before they attempt to with a white client. Additionally, guidance from deliberate practice should be referenced and utilized (Chow et al., 2015). Supervision and seminar discussion should integrate examining and excavating whiteness into readings, case conceptualization, and peer feedback, and group supervision. White supervisors in particular must be engaged in analyzing themselves as racial, cultural beings to

model this practice for white trainees. White supervisors not sure of how to develop racially should participate in local antiracism education workshops and programming.

Limitations

Readers should interpret findings considering the study's limitations. First, when seeking to apply themes to different contexts and populations, participant demographics must be considered. Overall, the findings of this research are transferable to other racially white students enrolled in APA-accredited counseling psychology doctoral programs in the United States. Although this study's 10 participants represented several gender identities, sexual orientations, religious/spiritual affiliations, and a range of perceived social class ratings, a wider range of these identities could increase the transferability of this research. Further, participant ages were between 24 to 31 years old at time of study and disability status was not assessed. Thus, experiences from white trainees of different ages and the impact of disability status were lacking. Future studies could specifically recruit and interview white trainees with other intersecting minoritized identities not represented here to explore the impact of these diverse perspectives on broaching whiteness with white clients (BWWWC). Of note, three out of four of the white trainees who actively BWWWC held a minoritized gender and/or sexual orientation identity, and one participant specifically mentioned that they apply insights gained from their minoritized identity experiences to their practice of BWWWC. The fourth white trainee who actively BWWWC subjectively reported the lowest social class rating, and perhaps this subordinated identity gave her greater curiosity to explore whiteness, another potential area for future research.

Second, selection bias may have been present in those who signed up and participated in this qualitative study. The title, "white counseling psychology doctoral trainees' experiences

broaching with clients: An interpretative phenomenological study" may have appealed to white trainees interested in sharing their broaching experiences, possibly overrepresenting the proportion of white trainees engaged in broaching in general, skewing the data and themes that emerged. However, the title's general phrase "broaching with clients" did not confirm nor deny a focus on whiteness in and of itself, and in fact some participants were surprised by the specific focus on broaching whiteness with white clients, and some shared they thought the study was about broaching with clients from the Global Majority.

Third, given the topic of whiteness, my constantly shifting, evolving, and regressing white racial identity development limited the findings of this study in multiple ways. For example, my own white emotionality likely limited my insights during interviews, prevented me from asking additional critical follow up questions about whiteness, missed critical whiteness themes in the data analysis process, and/or failed to make other connections and interpretations when writing up the findings. To address this limitation, future research in this area could benefit from a collaborative research team approach for data analysis and interpretation, allowing for multiple critical perspectives to assess how best to represent participant narratives through a critical whiteness perspective.

Strengths

The present study has a number of strengths. First, the sample of 10 participants included geographic diversity, with all five regions of the United States represented. Further, there was a range of identities representing gender (six cisgender women, three cisgender men, one nonbinary person), sexual orientation (six bisexual identified, three heterosexual identified, one gay identified), self-perceived social class (2 to 9, $M = 6.2$), and year in program (second through sixth year, with three participants on their doctoral internship). Most participants identified as

either atheist or agnostic, with three indicated "other" but did not specify, and one identified with an ethnic folk religion.

Second, this study's methodology of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) allowed for a detailed examination of a topic that has yet to be explored within counseling psychology and broaching research, while also adding to the white racial identity and critical whiteness studies literatures. Third, I utilized multiple strategies to establish and maintain credibility and trustworthiness: attention to establishing and cultivating rapport with participants throughout the research process; 90+ minute in-depth interviews with me, a white-presenting counseling psychology doctoral researcher reduced social desirability discussing the topic of whiteness; member checking interviews with all participants; multiple methods of reflexivity; one peer review meeting, consultation with my doctoral chair throughout the research process; and audit trail via researcher journal and memo writing before and during every data analysis work session. Further, an aspect of triangulation was introduced via inclusion of advanced demographic information from the White Privilege Attitudes Scale.

Fourth, the majority of participants indicated that the current study's interview functioned like an intervention for them in one way or another (sparked new thinking or inspired deeper reflection). Half of the participants stated they had never thought about BWWWC until being asked about it during the interview. Further, most participants shared during their member checking interview that they had continued to think about the topic of BWWWC since the time of their interview (about two to four months later). A few participants even mentioned they initiated conversations with white clients or white peers and colleagues about BWWWC as a direct result of the interview discussion and their reflections on their responses. Thus, this study's interview process in and of itself encouraged growth in white racial identity and the

continuum of broaching behavior in both clinical and professional settings for participants. Although not intended as an intervention, this is an unexpected yet welcome strength of this study, as intervention-based research on deconstructing whiteness in counseling psychology has recently been called for (Bayne et al., 2021).

Conclusion

In sum, the current qualitative study extends our understanding of the broaching continuum that white trainees utilize to explore whiteness with white clients. Findings reveal that half of the participants---who self-selected into a study about broaching---had never thought about broaching whiteness with white clients. The study also underscores the importance of white racial identity development to broaching whiteness. Themes and patterns that emerged among participants connected to more advanced levels of racial identity functioning (i.e., systemic understanding of whiteness, taking responsibility for own whiteness, learning antiracist ways of being) were also connected to participants who practiced continuing-incongruent, integrated-congruent, and infusing broaching categories, as outlined by Day-Vines and colleagues (Day-Vines et al., 2007, 2013). Further, the lived experiences of whiteness expressed by white trainees varied from themes of numbing white emotionality, constant uncomfortability when discussing whiteness, to nonjudgmental approaches, holding tension, owning responsibility and a spectrum of self-reflection behavior.

The findings of this interpretative phenomenological analysis yielded six themes, each with two to three subthemes, and multiple points under those themes that represented personal and group experiential statements. The themes and subthemes interconnected in many ways, spanning from a range of awareness of whiteness as a construct, to reflections on what whiteness means to them personally, to engagement in and cognitive and affective experience of

BWWWC. Although the findings showed that some white trainees broach whiteness with white clients, all discussed the increased energy it took and the mixed and negative cognitive and affective experiences post BWWWC. This study underscores the need for continued critical research on examining and deconstructing whiteness in research, training, and clinical practice in counseling psychology.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Participant Demographic Information

A. Participant Demographic Information

Table A1

Participant Demographic Information

Participant	Age	Gender Identity	Sexual Orientation	Social Class [a]	Religious/ Spiritual	Year in Program	Region of Program
Mairead (she/her)	25	Cis-Woman	Bisexual	5	Other	2nd	Northeast
Grendel (they/she)	29	Nonbinary	Bisexual	7	Ethnic folk religion	4th (internship)	Midwest
Lizzy (she/her)	24	Cis-Woman	Bisexual	4	Atheist	3rd	Southwest
Chris (he/him)	31	Cis-Man	Gay	6	Agnostic	4th	Northeast
Phoebe (she/her)	27	Cis-Woman	Bisexual	6	Other	2nd	Southwest
Tom (he/him)	27	Cis-Man	Bisexual	9	Other	4th	Midwest
Zachary (he/him)	30	Cis-Man	Heterosexual	8	Atheist	3rd	West
Kate (she/her)	29	Cis-Woman	Bisexual	8	Atheist	6th (internship)	Southwest
Vanessa (she/her)	26	Cis-Woman	Heterosexual	2	Agnostic	2nd	Midwest
Taylor (she/her)	27	Cis-Woman	Heterosexual	7	Agnostic	4th (internship)	Southeast

Note. Participants provided all identifying terms in the table, and names are pseudonyms.

[a] Perception of current social class/status was self-reported on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 (Least resources [e.g., money, education, respected jobs]) to 10 (Most resources [e.g., money, education, respected jobs]); higher scores indicated greater perceived social class/status.

Appendix B

Recruitment Request

B. Recruitment Request

Dear Doctoral Student,

My name is Zari K. Carpenter, and I am a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology at Western Michigan University. I am seeking white counseling psychology doctoral student participants for my qualitative dissertation. The purpose of this study is to explore the development of broaching skills of white counseling psychology doctoral students. This study has been approved by the Western Michigan University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB-2022-294).

To be eligible to participate in this study, you must: (a) self-identify as racially white; (b) have started clinical training; (c) be 18 years of age or older, and (d) be enrolled in an APA-accredited counseling psychology doctoral program in the United States at the time you start the study.

If you consent to participate, you will be asked to complete a 11-item demographic questionnaire, a 28-item scale, and two video interviews (one 90+ minute and one 30+ minute). For your time, you will have the choice of being compensated with either an electronic $45 Amazon gift card or a $45 donation to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization. The $45 incentive of your choice will be given after you complete all components of the study.

You can choose your pseudonym during the interview, and all your data will be stored securely. You may contact me at zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu for more information about the study, and I

will answer any questions you may have. This dissertation is under the supervision of Dr. Tangela Roberts (she/her) tangela.roberts@wmich.edu. If you are interested in participating in this study, please follow the link to the demographic questionnaire, which opens to an informed consent document and specific instructions for participation:
https://wmich.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_bfNrTi9VTGsUtUO

Thank you for considering becoming a participant in my dissertation study. I hope this project will be a way for your experiences to inform counseling psychology training, practice, and research.

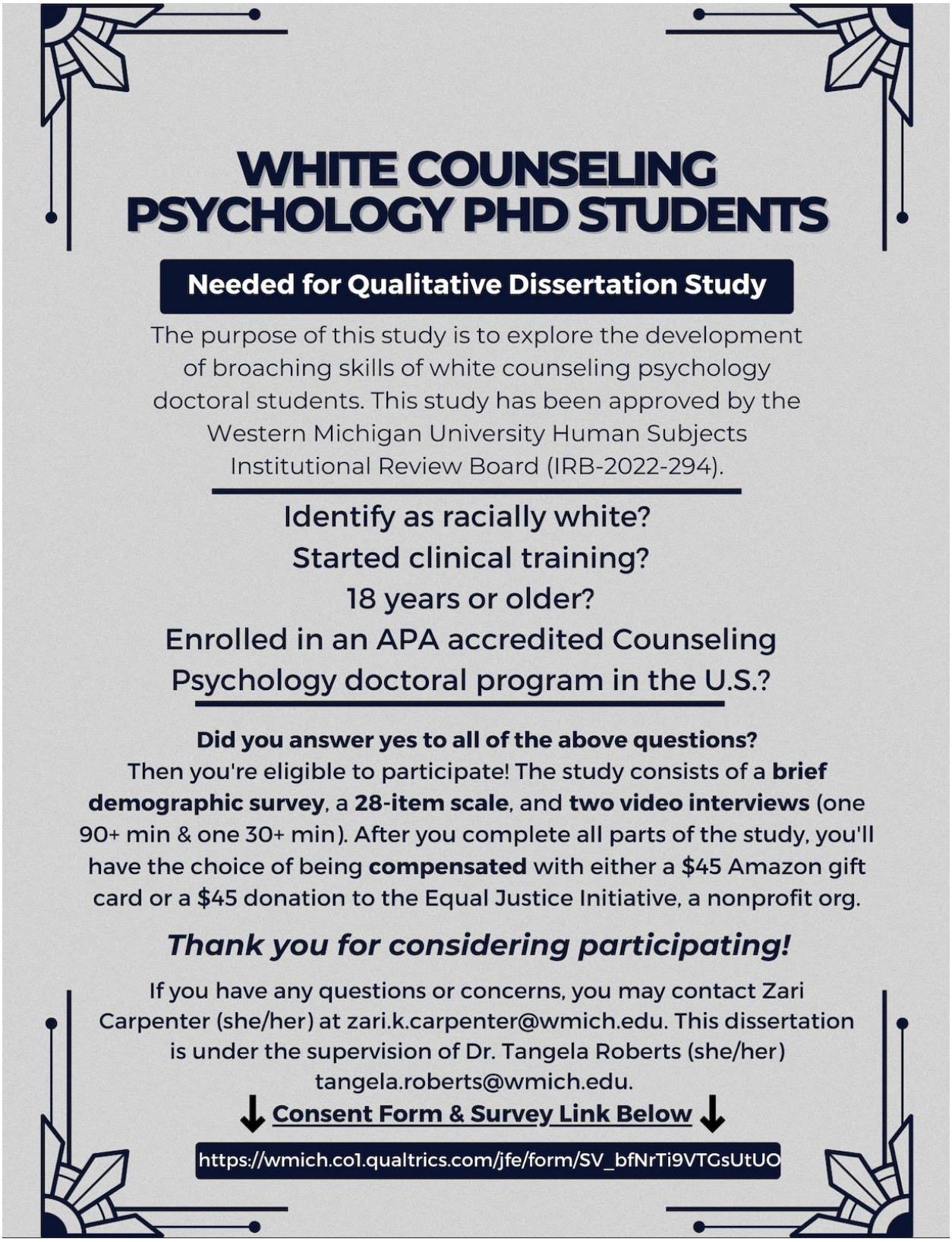
Sincerely,

Zari K. Carpenter (she/her)
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology
Western Michigan University
zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu

Appendix C

Recruitment Flyer

C. Recruitment Flyer



Appendix D

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

D. Human Subjects Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: December 19, 2022

To: Tangela Roberts, Principal Investigator
[Co-PI], Co-Principal Investigator

Re: Initial - IRB-2022-294
White counseling psychology doctoral trainees' experiences broaching with clients: An interpretative phenomenological study

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project titled "White counseling psychology doctoral trainees' experiences broaching with clients: An interpretative phenomenological study" has been reviewed by the Western Michigan University Institutional Review Board (WMU IRB) and **approved** under the **Expedited** 7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

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:** This research may **only** be conducted exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes to this project (e.g., ***add an investigator, increase number of subjects beyond the number stated in your application, etc.***). Failure to obtain approval for changes will result in a protocol deviation.

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 IRB or the Associate Director Research Compliance for consultation.

Stamped Consent Document(s) location - Study Details/Submissions/Initial/Attachments

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

Sincerely,

Amy Naugle

Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

WMU IRB

For a study to remain open after one year, a Post Approval Monitoring report (please use the continuing review submission form) is required on or prior to (no more than 30 days**) December 18, 2023** and each year thereafter until closing of the study. When this study closes, complete a Closure Submission.
Note: All research data must be kept in a secure location on the WMU campus for at least three (3) years after the study closes.

Appendix E

Informed Consent Document

E. Informed Consent Document

Western Michigan University

Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology

Principal Investigator: Tangela Roberts, Ph.D.

Student Investigator: Zari K. Carpenter, M.A.

Title of Study: White counseling psychology doctoral trainees' experiences broaching with clients: An interpretative phenomenological study

You are invited to participate in this research project titled *"White counseling psychology doctoral trainees' experiences broaching with clients: An interpretative phenomenological study."*

STUDY SUMMARY: This consent form is part of an informed consent process for a research study, and it will provide information that will help you decide whether you want to take part in this study. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. The purpose of the research is to: explore the development of broaching skills of white counseling psychology doctoral students and will serve as Zari K. Carpenter's dissertation for the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Counseling Psychology. If you take part in the research, you will be asked to complete a 11-item demographic questionnaire, a 28-item scale, and two video interviews (one 90+ minute and one 30+ minute). Your total time in the study will take approximately 2 hours and 30 minutes. Possible risks and costs to you for taking part in the study may be discomfort from discussing experiences related to your clinical training. The potential benefits of

taking part may be the opportunity to process and discuss your experiences as they relate to your personal and professional development. Your alternative to taking part in the research study is not to take part in it.

The following information in this consent form will provide more detail about the research study. Please ask any questions if you need more clarification and to assist you in deciding if you wish to participate in the research study. You are not giving up any of your legal rights by agreeing to take part in this research or by signing this consent form. After all of your questions have been answered and the consent document reviewed, if you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to give verbal consent to participate in this study.

What are we trying to find out in this study?

This interview study explores the development of broaching skills of counseling psychology doctoral trainees. I am interested in anything related to these experiences in your counseling psychology doctoral training. In particular, I am interested in anything you have to share that relates to how you use the skill of broaching with clients and how those experiences impact your clinical work.

Who can participate in this study?

You can participate if you: (a) identify as racially white; (b) have started clinical training; (c) are 18 years of age or older; and (d) are enrolled in an APA-accredited counseling psychology doctoral program in the United States at the time you start the study.

You are not eligible to participate if you do not identify as racially white (e.g., biracial, white-passing Black, Indigenous, or Person of Color, white Latinx).

Where will this study take place?

Participation in this study will take the form of two short online surveys and two virtual interviews using a video hosting site (e.g., Webex). The interviews are not location-specific; you can participate from anywhere as long as you have internet access.

What is the time commitment for participating in this study?

The total time commitment for this study is approximately 2 hours and 30 minutes. It is anticipated that the online demographic questionnaire will take approximately 5 minutes, the 28-item scale will take approximately 15 minutes, the first interview will take approximately 90 minutes, and the second member checking interview will take approximately 30 minutes.

What will you be asked to do if you choose to participate in this study?

You will be asked to engage in a 90+ minute interview by providing your responses to several questions. You will also be asked to respond to two short surveys related to demographics and attitudes. In addition, you will be asked to engage in a 30+ minute follow-up member checking interview to ensure accuracy within your interview transcript.

What information is being measured during the study?

I am interested in your qualitative experiences of broaching with clients during your doctoral clinical training in counseling psychology. After the interview, I will transcribe and analyze your interview for common themes that run across the interviews of the participants.

What are the risks of participating in this study and how will these risks be minimized?

There are minimal risks associated with this study. You might feel some distress when discussing your experiences and clinical work with clients. You may speak with the student investigator Zari K. Carpenter or the principal investigator and supervisor of this study Dr. Tangela Roberts to discuss any distress or other issues related to study participation. A list of resources related to the study's main topic will be provided to everyone who indicates interest in this study.

What are the benefits of participating in this study?

Benefits may be the opportunity to process and discuss your experiences as they relate to your personal and professional development and perhaps develop personal meaning from it, learn about student resources, and learn about the common experiences you share with others when reviewing this study. You would be contributing to counseling psychology research that could help other people process their clinical training experiences.

Are there any costs associated with participating in this study?

There are no costs associated with participating in this study.

Is there any compensation for participating in this study?

For your time, you will have the choice of being compensated with either an electronic $45 Amazon gift card or a $45 donation to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization. The $45 incentive of your choice will be given after you complete all components of the study.

Who will have access to the information collected during this study?

Your part in this research is confidential. You can choose your pseudonym during the interview, and all your data will be stored securely. Neither your name nor other identifying information will be associated with the video recording or transcript. Only the student investigator and principal investigator will have access to any identifying information. The recordings will be transcribed by the student investigator and deleted once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy or within two years of the date when the recording was made (as noted on this form). Transcripts of your interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor other identifying information (such as your voice or image) will be used in presentations or written products resulting from the study.

What will happen to my information collected for this research after the study is over?

After information that could identify you has been removed, de-identified information collected for this research may be used by or distributed to investigators for other research without obtaining additional informed consent from you.

What if you want to stop participating in this study?

You can choose to stop participating in the study at any time for any reason. The investigator can also decide to stop your participation in the study without your consent. You will experience NO consequences either academically or personally if you choose to withdraw from this study.

Should you have any questions prior to or during the study, you can contact the student investigator, Zari K. Carpenter (she/her) at zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu, or the principal investigator, Dr. Tangela Roberts (she/her) at tangela.roberts@wmich.edu. You may also contact the Chair, Institutional Review Board at 269-387-8293 or the Vice President for Research and Innovation at 269-387-8298 if questions arise during the course of the study.

This study, IRB-2022-294, was approved by the Western Michigan University Institutional Review Board (WMU IRB) on 12/19/2022.

Participating in this survey online indicates your consent for use of the answers you supply.

Appendix F

Demographic Questionnaire

F. Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender identity?
3. What is your sexual orientation?
4. What is your perception of your current social class/status?
5. What is your religious/spiritual affiliation?
6. What is your race and ethnicity?
7. Do you identify as biracial, white Latinx, or a white-passing Black, Indigenous, or Person of Color?
8. Are you currently enrolled in an American Psychological Association (APA) accredited counseling psychology doctoral program in the United States?
9. What year are you in your counseling psychology doctoral program?
10. What region of the United States is your counseling psychology doctoral program located?

    a. (1) West (2) Southwest (3) Midwest (4) Southeast (5) Northeast

11. Do you have any direct clinical hours?

Appendix G

Interview Scheduling Question

G. Interview Scheduling Question

Thank you for filling out the demographic questionnaire! The current study explores counseling psychology doctoral trainees' use of broaching in therapy. You will be asked to complete two interviews and a short survey if selected to participate. For your time, you will have the choice of being compensated with either an electronic $45 Amazon gift card or a $45 donation to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization. The $45 incentive of your choice will be given after you complete all components of the study.

Please provide your email address below if you are interested in participating, and the student investigator, Zari Carpenter (zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu), will contact you to schedule your interview.

If you are not interested in further participation, I thank you for your time and consideration.

Appendix H

Email Permission to Use White Privilege Attitudes Scale

H. Email Permission to Use White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS)

Re: Request for Dr. Janie Pinterits

Zari Koelbel Carpenter <zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu>
Mon 10/10/2022 8:39 PM
To: Janie Pinterits <JPinterits@lbl.gov>

Hello Dr. Pinterits,

Thank you very much! I would be delighted to share my completed dissertation with you. Hopefully you will receive an email from me with it Fall/Winter of 2023!

Warm regards,
Zari

Zari K. Carpenter, M.A. *(pronouns: she/her)*
Doctoral Student, Counseling Psychology
Western Michigan University
zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu

"In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist."
~ Angela Davis

From: Janie Pinterits <JPinterits@lbl.gov>
Sent: Monday, October 10, 2022 5:25 PM
To: Zari Koelbel Carpenter <zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu>
Subject: Re: Request for Dr. Janie Pinterits

Attention: This email is from outside Western Michigan University. Use caution when opening links and attachments.
Hello Zari:
Thanks for your interest in the WPAS. Your study sounds very promising. I would love to read a copy of your lit review as well as your completed work to help me catch up to the latest work in this area.
I'm attaching a copy of the scale and a scoring key. If you have any further questions or if I can be of assistance in any way regarding the WPAS, please feel free to contact me here.
Best of luck with your research,
Janie

E. Janie Pinterits, Ph.D.
Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Program Manager | (510) 486-4719 | jpinterits@lbl.gov | Gender pronouns she/her
Berkeley Lab | Bringing Science Solutions to the World | IDEAS in Action | Employee Resource Groups - ERGs

IDEA INCLUSION DIVERSITY EQUITY ACCOUNTABILITY
The land I live and work on is the ancestral and unceded territory of the Ohlone People.

Hear my name

On Mon, Oct 10, 2022 at 10:49 AM Zari Koelbel Carpenter <zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu> wrote:

> Hello Inclusion, Diversity, Equity & Accountability (IDEA) Office,

My name is Zari, and I am a fifth-year doctoral student at Western Michigan University. I am writing to request Dr. Janie Pinterits's email address so I may send her an email request to use a scale she was the lead author of in the scale's initial development and validation study. I have included the email request I intend to send to Dr. Pinterits below. Any assistance in helping me contact Dr. Pinterits would be much appreciated.

Thank you for your time!
Zari Carpenter

****
Dear Dr. Pinterits,

My name is Zari, and I am a fifth-year doctoral student at Western Michigan University. I would like to request your permission to include the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS) from Pinterits, E. J., Poteat, V. P., & Spanierman, L. B. (2009). The White Privilege Attitudes Scale: Development and initial validation. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56(3), 417–429. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016274 in my doctoral dissertation research.

The purpose of my dissertation is to explore how white counseling psychology doctoral students' experiences with their whiteness influences the act of broaching whiteness with white clients. The WPAS is useful because I would like to learn how trainees' understanding of their whiteness in clinical work relates to how they respond to the affective, behavioral, and cognitive dimensions of the WPAS. The source will receive full credit in the manuscript.

By agreeing to the use of the WPAS in my dissertation, you give ProQuest Information and Learning (PQIL) the right to supply copies of this material on demand as part of my doctoral dissertation. Please attach any other terms and conditions for the proposed use of this item.

Please let me know if there is anything else you need from me regarding my dissertation and how I plan to use the WPAS. If you no longer hold the copyright to this work, please indicate to whom I should direct my request.

Thank you for your time!

Sincerely,
Zari

Zari K. Carpenter, M.A. *(pronouns: she/her)*
Doctoral Student, Counseling Psychology
Western Michigan University
zari.k.carpenter@wmich.edu

"In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist."
~ Angela Davis

Appendix I

Interview Protocol

I. Interview Protocol

White Counseling Psychology Doctoral Trainees' Experiences

Broaching with Clients Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

Reminder: this is a semi-structured interview. The questions may shift somewhat in each interview, develop between interviews, and in response to student investigator's reflection and discussion with the principal investigator. The questions will remain focused on eliciting qualitative data related to the study's central questions.

Time & Date:

Introduction

Hello! Thank you for talking with me today. My name is Zari and I use she/her pronouns. I am a Ph.D. candidate in counseling psychology at Western Michigan University in the Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology. This research is for my dissertation and under Dr. Tangela Roberts's supervision. This study will focus on your experiences in understanding your whiteness and the development of broaching skills in your clinical work with clients, especially in discussing whiteness with white clients. I am interested in anything you share about *your* experiences understanding your whiteness and how that understanding impacts your clinical work with white clients.

Guiding Questions

1. How does white counseling psychology doctoral students' lived experience of whiteness influence broaching whiteness with white clients?
2. How does broaching whiteness with white clients cognitively and affectively impact white counseling psychology doctoral students?

Interview Questions

1. In the demographic questionnaire, you indicated you had some clinical hours. About how many direct clinical hours do you think you currently have?
    a. How many sites have you worked at?
    b. What type of sites were they?
2. Please tell me about your clinical experiences with white clients.
3. Please tell me about your emerging theoretical orientation.
4. Have you participated in any race-specific or multicultural trainings or workshops (outside of required classes or coursework)?
    a. If so, explain the topic area and content of the trainings and/or workshops.
5. How would you define whiteness?
6. What does it mean for you to be white?
7. Please describe your awareness of your white racial identity.
    a. If participant is not familiar with white racial identity, provide definition:
        i. White racial identity development is often described as a stage model with each stage involving emotions, behaviors, and attitudes about how the individual views the self and how the individual views other groups (Block & Carter, 1996; Helms, 2013). White racial identity development has been

defined as: a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that they share a common racial heritage with a particular racial group (Helms, 1990).

   b. Please share any specific stories that come to mind that illustrate how you have come to understand your whiteness.

8. What are your experiences communicating about whiteness with white clients?
   a. What has influenced or impacted these experiences communicating about whiteness with white clients?
9. Dr. Norma Day-Vines (2007, 2020) coined and defined the counseling technique of *broaching* as "the counselor's deliberate and intentional efforts to discuss those racial, ethnic, and cultural (REC) concerns that may impact the client's presenting concerns." What are your thoughts or experiences with broaching whiteness with white clients in session?

Sample Follow-up Responses and Questions

- That is interesting. Please tell me more about that.
- Is there a specific example you can share?
- Please describe bringing up difficult, uncomfortable, or taboo topics with white clients.
- Please describe your emotions related to being white.
- Tell me about how you understand your whiteness as a counseling psychology trainee.
- Please tell me about bringing up personal social identities with white clients.
- Please describe your emotions related to your experiences discussing whiteness with white clients.

- Please describe any experiences regarding whiteness and working with white clients that surprised you or for which you felt unprepared.

Process Questions

1. What are some ways that whiteness shows up between us now as we are talking about whiteness?
2. How was this interview process for you?
3. Was there anything about my identity as a visibly white woman that made it easy or challenging to discuss these topics?

Credibility Questions

1. Is there anything else we haven't discussed that feels relevant to your experience?
    a. If so, can you describe it now?
2. Do you think these interview questions kept you from describing any part of your experience?
    a. If so, can you describe it now?
3. Is there anything that I didn't ask that you think might be helpful to ask in future interviews?
4. Is there anything different I could have done that you think might be helpful in future interviews?
5. Do you have any feedback for me regarding this interview process?

Appendix J

Member Checking Interview Protocol

J. Member Checking Interview Protocol

Topics for Discussion

- Participant feedback on transcript
- Possible additional quotes participant would like to add
- Clarify participant pseudonym

Questions to Ask Participant

- Is there anything you would change about your transcript?
- Is there anything you would add or delete from your transcript?
- Is there anything in your transcript you would like me to not quote in my final dissertation or article(s)?

At the end of the interview, I will express my gratitude for the participant's participation in the study and provide information about scheduling the final member checking interview and the compensation of either an electronic $45 Amazon gift card or a $45 donation to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization. I will reiterate the $45 incentive of their choice will be given after they complete all components of the study (i.e., after the final member checking interview).

Appendix K

Debrief

K. Debrief

Thank you for completing this study. This study aimed to explore how white counseling psychology doctoral students broach whiteness in session with white clients.

I appreciate your time, honesty, interest, and willingness to assist with this important research.

Appendix L

Resource List

L. Resource List

Below is a list of resources to support counseling psychology doctoral students working toward antiracism.

American Psychological Association (APA)

- Division 9: Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI)
    - https://www.spssi.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=page.viewpage&pageid=1352
- Division 17: Society of Counseling Psychology
    - Student Affiliates of Seventeen (SAS): https://www.div17.org/about-sas
- Division 29: Society for the Advancement of Psychotherapy
    - https://societyforpsychotherapy.org/members/student-portal/development-committee/
- Division 44: Society for the Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity
    - https://www.apadivisions.org/division-44/membership
- Division 45: Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity and Race
    - http://division45.org/students/division-45webinarseries/
- Division 51: Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinities
    - https://www.division51.net/for-students

Books

- Fidel, K. (2020). *The antiracist: How to start the conversation about race and take action*. Hot Books.
- Israel, T. (2020). *Beyond your bubble: How to connect across the political divide, skills, and*

strategies for conversations that work. American Psychological Association.

- Menakem, R. (2017). *My grandmother's hands: Racialized trauma and the pathway to mending our hearts and bodies*. Central Recovery Press.
- Saad, L. F. (2020a). *Me and White supremacy: A guided journal*. Sourcebooks.
- Saad, L. F. (2020). *Me and White supremacy: Combat racism, change the world, and become a good ancestor*. Sourcebooks.
- Winters, M.-F. (2020). *Inclusive conversations: Fostering equity, empathy, and belonging across differences*. Berrett-Koehler.

Podcasts

- 1619
    - "1619" is a New York Times audio series, hosted by Nikole Hannah-Jones, that examines the long shadow of American slavery. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/23/podcasts/1619-podcast.html
- Code Switch
    - A National Public Radio (NPR) podcast about race in every part of society. https://www.npr.org/podcasts/510312/codeswitch
- Intersectionality Matters!
    - Intersectionality Matters! is a podcast hosted by Kimberlé Crenshaw, an American civil rights advocate and a leading scholar of critical race theory. https://www.aapf.org/intersectionality-matters
- Pod Save the People
    - Organizers and activists exploring news, culture, social justice and politics.

https://crooked.com/podcast-series/pod-save-the-people/

- The Clinical Consult
    - A podcast series that covers topics of direct clinical relevance to psychology practice, including liberation psychology and addressing racism and microaggressions in psychotherapy. https://www.nationalregister.org/education-training/podcasts/

Crisis Intervention and Mental Health Support

- National Suicide and Crisis Lifeline: 9-8-8
    - Toll-free number: 1-800-273-TALK (8255)
- National Suicide and Crisis Text Line
    - Text HELLO to 741741

Appendix M

Participant WPAS Subscale Means

M. Participant WPAS Subscale Means

Table A2

Participant White Privilege Attitudes Scale Subscale Means

Participant	Willingness to confront white privilege	Anticipated costs of addressing white privilege	White privilege awareness	White privilege remorse
Mairead	5.4	1.8	5.8	4.7
Grendel	4.7	3.7	5	3.3
Lizzy	5.8	2.8	6	4.3
Chris	5.9	1.8	6	3.3
Phoebe	5.7	2.8	4.5	2.5
Tom	4.8	2.3	6	2.2
Zachary	5.7	2	6	4
Kate	5.8	4.8	6	5
Vanessa	4.9	2.3	6	4.5
Taylor	5.1	2.8	5.5	3
	Average *M* = 5.4	Average *M* = 2.7	Average *M* = 5.7	Average *M* = 3.7