

SOCIOPOLITICAL LIBERATION THROUGH CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS:
PROMOTING WELL-BEING FOR PEOPLE OF COLOR EXPERIENCING RACIAL
MICROAGGRESSIONS IN AN ADVERSE SOCIOPOLITICAL CLIMATE

by

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(Under the Direction of Anneliese A. Singh)

ABSTRACT

This manuscript-style dissertation is a non-traditional format including four separate chapters to be submitted for publication. Chapter one is an introductory examination of racial microaggressions for people of color in the current sociopolitical climate and a brief review of chapters two through four, including primary constructs to be discussed. Chapter two is a separate conceptual article and literature review of social justice and liberation within the context of the counseling profession. It includes a call to the counseling profession to embrace a counselor educator pedagogy model of critical consciousness, based on the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Ratts et al., 2016). Chapter three is a quantitative research study investigating the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for people of color in the current sociopolitical climate. It also examines the role of critical consciousness in this relationship. Chapter four is a critical reflexivity explicating the positionality and anti-oppressive research process of the primary researcher. Results from the study indicate that racial microaggression are negatively associated with well-being for people of color, which is well-documented in the literature via studies that examine

negative symptoms of mental health such as anxiety, depression and stress (Benner et al., 2018; Nadal et al., 2019; Lui and Quezada, 2019). Additionally, critical consciousness significantly predicts the perception of racial microaggressions, explaining 29% of the variance. Finally, of the three elements of critical consciousness (critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action), only critical reflection significantly moderates the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, such that higher levels of critical consciousness results in a negative relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. Implications for counseling professionals and recommendations for future research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Anti-oppressive Research, Counseling, Counselor Education, Critical Consciousness, Liberation, People of Color, Racial Microaggressions, QuantCrit, Social Justice, Sociopolitical, Well-being, Wellness

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those beautiful children in Detroit, MI. I hope and pray that you experience joy and liberation from oppressive systems. I felt the power of your Black and Brown boy joy and your Black and Brown girl magic! You changed my life forever. I see you and I honor you. This is for you.

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We all have a personal experience of liberation. It is the feeling deep in our bones when we are free from all the internalized messages we were taught of who we were supposed to be and the expansion we feel when we transform these messages into critical consciousness to act upon the world and change it. The project of working toward liberation for all people who experience oppression is one that frees all of us along the way. Liberation is a psychological construct, but it only has meaning when we enact it. Liberation moves us beyond the debates of whether or not we should engage in advocacy and social justice, and moves us to envision the world we want to leave behind... (Singh, 2020, pp. 1112-1113).

We cannot walk this journey alone. I am so incredibly humbled when I think of every single person in my community of love and support who helped me succeed on this journey. I can't thank all of you here, but I will make sure you know that you have been a part of my success. There are some people that I must acknowledge here. My mom and dad are, in many ways, responsible for the person I am today. I think that is a good thing. Y'all taught me so many lessons and gave me so much wisdom and strength. I am moving mountains because you both believed I could and insisted I believe it too. You have continued to be there for me and my family through this journey and I am so grateful. I love you both so much.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROFESSIONAL IS POLITICAL: NAVIGATING COUNSELING AND COUNSELOR EDUCATION IN A TIME OF SOCIOPOLITICAL UNREST

Counseling work is social justice work (Katz, 1985; Singh et al., 2020). This is true because counseling work is wellness work in that it is focused on promoting well-being through interventions and prevention (Myers, 1992) for individuals who are suffering. Social justice is working to dismantle barriers which contribute to suffering and prevent individuals from experiencing well-being. Suffering appears in the form of mental illness, poverty, addiction, and identity-based forms of discrimination and violence. In fact, much suffering occurs in concert with and is supported by systems and structures. For example, since 2015 approximately 500 people of color with an identified mental illness have been killed by police (The Washington Post, 2021). The structure of policing exists within a system of implicit bias (Spencer et al., 2016), resulting in greater levels of violence leveled against men, women, and children of color who may have mental illness and are among the more economically disadvantaged in our society. Prolific literature explicates the link between racial discrimination and negative mental health and well-being outcomes (Liao et al., 2016; O’Keefe et al., 2015; Ong et al., 2013; Sanchez et al., 2018; Skewes & Blume, 2019). Additionally, there is a call for scholars and practitioners to focus more on resilience and protective factors to mitigate these negative outcomes for individuals and communities of color (Mosley et al., 2020; Mushonga & Henneberger, 2019). The articles in this manuscript-style dissertation introduce a social justice

call to field of counseling, research informed by a social justice lens, and an illumination of the author's reflexivity in a process to engage liberatory social justice work in counselor education.

It is imperative for counselors in training to understand the implications of social justice and advocacy in the counseling profession (Ratts & Hutchins, 2009). Many counselors will work with individuals and communities who are suffering due to multiple marginalized identities, and other counselors will not. However, they may have clients who are connected to marginalized individuals and communities subjected to violence and injustice. A career counselor may work with a Black man who is struggling to find belonging in a predominantly White work environment where he is experiencing racial microaggressions. A school counselor may work with a transgender student who is being bullied at school. A couple's counselor may work with an interracial couple where the Chinese American wife feels anger toward her White husband for not admonishing his family for calling the coronavirus the "Kung Flu" virus. All of these individuals are experiencing some level of suffering due to interpersonal, systemic, and structural barriers to their well-being. Counselor educators have the capacity to work with students and clients to dismantle these socially unjust forms of marginalization and oppression in their lives and in the counseling profession (Ratts et al., 2016). Counseling work is social justice work. This is especially true during our current sociopolitical climate.

Racial Discrimination in the Current Sociopolitical climate

The current sociopolitical climate is characterized by an exacerbation of race-based discrimination and violence enacted through racial terror against Black Americans from police officers (Waldron, 2021), encroaching upon indigenous and native lands and agency of indigenous and native peoples (Johnson, 2017), xenophobia and anti-Asian hate that has blossomed amid fears and anxieties related to COVID-19 (Tessler et al., 2020), and

nationalism/nativism and anti-immigrant policies targeting Latinx communities (Pérez Huber, 2016). These iterations of discrimination and violence are not new; they have existed within a system of white supremacy since the land now called the United States was colonized by Europeans, resulting in the slaughter, exploitation, oppression, and trauma of native and indigenous peoples (Paradies, 2016). Racial discrimination has been a significant marker of the current sociopolitical climate.

In the current sociopolitical climate, Latinx individuals experience heightened concerns about policies and practices related to deportation (López et al. 2018), which may result in significant and pervasive negative mental health outcomes due to discrimination and trauma (Torres et al., 2018). Further, during the Trump administration, children and infants were forcibly separated from their parents at the southern border, likely exposing them to long-term trauma (Roth et al., 2018). These and other injustices have promoted racist nativism, whereby White people in American (deemed to be “native”) are perceived as superior to and dominant over immigrants and other people of color (Pérez Huber, 2016). Latinx individuals regularly experience various forms of discrimination related to race/ethnicity and immigration status (Bosma et al., 2019), which may contribute to ethno-racial trauma (Chavez-Dueñas et al., 2019).

For many Black Americans, race-related discrimination is a daily, unrelenting experience. In 2013 the man who murdered 17-year-old African American youth Trayvon Martin was acquitted, serving as a catalyst for the creation of the Black Lives Matter movement in an effort to promote a resounding affirmation of the lives and humanity of all Black people (Black Lives Matter [BLM], 2020). Black Lives Matter and related movements have mobilized in response and resistance to the alarming increase in deaths of Black people at the hands of the police (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2021), racialized police communication

(Mcnamarah, 2019), racial disparities in maternal mortality that disproportionately results in the death of Black women (Bridges, 2020), and multitudes of additional indignities and terrors inflicted upon Black people in the U.S. This movement has become a rallying cry in response to unabashed violence against Black people; it is also a political and social response to centuries of anti-Blackness and oppression in this country, and an outcry against ongoing instances of race-related discrimination, disenfranchisement, and inequities which promote and sustain poverty, incarceration, sickness, and early death for Black people.

The COVID-19 global pandemic had dealt a death blow to world with upwards of two million deaths from January 2020 until now (Cable News Network [CNN], 2021). We know that racial and ethnic groups who are systemically minoritized and marginalized are disproportionately impacted by COVID-19 (Tirupathi et al., 2020). However, a unique aspect of this disease is that it has been used to promote Sinophobia (anti-Chinese sentiment) and other forms of subtle and violent anti-Asian discrimination, including physical violence, verbal attacks, and cyber-racism (Kassam-Remtulla, 2020). During this pandemic, former president Trump, many of his supporters, and prominent members of the Republican party in the United States Congress, continuously referred to the coronavirus as the “Kung Flu,” “China virus,” and “Chinese virus.” The ensuing incidents of xenophobia and Sinophobia have included animosity, scapegoating, and racist tropes and stereotypes (Chen et al., 2020) This rampant discrimination is negatively impacting factors of well-being and physical safety for Asian people in America (Lee & Waters, 2020).

Brief Review of Dissertation Chapters

This chapter, as the introduction chapter of a manuscript-style dissertation, introduces the topic of racial microaggressions within the current sociopolitical climate. In the remainder of this

chapter, I will provide a brief review of chapter 2: “I Can’t Breathe Because I am a Muslim in a Cage with the Kung-Flu” and Other Stories of Marginalization and Oppression: A Call to the Field of Counseling for Liberation and Healing, chapter 3: Exploring the Relationship Between Racial Microaggressions, Perceived Well-being, and the Role of Critical Consciousness for People of Color in an Adverse Sociopolitical Climate, and chapter 4: A Critical Reflexivity of An Emerging Scholar’s Process to Engage in Anti-Oppressive Research. The non-traditional format of a manuscript-style dissertation creates an opportunity for the scholar-activist to curate and develop multiple manuscripts that can be submitted for scholarly publication.

Chapter 2: “I Can’t Breathe Because I am a Muslim in a Cage with the Kung-Flu” and Other Stories of Marginalization and Oppression: A Call to the Field of Counseling for Liberation and Healing

In this conceptual article, I describe the current sociopolitical climate, the social justice role of counselors, and strategies for counselors to promote well-being utilizing liberation practices. The current sociopolitical climate refers to a context based on the historical, social, and political realities (Katz, 1985), which encompass a period of time beginning at approximately the end of Barack Obama’s presidency when a wave of racialized, nativist, and xenophobic rhetoric and conservative ideology gained traction. It is important to acknowledge this context due to the harmful consequences of these everyday assaults on individuals and communities who have been marginalized and oppressed within a system of white supremacy.

The American Psychological Association (APA) has published findings on stressors for Americans since 2007. These findings demonstrate a trend of increasing levels of stress associated with social and political issues including discrimination (APA, 2015), police violence (APA, 2016), gun violence (APA, 2018), and the presidential election (APA, 2020). Individuals

who seek counseling are impacted by these cultural and environmental stressors to varying degrees (Katz, 1985). Therefore, counselors may need to reconceptualize their role related to social justice in order to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse and sociopolitically distressed population. Further, it has been revealed that sociopolitical factors related to discrimination and inequity also harm those with privilege, particularly white people (Bayne, 2021; Sue, 2005). A social justice advocacy approach can benefit all counseling clients.

I present examples of the profession's investment in and commitment to social justice through our ethical code (American Counseling Association [ACA], 2014), accreditation standards (Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs [CACREP], 2015), and various professional competencies (Burnes et al., 2010; Cashwell & Watts, 2010; Chapin et al., 2018; Counselors for Social Justice [CSJ], 2020; Harper et al., 2013; Kenney et al., 2015; Ratts et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2012; Sue et al., 1992). This investment in and commitment to social justice is understood through the concepts of well-being and liberation. Well-being is a subjective state-of-being based on various emotional, psychological, and social conditions of health and happiness (Keyes, 2005). This particular definition of well-being, subjective well-being, centers individuals' own assessment of the quality of their life (Diener, 2000) and includes the presence of positive affect and feelings instead of simply the absence of negative affect and feelings (Keyes, 2002). Whether using the term "wellness" or "well-being," they both convey the spirit of optimal human functioning and is the cornerstone of the counseling profession (Myers, 1992). However, this optimal functioning cannot be achieved without liberation (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). Liberation, as conceptualized by Martín Baró's (1994) liberation theology, is action that liberates individuals and communities from the

structures which create and maintain barriers to their well-being. I argue that a liberation approach can help counselors and counselor educators to develop a social justice identity.

Finally, I present a counselor educator pedagogy model of critical consciousness that applies the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Ratts et al., 2016) to our current sociopolitical climate. Critical consciousness, based on Paulo Freire's conscientização (2000), refers to an ability to understand the mechanics of oppression in one's life and to use that awareness to enact changes that will result in liberation from that oppression. In a review of counseling literature from 2011-2015, Barrio Minton et al. (2018) acknowledged that there has been a greater pedagogical focus in counselor education on how we teach relevant content, however only 6 articles were grounded in a critical theoretical foundation. The model I propose adds to the slowly growing group of counseling pedagogy models employing a clear social justice lens rooted in the critical work of revolutionary educator and advocate, Paulo Freire (2000). Some challenges associated with this kind of approach may include a possibility that some will not understand how to engage in a constructivist approach, there may be apprehension or resistance to embrace politicized topics, and finally, whether social justice work is actually counseling work (Steele, 2008). My article clearly articulates the relationship between social justice and counseling via wellness and well-being, thus conveying either our responsibility in adopting this framework or our complicity in perpetuating emotional and psychological harm.

Chapter 3: Exploring the Relationship Between Racial Microaggressions, Perceived Well-being, and the Role of Critical Consciousness for People of Color in an Adverse Sociopolitical Climate

In this quantitative study, I investigate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. Additionally, I explore the role of critical consciousness on this relationship. Dr.

Chester Pierce (1970) first coined the term ‘racial microaggressions’ and through the years there has been an increasing focus on understanding what they are, how they occur, and how to handle them. Scholars have made considerable contributions to understanding the impact of these everyday slights and insults, often delivered to people of color by White people who often (but not always) have good intentions (Houshmand et al, 2017; Nadal, Griffin et al., 2014; Nadal et al, 2019; Sue & Constantine, 2007; Sue et al., 2019; Torres-Harding & Turner, 2015). Previous research has explored racial microaggressions across various racial/ethnic groups including African American (Sue et al., 2008), Asian American (Sue et al., 2007), Latino/Hispanic (Nadal, Mazzula, et al., 2014) and Chicana (Pérez Huber & Cueva, 2012), Multiracial (Harris, 2017), and American Indian and Alaska Natives (O’Keefe & Greenfield, 2019); within cross-racial counseling relationships (Constantine, 2007) and supervisees (Constantine & Sue, 2007); and in relation to campus racial climate (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso et al., 2009).

After defining racial microaggressions, well-being, and critical consciousness, I demonstrate how they are connected through scholarly literature (Hope et al, 2020; Zimmerman et al., 1999). Racial microaggressions are a subtle form of racism that negatively impact people of color (Pierce, 1970). While it is important to understand the harmful effect of racial microaggressions and how they manifest related to negative markers of mental health (stress, anxiety, depression, etc.), it is also necessary to examine whether they are also impacting markers of well-being (psychological, emotional, and social). Keyes (2009) suggests that if not for racial discrimination, Black Americans would have higher rates of flourishing, a condition positive mental health. Critical consciousness has been conceptualized as an antidote for oppression (Watts et al., 1999), and thus may serve as a protective factor, which could benefit the subjective well-being of people of color who experience racial microaggressions.

Results of this study provide additional support for what we already know: racial microaggressions negatively impact well-being for people of color. Also, adding to a growing body of literature (Hope & Bañales, 2019; Hope et al., 2020; Mosley et al., 2020), results suggest that critical consciousness might serve as a protective factor against the negative impact of racial microaggressions on well-being. People of color who have been oppressed socially, emotionally, psychologically, economically, academically, and physically, are in a constant battle to survive and thrive despite these conditions. It is imperative that we change these conditions that operate within a structure of white supremacy; however, we must also invest in the ability for those who have been minoritized and marginalized to develop resistance and resilience. If critical consciousness is, indeed, an antidote to oppression (Watts et al., 1999), we need to inoculate individuals and communities who are the targets of oppression.

While this study provides some initial evidence, additional work is necessary to examine the pathways that undergird the ability for critical consciousness to buffer the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. Future studies should investigate differences between individual racial/ethnic groups, age cohorts, socioeconomic status, and educational level. This information could provide scholar-activists with salient data to inform practical and effective interventions. Experiential research designs could be implemented, but critical participatory action research should be utilized as a critical, anti-oppressive method that includes participants in the entire research process (Fine et al., 2021).

Chapter 4: A Critical Reflexivity of An Emerging Scholar's Process to Engage in Anti-Oppressive Research

In the fourth chapter of this dissertation manuscript, I engage in a process of critical reflexivity (Mao et al., 2016) of myself as a researcher using a model of anti-oppressive research

as described by Potts and Brown (2005). Researcher critical reflexivity is my own development of critical consciousness as a researcher, which considers the impact of my own social identities within the current sociopolitical context (Mao et al., 2016). The chapter includes a personal reflection of the experiences that shaped me as a social justice, anti-oppressive scholar-activist. Next, I share my reflexive research process by addressing the following: (a) questioning, designing and redesigning a plan to study the questions, (c) collecting data through seeking, listening, and learning, (d) making meaning, and (e) posing conclusions, new questions, and taking action (Potts & Brown, 2005). I describe my rationale for utilizing a quantitative research design and the tensions associated with using an approach grounded in a positivist paradigm to advance social justice through a critical race theoretical lens.

Just as counseling is not neutral, research is not neutral (Garcia, et al., 2018; Gillborn, et al., 2018) – whatever the paradigm, tradition, or methodology. We all have values, beliefs, and biases that inform how we view the world, our experiences, and other people. It is not necessary to abandon our worldview; instead, we must clarify our worldview and understand how it influences us so that we can appropriately monitor how it affects our assumptions, choices, interpretations, conclusions, and subsequent actions. An important lesson from this chapter is to imbue integrity into the research process by intentionally investing in a process of researcher reflexivity throughout the entirety of a study. We can hold incredible power as researchers, and with that comes a responsibility to have an ethical awareness of how we are using that power. Imagine if every scholar engaged in this process of reflexivity. How might that influence our understanding of power, privilege, and oppression?

Recommendations for Counselor Educators

This chapter presents a brief review of three manuscripts that explore relevant social justice issues for counselors and counselor educators to consider. First, it is important to situate racialized experiences within the sociopolitical context. Second, we must understand how race-related discrimination impacts the well-being of people of color and also promote strategies for resistance and resilience. Third, there is an ethical responsibility for scholars to engage in a process of critical reflexivity in order to enact anti-oppressive research. The goal of these efforts is liberation. Bobbie Harro (2013, p. 619) defines liberation as “critical transformation,” suggesting that we embrace Freire’s (2000) conceptualization that we explicate and explore the nature and substance of oppression and engage in praxis (reflection and action) to systemically transform injustice. Therefore, in addition to enacting social justice values on the microlevel, we must also commit to meso and macrolevel change (Lewis et al., 2002).

At the microlevel, counselor educators can examine their own assumptions, values, and beliefs for congruence with social justice values including antiracism and liberation. One might utilize *The Racial Healing Handbook* (Singh, 2019) to process their attitudes and beliefs related to race and racism. The outcome of this work should inform the actions they take toward becoming antiracist (Roberts & Rizzo, 2021). For example, what does racial diversity look like within their social group? Are the spaces that they frequent (churches, schools, etc.) predominantly White? Do they almost exclusively watch shows and read books that mostly feature White characters? A separate, but nonetheless related and relevant, consideration is the answer to these questions for people of color as it relates to other groups of color (Plummer et al., 2016). For example, in what ways have you thoughtfully integrated other people of color into your lives? Do children’s books in your home include portrayals of racial/ethnic diversity?

Another step in this process involves expanding our efforts through intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991). If we wish to broaden our scope of diversity and understanding of inequity so that we may work to become anti-oppressive, we need to recognize interlocking forms of identity-based oppression (Chan et al., 2018). What kinds of conversations do we have in our homes related to ableism, heterosexism, sexism, classism, etc.? Microlevel efforts should also focus on interpersonal relationships with clients, students, and colleagues.

At the mesolevel, the counselor educator is focused on the community. This could be the program, department, university, or external community. For example, counselor educators can teach students about critical reflexivity in research courses (Mao et al., 2016). They may create workshops to share information about researcher critical reflexivity across the university and within professional counseling organizations. Sharing and encouraging this kind of process can help to normalize the practice of critical reflexivity and the ways in which we think about power, privilege, and oppression within a sociopolitical context, relating to research and outcomes. This is a way to promote praxis that enhances individual and community understanding of sociopolitical oppression and guides how we conduct research with liberation as a goal (Singh, 2020).

At the macrolevel, counselor educators may participate in collective action and advocacy. These efforts can include public awareness and lobbying for state and/or federal change. In promoting critical consciousness as a form of resistance and resilience, counselor educators can work with school counselors, college counselors, and clinicians in private practice to advance our understanding of outcomes through pretest/posttest studies. Results could then be shared with local school boards, university board of regents, and local counseling advocacy groups. This could create coalitions of involved and invested entities who can then work together to launch

information through professional organizations and speak to local and state legislatures, as well as Congress (Lewis et al., 2002).

Conclusion

It is important to acknowledge that while counseling work is indeed social justice work, it is also true that it has not always been conceptualized as such. The counseling profession, along with most other systems and structures in the United States, has been developed within a context of whiteness and white supremacy (Arredondo et al., 2020). Primary counseling theories and related techniques were developed by and for middle-class White men. The counseling profession chose to participate in the medical model of pathology in its practice of client diagnosis and insurance billing. Counselor education occurs in educational structures created to maintain white supremacy. White supremacy, an assertion of power assigned to people who are White, which inherently disadvantages individuals who are not White (Rabaka, 2007), is endemic in micro, meso, and macro systems; it is internal, interpersonal, institutional, and structural. Therefore, white supremacy is present and active in every aspect of our lives, including the profession of counseling and counselor education. However, through embracing our role as social justice advocates for well-being, we can activate coalitions at the microlevel, mesolevel, and macrolevel to advance change.

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CHAPTER 2

“I CAN’T BREATHER BECAUSE I AM A MUSTLIM IN A CAGE WITH THE KUNG FLU” AND OTHER STORIES OF MARGINALIZATION AND OPPRESSION: A CALL TO THE FIELD OF COUNSELING FOR LIBERATION AND HEALING

Unprecedented. It means something that has not happened before. Unparalleled. It means nothing is equal to it. Extraordinary. It means something is beyond ordinary, and in fact rather remarkable. Unprecedented, unparalleled, and extraordinary are words that have been used repeatedly to describe our current sociopolitical context of racism, nativism, xenophobia, and white supremacy. These symptoms are reminiscent of long-standing systems of racism and discrimination in our country (Adams et al., 2013; Jones, 1997), and thus are not new. However, we are a constantly-evolving society with advanced technology, greater acknowledgment of diverse identities, and more insidious mechanisms for the delivery of racism; with this conceptualization, it cannot be overstated that our current sociopolitical reality is unprecedented, unparalleled, and extraordinary. As such, counselor educators and counselors must actively engage in social justice work in our profession to advance well-being through liberation and healing.

The American Psychological Association (APA) has published the Stress in America™ Survey since 2007 in which they report general attitudes and perceptions of Americans related to stressors the impact of those stressors. From 2008 through 2014 the major stress themes were related to family and gender (APA 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013) and health-related concerns (APA 2011, 2012). However, a momentous shift occurred in the 2015 report when social issues

emerged as primary stress themes. These have included discrimination (APA, 2015); political climate, police violence, technology, and social media (APA, 2016); the state of the nation and increased stress among Black adults and Hispanic adults (APA, 2017); generation Z (born between 1996-2010 approximately) concerns related to gun violence, immigration and family separations, and sexual harassment (APA, 2018); the election, healthcare, mass shootings, discrimination, and staying informed (APA, 2019); and a nationwide mental health crisis including the COVID-19 global pandemic, uncertainty about the future, impact of school disruptions, financial impact for lower income Americans, discrimination, and the election (APA, 2020). Despite these considerable stressors in their lives, survey respondents reported a sense of hopefulness (APA, 2020). Collectively, this data indicates that there has been a significant sociopolitical transformation in our society which calls for a significant transformation in our profession.

Our work as counselors is a sociopolitical act and as such, we are positioned and equipped through training and resources to address myriad concerns impacting well-being for individuals and communities (Arredondo & Toporek, 2018; Katz, 1985; Ratts et al., 2016). As we enter a new decade, we must accept that what has worked in the past as a profession will not continue to work in a world that is moving ahead in dramatic and defined ways which are constantly changing our social, cultural, and political norms. In this conceptual chapter, a call for a more intentional, informed, and radical social justice-oriented counseling profession is presented. The counselor role as a social justice advocate is anchored in the guiding ethical code, accreditation standards, and competencies and then integrated with liberation psychology as a framework for engendering well-being. Further, the work of counselor educators specifically, is discussed by applying the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC:

Ratts et al., 2016) to a pedagogy of critical consciousness (Freire, 2000) within the context of the current sociopolitical climate. Implications of this approach are discussed.

A New Era for Social Justice-Oriented Counselors

This unique environment of social injustice brings with it challenges to the status quo of the counseling profession. Scholars and leaders in the profession have asserted that we are not immune to the sociopolitical climate and that we have an ethical responsibility to uncover white supremacy and racism so that we do not perpetuate and maintain systems and structures of inequity that contribute to oppression and trauma for minoritized and marginalized individuals and communities (Arredondo et al., 2020; Arredondo & Toporek, 2018; Sue et al., 1992). Our ethical obligation to represent the profession with fidelity to multiculturalism and social justice is evident in the *ACA Code of Ethics*, (American Counseling Association [ACA], 2014). We are encouraged to stretch our specialized skills and abilities in ways that move beyond helping clients simply cope with the negative effects of marginalization and injustice to instead facilitate liberation through a multicultural and feminist commitment to social justice (Ratts, 2009). Additional support for a social justice-oriented identity in the profession comes from multiple ethical codes, accreditation standards, and competencies that address awareness, skills, knowledge, and action related to various minoritized and marginalized groups (Burnes et al., 2010; Cashwell & Watts, 2010; Chapin et al., 2018; Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs [CACREP], 2015; Counselors for Social Justice [CSJ], 2020; Harper et al., 2013; Kenney et al., 2015; Ratts et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2012; Sue et al., 1992). Despite this foundational support for social justice in counseling, the profession continues to operate from an intrapsychic model which does not integrate social justice advocacy as an inherent component of our work (Ratts & Greenleaf, 2018).

Notably, some criticism persists that social justice work is not the role or responsibility of the counseling profession (Ratts & Greenleaf, 2017). One argument is that counselors should not impose their view on clients (Guiffrida et al., 2019). As stated in the *ACA Code of Ethics* A.4.b.

Counselors are aware of – and avoid imposing – their own values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Counselors respect the diversity of clients, trainees, and research participants and seek training in areas in which they are at risk of imposing their values onto clients, especially when the counselor’s values are inconsistent with the client’s goals or are discriminatory in nature (ACA, 2014).

There remains a tension between the standardized, Western, Eurocentric, predominantly White male-centered foundations of counselor identity and training, and a more modern conceptualization of our professional identity and role (French et al., 2020; Singh, 2020).

Modern counseling approaches include enacting liberation, resistance, and healing in our efforts to promote well-being (French et al., 2020; Singh, 2020). The ethical code also states in C.5. that

Counselors do not condone or engage in discrimination against prospective or current clients, students, employees, supervisees, or research participants based on age, culture, disability, ethnicity, race, religion/spirituality, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital/ partnership status, language preference, socioeconomic status, immigration status, or any basis proscribed by law (ACA, 2014)

This reflects the counseling professions’ value of acceptance related to social and cultural identities and experiences. It is not enough to avoid discrimination; rather, we must actively engage in disrupting and dismantling discrimination in all the ways that we can, and to do so while also holding space for clients’ values and beliefs (Guiffrida et al., 2019). When we combine these ethical values with relevant competencies and the development of

multiculturalism and social justice in counseling, it is evident that we are intentionally situated to advance wellness through our awareness, skills, knowledge, and actions as counselors and counselor educators (Ratts et al., 2016).

Our capacity for action is supported by the *ACA Advocacy Competencies* (Lewis et al., 2002), which were updated in 2018 (Toporek & Daniels, 2018) in an effort to address the current reality of our sociopolitical climate for the work of counselors and counselor educators. Privilege, oppression, sociopolitical, and social justice are terms included multiple times throughout the updated advocacy competencies (Toporek & Daniels, 2018), where only the word oppression appeared twice in the first iteration (Lewis et al., 2002). As the world we live in has evolved, so too, has the counseling profession. From our initial psychodynamic roots, we have matured through cognitive behavioral, existential-humanistic, and multicultural paradigms into social justice (Ratts, 2009). In this new era of social justice counseling, we actively attend to the ways in which privilege, marginalization, and other forms of oppression and discrimination impact the well-being of individuals and communities we serve (Ratts et al., 2016; Swan & Ceballos, 2020). It is clear that many citizens are restricted from experiencing these principles within the current sociopolitical climate, and instead are victimized by rampant acts of race-based discrimination. As counselors and counselor educators, it is time that we collectively engage in a more intentional, informed, and radical approach to social justice in an effort to advance well-being through liberation and healing.

Counselors Supporting Well-being and Healing Through Liberatory Practices

In its 1989 resolution, the Governing Council of the American Counseling Association (formerly the American Association for Counseling and Development) officially adopted the professional stance that it would support and advocate for the promotion of societal health and

wellness (Myers, 1992). Wellness can be broadly conceptualized as an intentional process of achieving and maintaining health in how we live and experience joy and contentment in our lives (Kihm & McGregor, 2020; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2016; Swarbrick, 1997, 2006). Kihm and McGregor (2020) differentiate wellness as a process and well-being as a state, while Myers et al. (2000) conceptualize wellness as a facet of well-being. Ultimately, well-being is a multidimensional and subjective experience (Lent, 2004) and a salient characteristic of good mental health (WHO, 2020).

Well-being is intertwined with liberation (French et al., 2020) – an intentional act of consciousness which humanizes us and allows us to transform (Freire, 2000) - because no one can be well when they are oppressed (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2003). Counselors and counselor educators have specialized skills and training to advocate with and on behalf of students and clients against systemic and structural oppression (Singh et al., 2020; Toporek et al., 2009). Further, counselors and counselor educators can promote liberation and healing (French, et al., 2020; Mosley et al., 2021), through social justice counseling work that disrupts barriers (e.g. policies, practices, systems). Adverse conditions, including race-based discrimination and an unjust sociopolitical environment, can deteriorate one's process of wellness and experience of well-being, but countering these conditions with adaptive and supportive experiences can restore wellness and state of well-being (Cowen, 1991). An adaptive and supportive approach to growing our capacity to foster well-being and healing for individuals and communities experiencing harm in our current sociopolitical climate is by incorporating liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994) practices in our training and our clinical work.

Counselor educators can cultivate social justice counselor development through a liberation psychology (Martín-Baró, 1994) approach, which includes the following elements: (a)

re-orientation of psychology, (b) recovering historical memory, (c) de-ideologizing everyday experience, (d) virtues of the people, (e) problematization, (f) conscientization, (g) praxis, and (h) transformation of the social scientist (Tate et al., 2013). Essentially, as a profession we must rethink our purpose and deeply consider what we know about the root causes for oppression that is making people unwell and how our work actionably promotes well-being (Prilleltensky, 2003). This should involve an effort to situate ourselves in the historical context of individuals and communities who have been marginalized to learn from them the strategies to create counternarratives (Singh, 2016), which can be used to challenge the false dominant narratives that have been constructed for them (Martín-Baró, 1994; Tate et al., 2013). Through this work we are able to see more clearly how systems and structures of oppression are depriving individuals of well-being, and to center on their virtues and use their strengths to advance their liberation goals (Tate et al., 2013).

As counselor educators, engaging in the process of problematization, whereby we focus on the issues that are most pressing to the groups we serve, will enhance our conscientization - the fundamental goal of a liberation approach (Martín-Baró, 1994; Tate et al., 2013). In becoming critically conscious of the ways in which sociopolitical and economic forces have shaped our lives, as well as our actions to resist these forces (Freire, 2000), we experience praxis and use our theoretical, historical, and experiential knowledge to inform our actions, and thus transform our understanding of reality (Martín-Baró, 1994; Tate et al., 2013). Finally, through this process, we may be fully transformed and emerge as social justice advocates and agents of change (Tate et al. 2013), capable of addressing deficits of well-being for marginalized individuals and communities at the expense of systems not designed to benefit them.

When wellness and well-being are threatened due to macrosystems which denigrate, disempower, and disenfranchise individuals, those systems must be identified as problematic structures and duly addressed (Cowen, 1991). Counselors and counselor educators can act as agents of social change and engage in advocacy both with and on behalf of clients and students (Lewis et al., 2002). For example, counselors can work with clients of color experiencing harm and racial trauma with skills development to increase their competence in recognizing and utilizing protective factors such as a healthy self-esteem, sense of purpose, and positive social relationships (Bosma et al., 2019), and promoting a positive collective ethnic-racial identity (Zapolski et al., 2019).

Nesbitt et al. (2012) proposed an integrative model including racial and ethnic identity, ethnic-racial socialization, and cultural orientation as factors which might act as protective mechanisms for positive youth development in the face of racial discrimination. They suggested that these constructs may enhance self-concept, influence cognitive appraisals, and promote adaptive coping (Nesbitt et al. 2012). This alone may help to develop an individual's capacity for resilience and reduce their susceptibility to the negative impacts of racial and ethnic discrimination. Depending on the situation, a counselor may either work with a client to create a plan on how to respond to various forms of racism, or they may advocate on behalf of their client to advance systematic change. While these strategies and other consciousness-raising efforts can promote client empowerment, it is also necessary to engage in systemic and structural change beyond individual work with clients. This can begin with counselor educators increasing their own capacity for social justice advocacy and their work with students to do the same.

Applying the MSJCC in an Adverse Sociopolitical Climate Using a Counselor Educator Pedagogy Model of Critical Consciousness

In our current sociopolitical climate, social injustice is pervasive and persistent, and is negatively impacting individuals and communities in nefarious ways related to immigration and border control, the termination of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), anti-Black racism and the unrelenting loss of Black lives at the hands of police officers, the restriction on transgender individuals from serving in the military, a ban on travel related to Muslim-majority countries, and anti-Asian discrimination and violence related to the current global pandemic of COVID-19 but grounded in a history of racism. Nationalism, nativism, xenophobia, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and racism are not new phenomena in the United States. Nor are the race-based instances of violence and resulting distress and trauma. Now, more than ever, the counseling profession must choose to embody its legacy as soul healers by embracing social justice practices, instead of being soul oppressors by continuing to maintain outdated frameworks that ignore the systemic history of oppression (Duran et al., 2008).

When this land now called the United States of America was violently colonized to the present day, there have been various iterations of white colonial supremacy. From 2016 to 2020, referred to by some as the “Trump era,” racism has been a central and pervasive theme. When the first Black mixed-race president, Barack Obama, was elected in 2008, many proclaimed that America was post-racial (Pérez Huber, 2016). In reality, our country became hyper-racial. Former president Obama’s time in office seemed to provoke a racial anxiety in many White Americans that nurtured the growth and spread of antipathy of people of color (Obama, 2020). The ensuing combination of inflammatory and derisive language via the highest office in our country and policies enacted by our government, has created an oppressive and unsafe

environment for some of the most vulnerable citizens, particularly those who identify as people of color. The divisive rhetoric that marked 2016-2020 (and has continued into 2021) has negatively impacted the health and well-being of minoritized and marginalized people of color living in our country (Abu-Ras et al., 2018; Baum-Baicker, 2020; Litam, 2020; Vos et al., 2021). Some examples of this rhetoric include referring to people from Mexico as rapists who are bringing drugs and crime, African countries and Haiti as “shithole” countries, and the COVID-19 virus as the “Kung Flu” and “China virus.”

Many of these sociopolitical issues are grounded in racism. While there are explicit and nuanced differences in the race-based experiences of these minoritized and marginalized groups, a commonality is the experience of racial microaggressions. Racial microaggressions are a subtle form of racism that can have deleterious effects on the well-being of people of color (Pierce, 1970; Sue et al., 2007). Counselor educators are uniquely skilled and positioned to promote a culture of social justice-oriented pedagogy designed to engender well-being for minoritized and marginalized individuals who find themselves to be the target of race-based discrimination (e.g. racial microaggressions). The following sections provide a conceptualization of how to apply the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2016) aspirational and developmental competencies (attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, skills, action) using a pedagogy model of critical consciousness (critical reflection, critical motivation/sociopolitical efficacy, critical action) within the context of the current sociopolitical climate.

The MSJCC built upon the work embedded in the Multicultural Counseling Competencies (MCC; Sue et al., 1992) by incorporating a more defined social justice stance centering on the ways power, privilege, and oppression impact counselor, client, and interrelated systems and by providing a socioecological framework that can be applied to theories, practice,

and research (Ratts et al., 2016). Critical consciousness is characterized as a process of sociopolitical analysis of systemic and structural oppression, a sense of self-efficacy to promote meaningful changes to oppressive systems, and acting in ways that carry out those aspirations (Diemer et al., 2016; Freire, 2000). Integrating the MSJCC with the elements of critical consciousness presents an intentional framework for counselor educators to conceptualize and engage their social justice-oriented identity in a developmental way. Because counselor educators prepare students to be practitioners, educators, and researchers, they have numerous opportunities to infuse this integrated pedagogy into education and training. In doing so, they can better prepare educators, scholars, and practitioners in the profession to be both preventive and responsive to the diminishment of well-being for diverse populations impacted by oppressive systems in our society.

Attitudes and Beliefs

Critical Reflection

Counselor educators can first engage in critical reflection of sociopolitical injustice by examining their own identities, locations of power and privilege, experiences of oppression and marginalization, and attitudes, beliefs, values, and biases related to the current sociopolitical landscape including issues related to immigration, anti-Black racism, native and indigenous oppression, anti-Asian racism, Islamophobia, etc. It may be helpful to find spaces to discuss the thoughts, feelings, and associations that come up during this process. Counselor educators can create opportunities for this exploration within the curriculum as well. Some ways to do this include journaling, taking the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998), or small group discussions. Questions individuals may ask of themselves and each other might include “What are the current systems of oppression that make African Americans particularly susceptible to

police violence and what are the historical implications?” and “In what ways do I benefit from my privileged identity as an American citizen born and raised in the United States with English as my primary language and in what ways are individuals who don’t have these privileges oppressed and marginalized in this country?” This reflection can be situated and explored in a global (international), national (United States), or local context (State and/or school/department).

Critical Motivation

As counselor educators increase their ability to explore their assumptions, worldviews, beliefs, and biases within both privileged and marginalized groups, they will feel more confident in their ability to deepen and broaden their self-exploration and connect what they learn to the sociopolitical context. This may increase their desire to do more to address inequity and injustice, which may prompt additional questions. Some questions may include “How have my attitudes and beliefs about Asians and Asian Americans prevented me from recognizing ways in which they might experience oppression?” or “Have my attitudes and beliefs about Muslims erased them from my classroom discussions?” At this point, counselor educators may start thinking about ways to address previous limitations of their attitudes and beliefs and what they can change moving forward.

Critical Action

In this stage counselor educators are ready to act in ways that will address or in some way disrupt attitudes and beliefs that promote and perpetuate inequality. They may be able to address more publicly their privileged and marginalized statuses and ways in which those impact their work and perspectives in the profession. Further, actions may include challenging colleagues and students (in appropriate ways) to recognize the impact of their attitudes and beliefs and how they apply to their professional identities. Counselor educators may include more opportunities for

students to examine the lens through which they see the world and contrast that to the sociopolitical history of inequity across all groups.

Knowledge

Critical Reflection

After exploring their attitudes and beliefs, counselor educators can seek knowledge to fill in any gaps they noted. For example, they may be able to reflect on oppressive structures as they impact their own identities or the identities of others related to anti-Black racism and the relationship to policing Black bodies, however they may lack a knowledge-base to help them to process their attitudes and beliefs related to anti-Asian racism. As a critical reflection approach, they may consider why they don't know about oppressive systems related to Asians and Asian Americans. Next, they could identify resources to enhance their awareness, broaden their knowledge, and connect with theories that can help them to further analyze the foundations of inequity and injustice for this population and their own relationship within those foundations. Students can be encouraged to examine their own knowledge gaps and utilize resources provided by counselor educators to deepen their understanding of and connections with salient issues of oppression.

Critical Motivation

As counselor educators develop their understanding of the systems and structures of oppression that impact minoritized and marginalized groups, they will feel more confident in their ability to speak to these issues and engage in actions to challenge inequity and injustice. For counselor educators who identify with a marginalized group, this process may include a greater sense of efficacy in resisting the assumptions, worldviews, beliefs, and biases associated with white supremacy. For example, it has not been 'polite' to talk about race (Sue, 2013), but now

they may feel more comfortable in their ability to address race in their classrooms and department meetings. Counselor educators who identify with a group that wields power may be able to experience less shame in acknowledging ways they have benefited from their privilege and recognize that they are able to confront what they have learned about inequity and injustice. As individuals progress in this stage and become better able to conceptualize and apply more socially conscious attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge to current sociopolitical realities, they may be ready to commit to enacting change (Diemer et al., 2016).

Critical Action

Counselor educators committed to social justice work can embed critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action of knowledge as a normalized practice in the profession. This work can include decolonizing counselor education and counseling practices by including social justice theories in an effort to interrupt, disrupt, and dismantle the status quo of counseling (Singh et al., 2020). This might also include intentional efforts to advance knowledge in the profession through relevant research efforts by collaborating with practitioners (Hays et al., 2019) who work with clients who identify as immigrants or refugees. Faculty can also use an interdisciplinary approach to enrich knowledge resources that are missing from counselor education by looking to other disciplines.

Skills

Critical Reflection

Engaging in critical reflection will likely be challenging and uncomfortable. It requires us to develop an intimate relationship with oppression; to ask deeply personal questions such as “Why is this happening to certain people in our society?”, “How does this impact me personally?”, or “What am I willing to do to change things?” Many counselor educators may

never have been trained to engage in the critical reflection of structural oppression and injustice, and may need to develop the skills to make this an earnest and productive practice. There are many ways to enhance critical reflection skills including a consistent practice of journaling, meeting with an accountability partner to process reflections, or reading a relevant book and meeting with a group to discuss it. These are all activities that counselor educators can bring into the classroom setting as well. However, it is important to be mindful that this can be a very difficult experience for both individuals who experience more oppression as well as for those who experience more privilege (Wallin-Ruschman et al., 2020).

Critical Motivation

Through consistent and intentional skills development, counselor educators will become more adept in communicating about how the profession is designed to serve as a vehicle of social justice advocacy. In addition to self-reflection and communication skills, counselor educators can learn bystander intervention skills (Haynes-Baratz et al., 2021) in order to learn how to interrupt an incident of harassment. Counselor educators will be able to rely on the attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, and skills they have cultivated to explain, interpret, compare and contrast, and assess why and how the counseling profession can address the impact of sociopolitical issues in relation to our work. In feeling this critical motivation or sociopolitical efficacy, counselor educators and students can make a list of their attitudes and beliefs related to their role as social justice counselors/counselor educators, the knowledge they have (and their gaps of knowledge), and the skills they possess (and the skills they still need) to apply toward taking action.

Critical Action

Counselor educators can use the critical reflection skills they have practiced to continue to deepen their self-awareness related to various sociopolitical issues. They can engage the

communication skills they have developed to educate and ‘call in’ colleagues and students to embrace a social justice-oriented professional identity. When they witness white supremacy in its many forms (racism, heterosexism, ableism, etc.), they can use their bystander intervention skills to disrupt it.

Action

Critical Reflection

The counseling profession is not immune to the ubiquity and impact of white supremacy. One way to address this issue might include utilizing leadership practices in counselor education departments and professional organizations to promote a critical reflection of the decisions that become norms, practices, and policies. We can question who our decisions serve, whose voice is not included, and who will be negatively impacted. We can further promote critical reflection through teaching, mentoring, and advising. One opportunity to consider is making space to engage in challenging conversations related to the sociohistorical context of counselor education’s relationship with white supremacy.

Critical Motivation

It may be especially important to focus on creating opportunities for counselor educators and students to develop self-efficacy to engage in social justice-oriented counseling practices. It is theorized that critical reflection leads to critical motivation which then results in critical action (Freire, 2000; Watts et al., 2011). Therefore, enhancing this sense of self-efficacy would be an important aspect of participating in individual and/or collective action. One way to accomplish this is through professional development for counselor educators and classroom activities for students. It could be helpful to provide aspiring activists with a blueprint for how to promote change, along with opportunities to practice and discussion possible outcomes. In this way,

individuals could have a realistic idea of what to expect and to develop strategies using various approaches.

Critical Action

At this point, counselor educators have engaged in a process of critical reflection and critical motivation related to how they can act to enhance their capacity to be advocates for social justice. These actions may be individual and/or collective and they may take focus in their personal and professional lives. In counseling programs, educators can ensure that socio-politically relevant content is infused throughout the curriculum, provide structured opportunities for students to develop critical reflection and critical motivation, and opportunities to participate in critical action. Counselor educators can identify additional opportunities for professional development to remain accountable in continuing to develop their awareness of privilege, oppression, and systems and structures of inequity and injustice. They can also commit to work in communities in ways that will disrupt and dismantle systems that harm the well-being of marginalized individuals.

Implications of Engaging in Social Justice Advocacy Through Counselor Education

The counseling profession is committed to wellness, social justice, advocacy, and multiculturalism (Myers, 1992; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue et al., 1992). If we can realize our potential as healers (Duran et al., 2008) in this way, we can promote liberation for individuals and communities who routinely experience marginalization and oppression through unjust systems and structures. Doing the work to reach our potential as a profession is no small feat. The counseling profession clearly states through the ethical code, accreditation standards, and competencies its values related to diversity, social justice, and advocacy; however, evidence that these values are translating into practice is mixed (Collins et al., 2015; Cook et al., 2019).

Faculty and students of color report experiencing racial discrimination in their departments, and some programs still rely on one single course to deliver social and cultural content (Casado Pérez and Carney, 2018; Haskins et al, 2013).

The development and cultivation of a social justice counselor identity can include reflecting on one's initial awareness of social justice; subsequent changes in affect, behavior, cognition, and context as a social justice identity increases; a clarified social justice identity that is an integrated aspect of who a person is; and a feedback loop that allows individuals to continue to grow as they broaden and deepen their connection and commitment to social justice (Dollarhide et al., 2016). Our world is becoming increasingly diverse and we are experiencing explosive sociopolitical issues which are impacting the lived experiences of people everywhere. Youth and adults have a greater awareness of sociopolitical issues pertaining to racism, sexism, heterosexism, and xenophobia due to advances in technology and the instant and pervasive distribution of information. Therefore, we need to prepare counselors and counselor educators who will be prepared to address the myriad issues accompanying these sociopolitical concerns. This can only happen through an intentional and methodical attention to our ability to critically reflect on these societal conditions and our proximity and relationship to them; to feel a sense of critical motivation and efficacy in our ability to effect change; and to critically engage in the work to make necessary systemic and structural changes happen.

Conclusion

Racism and acts of race-based discrimination are not new in our country. There have been various and recurring iterations of hate throughout our history. However, as has been true in each of those times, this time is unlike any other. The way that we live and experience the world is markedly different from five, ten, or twenty years ago. And yet, amid rampant acts of hate and

injustice, there have been multiple cries that “this is not who we are.” We must decide who we are with radical acceptance and determination. We can do this through our work and efforts to act as co-conspirators in antiracism. If wellness is the cornerstone of the counseling profession (Myers, 1992), then we must confront racism and other interpersonal, systemic, and structural forms of oppression as barriers to well-being for individuals and communities who are suffering. We cannot cling to sociopolitical neutrality if we wish to earnestly embody our ideals within contemporary society (Washington & Henfield, 2019). The sociopolitical unrest in our country has incited fear and violence that is killing BIPOC individuals and communities. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. asserted that we have to deal with the issues that have plagued us through history as a means of survival (King, 1968). He called on us to unify so that we can all experience freedom. It is in this noble work of answering the call for social justice counselors to act against racism and other forms of oppression, that we can move toward liberation and healing.

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CHAPTER 3

EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS, PERCEIVED WELL-BEING, AND THE ROLE OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS FOR PEOPLE OF COLOR IN AN ADVERSE SOCIOPOLITICAL CLIMATE

Although it has been suggested that critical consciousness may be an antidote for oppression (Watts et al., 1999), little research has investigated whether it might serve as a protective factor for people of color who experience racial microaggressions within a greater sociopolitical context of racism, nationalism, xenophobia, and a global pandemic. Racial discrimination is a reality for people of color. For example, the majority of African Americans (92%), Asian Americans (61%), Latinx (75%), and Native Americans (75%) believe that discrimination exists against individuals from their racial/ethnic group (National Public Radio [NPR], 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d). Numerous studies address racial microaggressions and various aspects of mental health and well-being for people of color (Lui & Quezada, 2019; Torino et al., 2019), as well as the harmful consequences and implications of racial microaggressions for multiple racial and ethnic groups (Nadal et al., 2014) including people of African (Sue et al., 2008), Asian (Kim et al., 2017), Arab and Middle Eastern (Atari & Han, 2018), Latinx (Sanchez, 2019), Multiracial (Nadal et al., 2013), and Native American (Jones & Galliher, 2015) heritage.

People of color may be experiencing elevated distress in a sociopolitical climate characterized by oppression and acts of white supremacy during Donald Trump's presidency from 2016-2020 (Albright & Hurd, 2020; Baum-Baicker, 2020). During this time Black

Americans have experienced pervasive injustice and trauma related to several high profile police killings of Black people (Associated Press [AP], 2021); Asian Americans have experienced heightened levels of fear and trauma associated with high profile violent attacks on Asian people (Ruiz et al., 2021) and anti-Asian stigma (Misra et al., 2020); Hispanic/Latinx communities experienced fear, harm, and emotional difficulties related to immigration status (Balderas et al., 2016; Becerra et al., 2018) in addition to broader experiences of discrimination and acceptance (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2020). These are a few examples among many. Experiences of elevated distress are compounded for people of color as they are also experiencing other pandemic-related challenges including disparities in healthcare (Milner et al., 2020; Pirtle & Wright, 2021) and exacerbated oppression (Elias et al., 2021). Within this context, it is important to understand the mechanisms of how racial microaggressions harm people of color and adaptive factors they may possess that lessen the impact on their well-being. One potential factor may be critical consciousness (Diemer, 2020).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship of racial-microaggressions and well-being and the role of critical consciousness for people of color in an adverse sociopolitical climate. This chapter will include a review of the literature related to racial microaggressions, well-being, and critical consciousness and relate these constructs to the current sociopolitical climate. Then the purpose of the study, method, and participants will be discussed. Finally, results will be presented along with a discussion on findings, limitations, and future research.

Literature Review

Current Sociopolitical Climate and the Counseling Profession

The current divisive sociopolitical climate has been especially difficult for communities of color and those of other marginalized identities (Abu-Ras et al., 2018; Baum-Baicker, 2020;

English et al., 2020; Lee & Waters, 2020; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Particularly, 2015 through 2021 have borne growing tensions related to Islamophobia (Ayoub & Beydoun, 2017), violation of indigenous land rights and environmental protections (Smith, 2020), immigrant status for Latinx individuals and families in the United States (Torres et al., 2018), police brutality for Black Americans (“Editorial,” 2020), and violence and bullying directed at Asians and Asian Americans during the COVID-19 pandemic (Lang, 2021). Minoritized and marginalized individuals often feel targeted and unsafe under these conditions, which may have a negative impact on their overall well-being and can be associated with trauma (Kirkinis et al., 2018). Many counselors work with clients of diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds who may be experiencing negative mental health outcomes related to daily race-based stressors associated with systemic oppression (Houshmand et al., 2017). This should be especially concerning for counselors, as wellness is the cornerstone of the counseling profession (Myers, 1992).

Further, counselors are encouraged to attend to issues related to diversity and social justice through a professional ethical code (American Counseling Association [ACA], 2014), several competencies (Burnes et al., 2010; Harper et al., 2013; Kenney et al., 2015; Ratts et al., 2016; Sue et al., 1992), and accreditation standards (Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs [CACREP], 2015). A social justice counseling paradigm is necessary for counselors to shift from primarily focusing on the individual to consider additional contextual factors in a client’s life (Lewis et al., 2011). The Multicultural Counseling Competencies (MCC; Sue et al., 1992) and the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC; Ratts et al., 2016) can serve as a framework for counselors, providing awareness and guidance related to client issues rooted in injustice (Arredondo & Toporek, 2018). This includes client experiences of racism and racial microaggressions. It is well-documented

that exposure to race-related stress (e.g. racism, racial microaggressions, racial discrimination, etc.) results in poorer mental and physical health (Paradies et al., 2015). Counselors can work with individuals to identify and address issues that negatively impact their wellness and well-being. Therefore, when working with people of color who may be experiencing decreased psychological, emotional, and social well-being, it would be helpful to know more about salient connections to race-related incidents and protective factors.

Racial Microaggressions as a Subtle Form of Racism

Racism is a deeply rooted system of dominance and power fueled by privilege which ensures the ongoing oppression of those who do not have a dominant status (Harrell, 2000), which can operate at individual, institutional, and cultural levels in overt and covert ways (Jones, 1997). A subtler iteration of racism comes in the form of racial microaggressions, or brief daily expressions of racist ideologies and messages delivered to people of color (Sue et al., 2007). The term “microaggressions” was first introduced by Dr. Chester Pierce in 1970 (Pierce, 1970), who admonished racism as both a public and mental health disease. Pierce characterized the perpetuation of microaggressions by White people on Black people as an act of terror that ultimately leads to death - literally and figuratively (Pierce, 1970). It would be fifty years before the American Medical Association (AMA) would recognize racism as a public health threat (2020) and for the American Public Health Association (APHA) to acknowledge structural racism as a public health crisis (2020).

As an insidious form of racism, racial microaggressions can be understood as a threat to well-being for people of color. Three types of racial microaggressions have been proposed: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations (Sue et al., 2007) According to Sue et al. (2007), microassaults are generally explicit, intentional in nature, and most closely related to

racist behavior, yet are enacted less publicly which permits the offender a greater degree of cover and comfort. Microinsults are described as interactions that communicate some subtle degree of callous disrespect and degradation. Microinvalidations describe ways in which the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of people of color are dismissed and invalidated.

Racial microaggressions are pervasive, widespread, normalized, and accepted (Pierce et al., 1977; Sue & Constantine, 2007). As a less conspicuous iteration of racism, racial microaggressions are especially problematic because they can be difficult to identify by both the perpetrator and the victim (Sue, 2005), and are often delivered by individuals who don't realize they are committing an offense, making it difficult to hold someone to account for the action (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Victims may question something really happened (Sue et al., 2007), which is further complicated when the person enacting the racial microaggression offers a plausible explanation, thus perpetuating a larger system of racism by not acknowledging their role in the offense (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007).

Racial Microaggressions and Their Impact on People of Color

Racial microaggressions, which have a negative impact on mental health outcomes and well-being for people of color (Liao et al., 2016; O'Keefe et al., 2015; Ong et al., 2013; Sanchez et al., 2018; Skewes & Blume, 2019) can occur in all interracial interactions and result in varying levels of severity in disparate ways (Sue et al., 2007). Nadal, Griffin et al. (2014) conducted a study to examine the relationship between mental health and racial microaggressions with 506 participants representing various racial/ethnic identities. Results indicated a significant relationship, with negative symptoms of mental health including anxiety, depression, and negative affect. While this was a weak relationship, they also found that more pervasive

experiences of racial microaggression may result in more mental health challenges and predicted indicators of depression (Nadal, Griffin et al., 2014).

African American individuals often report experiencing more racial microaggressions than other racial/ethnic groups (Lui, 2020). According to Sue, Capodilupo, et al. (2008), results from their qualitative study suggested that there may be five domains which describe the psychological process of racial microaggression experiences for African American individuals: (a) incident, (b) perception, (c) reaction, (d) interpretation, and (e) consequence. Incidents are racial microaggressions situations which might be verbal, nonverbal/behavioral, or environmental; perception relates to an individual's designation of an incident as racially motivated or not; reaction refers to behavioral, cognitive, and emotional reflexive responses to racial microaggressions which can include healthy paranoia, sanity checks, empowering and validating oneself, and even rescuing the person delivering the racial microaggression; interpretation is the meaning-making process including themes such as belonging, abnormality, intellectual inferiority, trustworthiness, and monolithic assumptions; and consequence has to do with the resulting psychological impact for individuals including powerlessness, invisibility, forced compliance/disingenuousness, and pressure to represent (Sue, Capodilupo et al., 2008). Investigating the relationship between racial microaggressions and psychological well-being for a sample of African American adults, Williams (2014), found a negative correlation whereby participants who endorsed higher racial microaggressions reported lower well-being. Notably, studies have indicated that African Americans may experience environmental microaggressions at a higher rate and with more distress than other racial/ethnic groups (Torres-Harding & Turner, 2015).

In a qualitative study, Yosso, et al., (2009) identified three kinds of racial microaggressions experienced by Latinx college students: interpersonal microaggressions, institutional microaggressions, and racial jokes. Interpersonal microaggressions describe direct attacks, leaving students feeling isolated, rejected, and viewed as intellectually inferior. Institutional microaggressions refer to the campus racial climate and are evident in “structures, practices, and discourses” (Yosso et al., 2009, p. 673), creating a sense of hopeless isolation for students who feel they are not valued. Yosso et al. (2009) describe racial jokes as a part of the “White campus subculture” (p. 669) that targeted Latinx students who were direct or indirect recipients. These experiences can be very harmful because they are often perpetuated by individuals the students interact with regularly. Similar to African American targets of racial microaggressions, Latinx individuals experience discouragement, frustration, and self-doubt in the face of racial microaggressions. However, Latinx individuals may experience specific types of racial microaggressions with greater distress, including foreigner, invisibility, and low-achieving microaggressions (Torres-Harding & Turner, 2015).

In a focus group study with ten Asian Americans (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007), participants reflected that they experienced conflict resulting from determining whether a microaggression had occurred, hurt feelings because microaggressions were enacted by people they knew, and guilt due to rationalizing the behavior. Additional conflicts arose for participants in determining whether to respond to these incidents and also in realizing that calling out the behavior would likely result in them being labeled as ‘paranoid’ or ‘oversensitive.’ This study (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007) contributed to an understanding of how racial microaggressions dismiss the racial reality of Asian Americans and promote the model minority myth, which maintains that Asian Americans do well in American society because they are more intelligent and hard-working than

other racial minorities (Museus & Kiang, 2009). Despite the supposed (and misleading) status of Asian Americans as similar to White people (Suzuki, 1989), this group still experiences racial discrimination (Sue, Bucceri, et al., 2007). Nadal, Wong, et al., (2015) found that racial microaggressions yielded a negative mental health outcome on a sample of 157 Asian American participants. They also determined that there may be differences in types of racial microaggressions based on demographic variables such as age, education, and regional location. For example, Asian Americans without a bachelor's degree reported more experiences of exoticization, while those with a bachelor's degree or higher experienced more microinvalidations or microaggressions specific to the school or work setting (Nadal, Wong, et al., 2015). Ultimately, they point to the need for Asian Americans to feel validated and affirmed in these types of experiences, due to the negative impact on their mental health outcomes.

Comparatively, there are fewer studies that examine racial microaggression experiences for Multiracial (Harris, 2017), Middle Eastern and North African (MENA; Awad et al., 2019), Native and Indigenous (Jones & Galliher, 2015), and international (Houshmand et al., 2014) populations. This is a significant gap in the literature, especially as the U.S. becomes increasingly diverse. Scholarship has demonstrated and explicated through various methods and among various populations that racial microaggressions are harmful in the lives of people of color and can result in immediate and long-lasting negative outcomes (Wong et al., 2014). These insidious and invasive forms of race-based discrimination disrupt the daily well-being of individuals and communities of color, and can also be harmful to those who perpetrate racial microaggressions (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Sue, 2005). Counselors and counselor educators can and should be equipped to address racial microaggressions in an effort to promote

wellness and well-being, particularly at a time when communities of color are experiencing increased messages of race-based discrimination.

Well-being and Racial Microaggressions

Wellness has been conceived as the driving paradigm for the counseling profession, and as such, the role of professional counselors is to promote wellness via interventions that are appropriately developmental, preventive, and which enhance wellness (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). According to Myers et al. (2000), wellness is “a way of life oriented toward optimal health and well-being in which body, mind, and spirit are integrated by the individual to live more fully within the human and natural community” (p. 252). The World Health Organization (WHO) identifies health as a “state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO, 2020, p. 1) and further indicate that mental health is not just the absence of mental illness, but that it serves as a foundation “for well-being and effective functioning,” (p. 10) that is impacted by socioeconomics and environment, connected to behavior, improved by appropriate policies, subject to social justice conditions, and should matter to everyone (WHO, 2004). Prilleltensky (2012) defines well-being as “a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of diverse objective and subjective needs of individuals, relationships, organizations, and communities” (p. 2). These components are interconnected in that a deficiency in one area will invariably impact other areas. A criticism Prilleltensky (2012) submits is that we attend more to how individuals can improve their overall happiness instead of considering the role of environmental conditions and issues related to justice. This consideration is relevant in understanding and promoting well-being for people of color who are subjected to the environmental conditions of racism in our society (Mills, 2020). At the same time, Chapman-Hilliard and Adams-Bass (2016) propose that

mental health is reflective of liberation and in this conceptualization, we must also consider the cultural strengths that can contribute to promoting an individual's quality of life.

In order to discern how racial microaggressions influence the well-being of people of color it is helpful to understand subjective well-being. In fact, Diener et al. (1998) asserted that subjective well-being is essential for positive well-being in general. Subjective well-being has received considerable attention as a measure of one's quality of life (Keyes, 2005) that encompasses both life satisfaction and positive affect, is inherently subjective, considers positive measures of well-being, and holistically assesses all facets of an individual's life (Diener, 1984). It is essentially a person's perception of their own quality of life based on positive measures such as happiness and satisfaction, consisting of factors related to emotions and functioning, represented as symptoms of one's mental health (Keyes, 2002). Mental health can be conceptualized as three distinct but correlated factors: emotional well-being or "emotional vitality" (p. 210), psychological well-being, and social well-being or "positive functioning" (Keyes, 2002, p. 210). Scholars echo the WHO (2020) definition of health in that mental health is not just the absence of psychopathology, but also the presence of emotional, psychological, and social well-being, otherwise known as flourishing (Diener, 1984; Keyes, 2002; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Research findings have shown that African Americans have higher rates of flourishing than White people, and that if not for perceived experiences of discrimination those rates might be higher (Keyes, 2009)

Racial microaggressions are a racial reality for people of color (Sue, 2010). A significant body of literature addresses the impact of racial microaggressions on various aspects of mental health and physical health (Lui & Quezada, 2019; Torino et al., 2019). Nadal, Griffin, et al., (2014) found that racial microaggressions were not just a predictor of negative mental health, but

that they were significantly correlated with overall negative affect and depressive symptoms. Racial microaggressions have been positively associated with anxiety in a sample of 126 Black college students (Liao et al., 2016), somatic symptoms and negative affect in a sample of 152 Asian Americans (Ong et al., 2013), depression and perceived stress in a sample of 467 students of color (Torres-Harding et al., 2019), and suicidality in a sample of 405 undergraduate students of color (O’Keefe et al., 2015). Results from a meta-analysis of 293 studies on racism and health indicated that racism is associated with poorer physical and general health (Paradies et al., 2015).

Some research has specifically focused on racial microaggressions and elements of subjective well-being (emotional, psychological, social). In a study with 210 college students, racial microaggressions were significantly related to psychological well-being for Black and Latino students, but not Asian students (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018). However, (Kim et al., 2017) found that racial microaggressions predicted decreased well-being via cultural mistrust in a sample of 156 Asian American college students. It is clear from prior research that racial microaggressions are negatively related to well-being for people of color, although there may be variability among racial and ethnic groups of these experiences and how they respond to them.

Protective Factors for the Impact of Racial Microaggressions on Well-being

Studies investigating racial microaggressions and protective factors for well-being have considered various types of coping strategies including engagement and disengagement styles (Sanchez et al., 2018), ethnic identity (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018), and anger (Pittman, 2011). Villegas-Gold and Yoo (2014) found that in a sample of 302 Mexican American college students, subjective well-being was negatively associated with perceived racial discrimination and that a problem-solving engagement coping strategy was positively associated with subjective well-being. Some scholarship has suggested that sociopolitical development and the related

construct of critical consciousness may be protective factors for marginalized youth (Ginwright, 2015; Hope et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams et al., 2020). Another study identified the usefulness of political activism as a protective element against racial/ethnic discrimination for Black and Latinx college students (Hope et al., 2018).

While racial-ethnic factors (e.g. racial identity, racial socialization, Africentric worldview) are often cited as protective (Jones & Neblett, 2017), they are not sufficient in addressing negative well-being outcomes (Brondolo et al., 2009). In the context of the social, cultural, and political stressors that people of color may be facing, it is imperative to identify as many effective coping strategies and protective factors that can buffer the harmful impact of race-related stress (e.g. racial microaggressions) on well-being. Although there is some evidence that elements of critical consciousness (critical reflection, critical motivation, critical action) may serve in this capacity (Hope et al, 2020; Zimmerman et al., 1999), there remains limited scholarly research on the impact of racial microaggressions on well-being and the role of critical consciousness, particularly for adults of color.

Critical Consciousness as a Protective Factor

Critical consciousness, a component of sociopolitical development, is theorized to include three elements: critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action (Diemer et al., 2016). Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is credited with the conceptual development of critical consciousness through his writing on conscientização, centered on the economically oppressed citizens of Brazil (Freire, 2000). Freire contended that in order for the oppressed to experience liberation, they must engage in an ability to critically reflect on their experience of oppression and through that process become ‘literate’ in sociopolitical awareness and development. This consciousness would be a vehicle that could lead the people to enact agency to challenge their

oppressors and change their circumstances. In order to grasp this process, it is important to understand the three elements of critical consciousness.

Critical reflection represents a deep analysis of one's sociopolitical environment and the myriad ways oppression is promoted and (re)produced by social inequities and injustice (Diemer et al., 2016). A significant characteristic of critical reflection is that it establishes these inequities and injustices within an historically-relevant framework (Watts et al., 2011). It is both a process of self-awareness encompassing values, beliefs, and behaviors as influenced by an unjust environment and a recognition of deeply-embedded systems and structures of injustice and inequity (Jemal, 2017). *Critical motivation* refers to the degree an individual who is marginalized within society believes they have agency and capacity to change things (Diemer et al., 2016). This motivation has also been referred to as political self-efficacy (Diemer & Rapa, 2016), and while not explicitly conceptualized in Freire's (2000) work, is an implied element that ties critical reflection to critical action (Watts et al., 2011; Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). Finally, *critical action* is the work that follows if the individual feels they possess the ability to activate change (Diemer et al., 2016). Freire (2000) cautioned that critical reflection without action is mere 'verbalism', yet a review of critical consciousness literature revealed that action has received little scholarly attention although it represents the one element of critical consciousness that contributes to changing societal conditions (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). Considering that critical consciousness is rooted in liberating marginalized people from the systemic forces which have oppressed them (Freire, 2000), it may be an ideal factor to explore in relation to the oppressive force of racial microaggressions.

Critical Consciousness and Racial Microaggressions

Racism-related discrimination (e.g. racial microaggressions) can stimulate critical consciousness in marginalized youth (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Diemer et al., 2006; Hope et al., 2020). But can critical consciousness, in turn, ameliorate the deleterious impact of racial microaggressions for marginalized adults? There is some evidence that critical consciousness may buffer the harmful effect of racial microaggressions on well-being (Hope et al., 2018; Ortega-Williams et al., 2020. Sohi & Singh, 2015). Most of the scholarly literature on critical consciousness is focused on marginalized youth related to various topics of inquiry (Heberle et al., 2020) including career development (Diemer & Blustein, 2006), political action (Diemer & Rapa, 2016), and academic outcomes (Luginbuhl et al., 2016). While almost no research specifically looks at critical consciousness and racial microaggressions, in general, vast research is published on critical consciousness and its role and relationship with those who are marginalized and oppressed (Carlson et al., 2006; Diemer et al., 2006; Hope & Bañales, 2019; Seider et al., 2017). Much of the literature is focused on youth of color, primarily African American/Black and Latinx (Heberle et al., 2020), however few studies have centered on *experiences* of marginalization and oppression such as those associated with racial microaggressions.

Since 2018, more research has explored the relationship between racial discrimination and critical consciousness. Roy et al. (2019) found that low-income racial/ethnic minority youth had higher levels of critical action when they were exposed to significant injustice such as violence and income equality. In a study of 594 Black adolescents, Hope et al. (2020) found that individual, institutional, and cultural racism were positively associated with critical action and that both individual and cultural racial stress were positively related to critical agency. This body

of research with adolescents suggests that experiences of racism may result in higher levels of critical consciousness. Political activism, which is related to the critical action element of critical consciousness, was a protective factor for Latinx college students who reported experiences with racial/ethnic microaggressions, but was not helpful for Black college students with those experiences (Hope et al., 2018). This research serves as a reminder that various factors including race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, immigrant status, etc. can affect outcomes. In 2021 people of color with myriad intersectional identities exist in a sociopolitical climate of oppression. Thus, the study of the role critical consciousness may have in relation to well-being in the face of race-related stress may be useful.

Critical Consciousness, Racial Microaggressions, and Sociopolitical Climate

Critical consciousness literature is linked to sociopolitical development in that critical consciousness can advance one's understanding of social and political issues that undermine the ability to live freely (Freire, 2000; Watts et al., 1999). Watts et al. (1999) describe critical consciousness as “a sociopolitical version of critical thinking,” (p. 255), which can lead an individual to experience heightened sociopolitical awareness – the ability to analyze economic, political, and social conditions in their life (Seider et al., 2018). In turn, heightened sociopolitical awareness can lead to increased development of critical consciousness (Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Since 2016 the sociopolitical climate in the United States has become increasingly problematic for minoritized and marginalized groups including immigrants, Muslims, African Americans, Asians/Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAPI), Latinx, and Indigenous peoples due to various policies, practices, and violence related to Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the ban on people entering the

U.S. from predominantly Muslim countries, police brutality and violence inflicted on African Americans, and the backlash against AAPI from the COVID-19 pandemic (Cheng, 2021; Kendi, 2020). All of these issues have taken place in a particularly polarized national landscape under a president who routinely uses racial epithets and nationalist, xenophobic rhetoric (Benjamin, 2020; Penman & Cloud, 2018).

Despite mixed data related to critical consciousness outcomes, much of the research indicates benefits for marginalized youth (Seider et al., 2020; Watts et al., 1999; Zimmerman et al., 1999). In a study including DACA recipients, Cadenas et al. (2018) found positive associations between critical consciousness and intent to persist in college, particularly that political outcome expectations (expecting positive outcomes from political involvement) was a predictor of intent to persist. Hope et al. (2020) found that critical consciousness may help Black youth to cope with race-related stress. In a youth participatory action research study, Kennedy et al. (2020) explored how adolescents had the capacity for developing critical consciousness in response to a politically catalytic event (the presidency of Donald Trump). If sociopolitical circumstances can promote critical consciousness, and if critical consciousness can help alleviate some of the stressors related to racial discrimination, then critical consciousness may be effective as a protective factor for people of color in a particularly divisive sociopolitical climate.

Purpose of the Current Study

A gap in the literature exists on the relationship between racial microaggressions, well-being, and the role of critical consciousness for adult persons of color. Pierce et al. (1977) suggested that once an individual had an awareness of and could identify microaggressions, that awareness may provoke a change in how the individual thinks and behaves. His suggestion is in line with the elements of critical consciousness: critical reflection, critical motivation, and

critical action (Hope et al., 2020). Sociopolitical climate, particularly experiences of racism, can influence an individual's critical consciousness (Gillborn et al., 2018). Scholarly literature has examined various aspects of marginalized youth related to critical consciousness outcomes, however significant inquiries remain. Thus, the purpose of this quantitative inquiry is to investigate the relationship between perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being for people of color within the context of the current sociopolitical climate. Further, this study will examine the role of critical consciousness on perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being. The research questions in this investigation include:

Research Question 1: What is the relationship between perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being for students of color?

Hypothesis 1: There will be a negative relationship between perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being for students of color, such that higher perceptions of racial microaggressions will be associated with lower perceptions of well-being. Research suggests that race-related discrimination (e.g. racial microaggressions) negatively impact mental health for POC (Benner et al., 2018; Nadal et al., 2019; Lui and Quezada, 2019). Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the experience of racial microaggressions will be negatively associated with well-being.

Research Question 2: Does critical consciousness significantly predict perceived racial microaggressions?

Hypothesis 2: Critical consciousness will significantly predict racial microaggressions. Critical consciousness is both the process and result of a sociopolitical awareness of the ways one is oppressed, their belief that they can do something to change their experience of oppression, and the subsequent actions they

engage to make those changes (Freire, 2000). Critical reflection, the critical analysis of one's experience of oppression, would allow students to have a greater awareness of race-related discrimination (e.g. racial microaggressions) which negatively impact their lives.

Research Question 3: Does critical consciousness significantly moderate the relationship between perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being?

Hypothesis 3: Critical consciousness will significantly moderate the relationship between perceived racial/ethnic microaggressions and perceived well-being such that higher critical consciousness will buffer the impact of racial microaggressions on well-being. Literature on critical consciousness suggests that it may serve as a protective factor for marginalized youth (Diemer et al., 2016) and that it may also buffer racial trauma (Mosley et al., 2020). However, some research suggests this buffering effect may vary by racial groups and/or variations in the types of racial microaggressions experienced (Hope et al., 2018). As critical consciousness is a state resulting from a critical analysis of one's sociopolitical conditions, a sense of self-efficacy to do something about those conditions, and critical action (Freire, 2000), it is conceivable that students with higher critical consciousness will understand that their experiences of racial microaggressions are embedded in a context of injustice and feel empowered to address that injustice.

Method

The methodological framework used for this study, QuantCrit (Gillborn et al., 2018), is grounded in critical race theory and aligns with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Principles of QuantCrit closely mirror Critical Race Theory (CRT) and are as follows: a)

centralizing racism as a complex characteristic in our society, b) numbers are not neutral and have been used to normalize racist ideologies and systems, c) categories should be scrutinized for how they mis/represent groups from a deficit perspective that seems to be ‘natural’ or ‘given’ when they are neither, d) data is subject to interpretation and does not ‘speak for itself,’ and e) using a social justice lens that rejects the accepted belief that quantitative research is neutral (Garcia et al., 2018). In this effort it is necessary to practice critical self-reflexivity and to attend to economic, historical, political, and social considerations related to the scholarly inquiry (Garcia et al., 2018).

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Critical Race Theory (CRT) serves as the theoretical foundation for this study. Rooted in critical legal studies and radical feminism, and developed by many scholars (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw, 1991; Delgado, 2009; Freeman, 1978; Matsuda, 1987), CRT asserts that racism is an everyday reality negatively impacting people of color (Delgado & Stefanic, 2017). Additional features of CRT include challenging pervasive racist ideologies, framing racism as intersectional and interdisciplinary, centering experiences of people of color, and engaging in social justice advocacy (Solórzano, 1997). The first tenet of CRT of racism as a permanent and pervasive reality is exemplified through the everyday experience of racial microaggressions for people of color (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007) The next feature of CRT challenges the widely accepted notions of race, racism, and White supremacy such as objectivity, neutrality, and meritocracy (Solórzano, 1997). These false notions of equality and fairness serve to disempower and oppress people of color while benefiting White people (Yosso et al., 2009).

Critical race theory engages an intersectional and interdisciplinary approach in that racism does not exist within a vacuum. Racism is indelibly intertwined with race and other

overlapping identities (ability, class, ethnicity, gender, etc.) which are also subject to marginalization (Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1991). An interdisciplinary analysis allows scholars to interrogate systems of marginalization across disciplines and situated within a sociohistorical perspective (Godfrey & Burson, 2018). Attending to and valuing the stories of people of color is another key tenet of CRT. Although it is important to not rely on communities who have been marginalized to learn about racial injustice; it is imperative to hear those voices and integrate those stories into our collective consciousness of unlearning racism and white supremacy (Delgado, 1990; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Finally, CRT advances the goal of liberation through social justice efforts. However, our social justice efforts must avoid essentialism, or limiting our conceptualizations of identities in a specific and static way, and must also thoughtfully consider whose interests are served (Delgado & Stefanic, 2017).

The conceptual framework for this study is the racial microaggressions model devised by Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) as an analytic framework in critical race research, grounded in CRT. In this model, the racial microaggression experiences of people of color are central and situated within institutional racism, which is encompassed by the ideological macroaggression of white supremacy (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015). Racial microaggressions reflect and reproduce broad and deeply embedded racist beliefs within society, perpetuating institutional racism through pervasive mechanisms that serve to disempower and oppress people of color while providing privileges to White people (Jones, 1997; Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015; Sue, 2005). The macroaggression is conceptualized as “the ideological foundations that justify the actions of racism in the many forms they take, including institutional racism and racial microaggressions” (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015, p. 303). It is within this conceptual framework that we can explore the relationship between racial microaggressions for people of

color and their well-being perpetrated through various mechanisms and situated within the macroaggressive context of the sociopolitical climate.

Critical race theory can center the experiences of individuals while acknowledging that racial microaggressions are manifestations of oppression that serve a privileged White society. The structure of this study will not adequately capture the impact of racial microaggressions on intersectional identities, however, we can approach this analysis with the understanding that there is an instant and compounded effect subject to an individual's race, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, socioeconomic status, etc. (Nadal et al., 2015). Further, beyond adding to scholarly literature, this research can be used to advance social justice efforts to support people of color across diverse racial/ethnic groups and to engage others in eradicating racism.

Researcher Positionality

Scholars argue that quantitative research is not inherently objective and free of bias (Carter & Hurtado, 2007; Gillborn et al., 2018) and that self-reflexivity and researcher positionality have an ethical place in social justice work (Garcia et al., 2018; López et al., 2018). It is in recognizing that our identities and social locations impact the ways in which we experience and make sense of the world around us, and subsequently use that information in our investigations, that we are able to situate ourselves in relation to our research. The primary researcher for this study is a doctoral student who identifies as a cisgender, biracial (Black/Korean) woman who grew up in a military family experiencing life in multiple countries. Her earliest memories were not of life in the United States, but in those other countries.

Although she is light brown in complexion with curly hair and easily identifiable as 'mixed,' her African American father and Korean mother encouraged her racial identity

development as a Black girl. Despite her primary racial identity as Black, she developed solidarity with her Asian racial identity through her mother, cultural customs, and food. It is through this lens that she has personal experiences of racial microaggressions related to her identities as Black, Asian, and biracial (Black/Asian). It is also relevant to acknowledge that while she has experienced race-based and gendered discrimination and marginalization, she has also benefited from economic, class, educational, and colorism privilege. It is the hope of this author to bring greater understanding and awareness of facets of racism which exist in society in an effort to promote equity, healing, and liberation.

Participants and Procedures

An a priori analysis was conducted in G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Land, 2009) and determined that 77 participants would be necessary for this study. However, according to Hayes (2013), a more robust population sample for a moderation analysis is 200. Individuals who identified as a person of color were recruited at multiple locations including colleges and universities in the southeastern United States via various recruitment strategies including purposive sampling through a research participant pool, emails to university colleagues, student organizations and listservs, postings on social media, and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was employed, as there were participant criteria indicating specific characteristics (Johnson & Christensen, 2013). A snowball sampling technique was also utilized, allowing for participants to identify and share study information with others who meet the specific characteristic criteria (Johnson & Christensen, 2014).

The participant criteria included: (a) 18 and older, (b) identifies as a person of color, and (c) identifies as having experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months. The survey packet was available to participants via Qualtrics, a cloud-based survey platform, and

included the informed consent, demographic questionnaire, three measures, and one short answer question. The consent form included information about the purpose of the study, criteria for participation, participant rights in a voluntary study, Institution Review Board and primary investigator information, and confidentiality (including how participant information will be protected). Participants were advised that while Qualtrics is used extensively for secure web-based surveys and that no personal identification will be collected, that absolute anonymity cannot be guaranteed. The complete process should not have taken participants more than 20-25 minutes. Participants were allowed to opt into a drawing for one of six \$25 Visa gift cards.

Two hundred and twenty-four individuals participated in this study as volunteers by providing consent and completing the online survey. The age range for 221 participants (3 did not respond) was 18 to 66 years ($M = 32.86$; $SD 11.77$). The sample included 134 women (59.8%), 81 men (36.2%), 8 transgender or non-binary (1.8% and 1.8 %, respectively), and one participant did not indicate a gender. Further analysis of frequencies demonstrated that 181 participants identified as heterosexual (80.8%), 12 participants identified as queer (5.4%), 5 participants identified as gay (2.2%), 4 participants identified as lesbian (1.8%), 4 participants identified as asexual (1.8%), another 4 did not indicate a sexual orientation (1.8%), 1 did not answer (.4%), and 13 chose to provide their own identity description (5.8%). Participant provided sexual orientation identities included queer and asexual, heterosexual and asexual, bisexual, heterosexual and gay, and heterosexual and lesbian. The final sample consisted of participants who identified as people of color. The racial and ethnic identities of participants included 38 Asian/Asian American (17%), 115 Black/African American (51.3%), 18 Hispanic/Latinx (8%), 1 Middle Eastern/North African (.4%), 41 Mixed Race/Multiracial (18.8%), 7 Native American/Alaskan Native (3.1%), and 3 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander

(1.3%). Political views for the participants varied from very conservative to very liberal.

Frequencies indicated that 50 participants were very liberal (22.3%), 73 were liberal (32.6%), 70 were moderate (31.3%), 22 were conservative (9.8%), 4 were very conservative (1.8%), and 5 chose to not respond (2.2%).

Information was also collected on participant estimates of their family socioeconomic status. The frequency analysis revealed that 33 participants estimated family income as \$25,000 or less (14.8%), 78 participants estimated family income as \$25,001 to \$75,000 (34.8%), 44 participants estimated family income as \$75,001 to \$125,000 (19.7%), 63 participants estimated family income as \$125,001 and higher (28.2%), and 6 participants chose to not say (2.7%). Finally, the sample had high levels of formal education, including 30 participants with a graduate or professional degree (13.4%), 51 participants with a master's degree (22.8%), 70 participants with a bachelor's degree (31.3%), 29 participants who completed some college (12.9%), 13 participants with a high school degree or GED (5.8%), 1 participant who did not complete high school (.4%), and 30 participants who chose to not respond (13.4%).

Measures

Participants completed a demographic questionnaire and three measures, which were sequentially counterbalanced to control for order effects.

Demographic Questionnaire

The questionnaire includes several questions related to participant demographic information including age, educational level, socioeconomic status, gender identity, political views, race and ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Both predefined choices and write-in options were provided. Collecting diverse demographic data will provide additional information to help inform the study outcomes. For example, it might be helpful to know if participants who identify

with multiple marginalized identities report significantly lower levels of well-being in relation to racial microaggressions. This type of information might encourage further exploration of intersectionality and well-being.

Mental Health Continuum Short Form

The Mental Health Continuum Short Form (MHC-SF; Keyes, 2005) is a modified version of the Mental Health Continuum Long Form. This 14-item self-report instrument measures emotional (3 items), psychological (6 items), and social (5 items) well-being. Respondents are asked to rate the frequency of their feelings of well-being using a 6-point Likert scale (*0 = never, 1 = once or twice, 2 = about once a week, 3 = about 2 or 3 times a week, 4 = almost every day, 5 = every day*). Reflecting on how they felt in the past month, items include “satisfied with life,” “the way our society works makes sense to you,” and “that your life has a sense of direction or meaning to it.” There is evidence that it is effective in measuring mental well-being in a sample of men and women college students (Robitschek & Keyes, 2009). The MHC-SF has shown good internal reliability and good convergent validity (Lamers et al., 2011). The Cronbach’s Alpha for the full scale in this study was .90.

Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS)

The Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS; Nadal, 2011) is a 45-item self-report measure designed to assess the frequency of racial and ethnic microaggressions for individuals in the past 6 months. There are six subscales examining different types of microaggressions including Assumptions of Inferiority with 8 items (e.g., “Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race”); Second-Class Citizen and Assumptions of Criminality with 7 items (e.g., “Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race”); Microinvalidations with 9 items (e.g., “I was told that I should not complain about race”);

Exoticization and Assumptions of Similarity with 9 items (e.g., “Someone wanted to date me only because of my race”); Environmental Microaggressions with 7 items (e.g., “I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies”); and Workplace and School Microaggressions with 5 items (e.g., “I was ignored at school or work because of my race”). Respondents answer items on a 6-point Likert scale ($0 = I$ did not experience this event, to $5 = I$ experienced this event 5 or more times). The REMS provides a score on each subscale as well as a total score, and it demonstrates good validity (.912 overall and .783 to .873 for subscales (Nadal, 2011). For this study, the total average score was used for the full scale, with a Cronbach’s Alpha of .96.

Short Critical Consciousness Scale (SHoCCS)

The Short Critical Consciousness Scale (SHoCCS; Diemer et al., 2020) is a 13-item version of the original long-form Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS; Diemer et al., 2017). This self-report instrument measures the three dimensions of critical consciousness on three subscales: critical reflection, critical motivation, and critical action. A 6-point Likert scale is used for critical reflection and critical motivation ($1 =$ strongly disagree, $2 =$ mostly disagree, $3 =$ slightly disagree, $4 =$ slightly agree, $5 =$ mostly agree, $6 =$ strongly agree). Sample statements include “Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs” and “It is important to correct social and economic inequality.” A separate 5-point Likert scale is used for critical action ($1 =$ never did this, $2 =$ once or twice last year, $3 =$ once every few months, $4 =$ at least once a month, $5 =$ at least once a week). Reflecting on how involved they were in the last year, a sample statement is “Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting.” The SHoCCS demonstrated good internal consistency, reliability, and construct validity (Diemer et al., 2020). Each subscale is scored independently and demonstrated good

internal consistency reliability in this study as per the Cronbach's Alpha values: .89 (Critical Reflection), .88 (Critical Motivation), and .83 (Critical Action).

Results

Preliminary Analysis

After data collection was complete, 485 responses were downloaded from Qualtrics into a .csv file. The data was then cleaned and sorted according to variables to be used in the study. I removed 26 cases who identified as White, another 203 incomplete cases that had no data after the initial qualifying questions, and finally another 32 cases that did not complete at least two of the three measures. The remaining file included a total of 224 cases, which I saved as an Excel file and then imported into IBM SPSS Statistics 26. After setting up the file in SPSS, I ran descriptive statistics to check for errors in the data. An analysis demonstrated no errors in the data. A missing values analysis resulted in a significant Little's MCAR test ($X^2 [3189] = 3386.34, p < .05$), suggesting the data was not missing completely at random. No variables were missing more than 5% of the values. Since a small amount of data was missing in a large dataset, most methods to address missingness would be acceptable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The expectation maximization method was utilized to impute the missing values.

Next, the data was screened for normality and outliers by checking skewness, kurtosis, and appropriate charts (i.e. histogram, scatterplots, boxplots). Shapiro-Wilk tests were conducted to assess normality. The REMS and the three subscales for the SHoCCS (reflection, motivation, action) indicated a non-normal distribution ($p < .001$). The MHC-SF met the assumption of normality. However, all data was in an acceptable range for skewness and kurtosis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013) and had reasonably normal histograms, Q-Q plots, and scatterplots.

Descriptive statistics and Cronbach's Alpha coefficient were calculated for each study measure.

A summary is provided in Table 1. A correlation matrix was also produced for the study measures and is provided in Table 2.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Study Instruments

	Mean (SD)	Cronbach's α	N of Items
MHC-SF	42.60 (12.4)	.90	14
SHoCCS Reflection	18.75 (4.61)	.90	4
SHoCCS Motivation	19.89 (4.71)	.89	4
SHoCCS Action	12.91 (4.59)	.83	5
REMS	93.12 (41.05)	.96	45

Note. Abbreviations: MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form; SHoCCS = Short Critical Consciousness Scale; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale.

Table 2

Pearson Correlation Matrix for Study Measures

	1	2	3	4	5
1. MHC-SF	---	-.233**	.040	.245**	.249**
2. REMS			-.293**	-.358**	.466**
3. SHoCCS Reflection				.728**	-.251**
4. SHoCCS Motivation					-.227**
5. SHoCCS Action					---

Note. Abbreviations: MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form; SHoCCS = Short Critical Consciousness Scale; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale.

** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Exploratory Analysis

Due to previous literature, I anticipated that there might be differences between racial/ethnic groups on the different constructs measured (Hope et al., 2018; Joshanloo et al., 2013; Keyes, 2007; Forrest-Bank et al., 2015; Nadal, Wong, et al., 2014). Therefore, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine score differences between racial/ethnic groups. Since there were low numbers in some groups (1 Middle Eastern/North African, 7 Native American/Alaskan Native, 3 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander), I collapsed them into a single group resulting in the following categories: Asian/Asian American, Black/African American,

Hispanic/Latinx, Mixed Race/Multiracial, and Additional People of Color. The assumption for homogeneity of variance was violated for two of the measures (MHC-SF, $p = .001$; SHoCCS Reflection, $p = .043$), so the Welch test of equality of means was conducted. There was a statistically significant difference at the $p < .05$ level for the included racial/ethnic groups on the MHC-SF: $F(4, 223) = 5.22, p = .001$, the three SHoCCS subscales (Reflection: $F(4, 223) = 7.00, p = .000$, Motivation: $F(4, 223) = 10.6, p = .000$, Action: $F(4, 223) = 4.46, p = .004$) and the REMS: $F(4, 223) = 4.89, p = .002$. Due to unequal group sizes, a post hoc Games-Howell test was run to compare the groups for differences. This data is provided in Table 3. For additional context, Table 4 provides descriptive details including the number of participants by racial/ethnic identity and mean score on each measure.

Table 3

Post hoc Games-Howell Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable	(I) REI	(J) REI	<i>M</i> Difference (I-J)	<i>SE</i>	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
REMS	1	2	32.69336*	7.62285	.001	11.2514	54.1353
		7	24.14567*	8.53930	.046	.2476	48.0437
MHC-SF	1	2	-6.23847*	1.73465	.004	-11.0564	-1.4205
		7	-8.17875*	2.12892	.002	-14.1338	-2.2237
SHoCCS Reflection	1	2	-3.31077*	.93131	.007	-5.9385	-.6830
		3	-4.85748*	1.05571	.000	-7.8379	-1.8771
		9	4.87988*	1.30061	.013	.9043	8.8555
SHoCCS Motivation	1	2	-4.73932*	.91350	.000	-7.3173	-2.1614
		3	-5.16756*	1.14019	.000	-8.3980	-1.9371
		7	-4.33915*	1.10550	.002	-7.4292	-1.2491
	9	2	-4.50702*	1.04058	.006	-7.7687	-1.2453
		3	-4.93526*	1.24434	.005	-8.6285	-1.2420
		7	-4.10685*	1.21262	.019	-7.6926	-.5211
SHoCCS Action	1	2	2.47043*	.75999	.014	.3477	4.5931

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Note. Abbreviations: MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form; SHoCCS = Short Critical Consciousness Scale; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale. REI = Racial/Ethnic Identity. 1 = Asian/Asian American, 2 = Black/African American, 3 = Hispanic/Latinx, 7 = Mixed Race/Multiracial, 9 = Additional People of Color.

Table 4*Descriptive Data for ANOVA Groups by Measure*

		N	M	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval		Min	Max
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
REMS	1	38	98.5	41.4	6.72	84.9	112	22.00	188.00
	2	115	65.8	38.6	3.60	58.7	73.1	.00	165.00
	3	18	72.2	39.0	9.21	52.8	91.6	13.39	137.00
	7	41	74.4	33.8	5.27	63.7	85.0	8.00	151.00
	9	11	96.8	54.8	16.5	60.0	133	1.00	150.00
	Total	223	75.0	40.9	2.74	69.6	80.4	.00	188.00
MHC-SF	1	38	34.3	7.90	1.28	31.7	36.9	12.00	51.00
	2	115	40.5	12.5	1.17	38.2	42.9	9.00	65.00
	3	18	34.8	10.1	2.37	29.8	39.8	15.00	60.00
	7	41	42.5	10.9	1.70	39.1	45.9	19.00	63.00
	9	11	39.3	7.93	2.39	33.9	44.6	31.00	58.00
	Total	223	39.3	11.5	.768	37.8	40.8	9.00	65.00
SHoCCS Reflection	1	38	16.2	5.21	.843	14.5	17.9	4.00	24.00
	2	115	19.5	4.25	.396	18.7	20.3	8.00	24.00
	3	18	21.1	2.71	.636	19.7	22.4	15.00	24.00
	7	41	18.8	4.80	.750	17.3	20.3	4.00	24.00
	9	11	16.1	3.76	1.13	13.7	18.7	11.00	24.00
	Total	223	18.8	4.61	.309	18.2	19.4	4.00	24.00
SHoCCS Motivation	1	38	16.2	5.10	.828	14.5	17.9	4.00	24.00
	2	115	21.1	4.14	.386	20.2	21.7	5.00	24.41
	3	18	21.4	3.33	.784	19.7	23.0	14.02	24.00
	7	41	20.6	4.69	.733	19.1	22.0	4.00	24.00
	9	11	16.5	3.21	.966	14.3	18.6	12.00	23.00
	Total	223	19.89	4.71	.315	19.3	20.5	4.00	24.41
SHoCCS Action	1	38	14.5	3.82	.619	13.2	15.7	5.00	25.00
	2	115	12.0	4.72	.440	11.1	12.9	5.00	25.00
	3	18	12.2	3.57	.842	10.4	14.1	6.00	17.00
	7	41	13.7	4.62	.722	12.2	15.2	5.00	22.00
	9	11	15.9	3.91	1.18	13.3	18.5	8.00	20.00
	Total	223	12.9	4.57	.306	12.3	13.6	5.00	25.00

Note. Abbreviations: MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form; SHoCCS = Short Critical Consciousness Scale; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale. 1 = Asian/Asian American, 2 = Black/African American, 3 = Hispanic/Latinx, 7 = Mixed Race/Multiracial, 9 = Additional People of Color.

Main Analysis

Three analyses were run to answer the research questions. A correlation analysis was conducted to respond to research question one (what is the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for people of color); a standard multiple regression was conducted to respond to research question two (does critical consciousness significantly predict the perception of racial microaggressions); and a moderation was conducted to respond to research question three (does critical consciousness moderate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being).

Correlation Analysis. A Pearson correlation analysis was conducted in order to determine whether there was a relationship between two variables (racial microaggressions and well-being), and if so, the direction and strength of that relationship. Prior to conducting the analysis, I created a scatterplot to visually explore the data. I did not observe any extreme values. Boxplots did not demonstrate outliers. The correlation indicates that there is a significant, but small, negative correlation between racial microaggressions and well-being (see Table 5). This suggests that perceiving more racial microaggressions is related to endorsing lower well-being.

Table 5

<i>Correlations Between Racial Microaggressions and Well-being</i>		
	1	2
1. MHC-SF	---	
2. REMS	-.233**	---

Note. ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed). Abbreviations: MHC-SF = Mental Health Continuum Short Form; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale.

Standard Multiple Regression. A standard multiple regression was conducted to determine whether an individual's level of critical consciousness might predict their perception of racial microaggressions, and if so, how much of the variance can be explained by critical consciousness. The correlation output for this analysis demonstrated that there were no issues

with multicollinearity (correlations between the REMS and the SHoCCS subscales were below .7). Further analysis confirmed that the data did not violate normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, or independence of residuals. While there appeared to be a few outliers, only one case was greater than the Mahalanobis value (16.27); additionally, Cook's Distance was less than 1 (.128). The results of this analysis show that critical consciousness significantly predicts the perception of racial microaggressions, explaining 29% of the variance, $F(3, 223) = 29.27, p < .001$. Further, specifically motivation and action make statistically significant unique contributions to the prediction of racial microaggressions (4% and 16%, respectively, $p < .001$), as noted in Table 6.

Table 6

Coefficients for Multiple Regression

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients			95% CI		Correlations	
	B	SE	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Partial	Part
1 (Constant)	71.259	14.544	.000	42.596	99.922		
SHoCCS Reflection	.407	.752	.589	-1.075	1.888	.036	.031
SHoCCS Motivation	-2.591	.724	.000	-4.019	-1.164	-.234	-.204
SHoCCS Action	3.676	.532	.000	2.628	4.725	.422	.394

Dependent Variable: REMS

Note. Abbreviations: SHoCCS = Short Critical Consciousness Scale; REMS = Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale.

Moderation Analysis. The moderation analysis was conducted using Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro for SPSS in order to explore whether critical consciousness moderates the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. The specific model used was Model 1. A multiple regression was entered for each subscale of critical consciousness (reflection, motivation, and action). Critical reflection significantly predicts about 7% of the variance in well-being, $F(3, 220) = 5.69, p < .001$. Further, the interaction of racial

microaggressions and critical reflection is statistically significant, $b = .350$, $t(220) = 2.00$, $p < .05$. When critical reflection is low, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, $b = -4.62$, 95% CI $[-6.90, -2.33]$, $t = -3.98$, $p < .01$. When critical reflection is average, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, $b = -2.51$, 95% CI $[-4.29, -.737]$, $t = -2.79$, $p < .05$. However, there is not a statistically significant relationship when critical reflection is high, $b = -1.11$, 95% CI $[-3.67, 1.45]$, $t = -.854$, $p = .393$.

The next model examined critical motivation for moderation. Critical motivation significantly predicted about 9% of the variance in well-being $F(3, 220) = 7.28$, $p < .001$. While this model demonstrates that racial microaggressions and critical motivation both significantly predict well-being ($b = -2.02$, $t(220) = -2.32$, $p < .05$ and $b = .434$, $t(220) = 2.57$, $p < .05$, respectively), the interaction of racial microaggressions and critical motivation is not significant $b = .224$, $t(220) = 1.23$, $p = .223$. In the final model, critical action significantly predicted about 22% of the variance in well-being, $F(3, 220) = 21.17$, $p < .001$. The interaction of racial microaggressions and critical action was not significant, $b = .232$, $t(220) = 1.32$, $p = .188$. In this model, both racial microaggressions and critical action, significantly predict well-being in this model ($b = -5.83$, $t(220) = -6.77$, $p = .000$ and $b = 1.19$, $t(220) = 6.93$, $p = .000$, respectively).

Discussion

People of color experience racial microaggressions in their daily lives, which can impact their well-being. Burgeoning literature suggests that critical consciousness may buffer the negative impact of racial discrimination (Hope et al., 2018; Ortega-Williams et al., 2020). This is particularly important, as the current sociopolitical environment has additional stressors associated with racial and ethnic discrimination against people of color. However, much of the

existing research is primarily focused on youth of color and the development of critical consciousness (Heberle et al., 2020). Therefore, this study sought to explore the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for an adult population of color, to determine whether critical consciousness predicted the perception of racial microaggressions, and to ascertain if critical consciousness would moderate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for this population.

It is important to note that there were significant differences between groups on all three measures, especially because there were considerable differences in participant numbers by racial/ethnic identity groups. While this study had over 200 participants, which can increase our confidence in the data examined, it is difficult to make meaningful interpretations of the data due to the variability of the sample sizes by racial/ethnic identity groups. Also, I combined three racial/ethnic identity groups because the individual group numbers were small; therefore, I cannot adequately provide an interpretation of the data related to those specific groups (Middle Eastern/North African, Native American/Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander). Results from this study indicate significant differences in levels of well-being, perceptions of racial microaggressions, and levels of critical consciousness between groups which are all detailed in Table 3.

Three research questions guided this study. Research question one sought to explore the relationship between the perception of racial microaggressions and the perception of well-being for people of color. The hypothesis that there would be a negative relationship, such that higher perceptions of racial microaggressions would be associated with lower perceptions of well-being was supported. Scholarly research has demonstrated that forms of race-related discrimination (i.e. racial microaggressions) have a negative impact on various facets of mental health (i.e.

anxiety, depression, stress) for people of color (Benner et al., 2018; Nadal et al., 2019; Lui and Quezada, 2019). However, there is a dearth of research examining the impact of race-related discrimination (and particularly racial microaggressions) on symptoms of well-being (i.e. emotional, psychological, and social) for people of color. There is some evidence that indicates a negative relationship between racial microaggressions and positive affect (Nadal, Griffin, et al., 2014), but the amount of variance in the model was small (2.6%). Similarly, in this study, racial microaggressions only explained 5% of the variance in well-being. One consideration is that the REMS is a measure of frequency of racial microaggressions, rather than a measure of impact. Torres-Harding and Turner (2015) developed a distress scale for the Racial Microaggressions Scale (Torres-Harding et al., 2012), and found that Latinx participants indicated higher levels of distress and Asian American participants endorsed less distress. We may generate greater understanding of the impact of racial microaggressions on well-being by also utilizing a measure of distress.

The second research question sought to determine whether critical consciousness might predict the perception of racial microaggressions. Critical consciousness is a sociopolitical process of recognizing oppression, experiencing a sense of one's ability to address that oppression, and ultimately, activating their agency (Diemer et al., 2006; Freire, 2000). The hypothesis that critical consciousness would significantly predict the perception of racial microaggressions was supported. Overall, critical consciousness explains 29% of the variance in the perception of racial microaggressions. Additionally, critical motivation uniquely contributes 4% of that variance and critical action uniquely contributes 16%. These results suggest that individuals with higher levels of overall critical consciousness are more aware of racial

microaggressions than individuals with lower levels of critical consciousness. Moreover, individuals who endorse higher levels of critical action perceive more racial microaggressions.

Scholars have suggested racist experiences are related to critical consciousness and activism (Hope et al., 2020; Szymanski, 2012). Hope and colleagues (2018) found that racial stress was positively associated with critical action for Black youth. Similarly, Szymanski (2012) found that a sample of African American adult women, who experienced racism and responded with reflective coping, also engaged in activism. There may be a recursive process whereby experiencing racial discrimination encourages critical action, which in turn, promotes a higher awareness of racial discrimination. Conversely, individuals with increased critical motivation alone, may perceive fewer racial microaggressions. This may imply that when individuals feel a greater sense of self-efficacy to act upon race-related discrimination, perhaps they are able to minimize those experiences. It could also be that this finding is specific to the sample of this study, and may not be generalizable. Future studies might investigate further, as critical motivation may not be as well assessed as critical reflection and critical action (Kiang et al., 2021).

A relevant consideration in understanding how elements of critical consciousness might impact how people of color perceive racial microaggressions could be how racial microaggression experiences are processed (cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally). Davidoff (2017) found that a frequent theme for processing racial microaggression was externalizing the microaggression, whereby the recipient would excuse or explain the deliverer's behavior as not related to an intentional act. Other common themes included internalizing microaggressions and confusion, which either indicates that the recipient of the microaggressions feels some personal responsibility for it or they merely are uncertain of what occurred (Davidoff,

2017). However, when the recipient had previous experiences with racial microaggressions, they were more likely to identify the microaggression for what it was, even to the extent of normalizing it (Davidoff, 2017). Ultimately, there are numerous factors that may influence how people of color identify, understand, and experience racial microaggressions.

The third research question examined whether critical consciousness moderated the relationship between perceived racial microaggressions and perceived well-being. The hypothesis that critical consciousness would moderate this relationship such that higher levels of critical consciousness would buffer the impact of racial microaggressions on well-being was partially supported. There are three facets of critical consciousness: reflection, motivation, and action (Deimer et al., 2016). Critical reflection is the ability to recognize and analyze socially oppressive experiences and structures in one's life as a person of color (Jemal, 2017). Critical motivation represents the capacity and self-efficacy an individual possesses to effect change within their sociopolitical reality (Hope et al., 2020). Critical action is an essential element whereby individuals engage in behaviors and opportunities that will promote changes to oppressive sociopolitical conditions (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015).

In the current study, critical reflection is shown to significantly moderate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being such that, at lower levels of reflection, racial microaggressions have a negative impact on an individual's well-being; at average levels of reflection, there is also evidence of lower well-being related to racial microaggressions; however when reflection is high, there is no statistically significant relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. What we might interpret from these results is that an individual who is more attuned to an awareness and understanding of oppressive sociopolitical forces will experience less harm to their overall well-being despite experiences of racial

microaggressions. This may be a significant finding in its' relevance to the current sociopolitical climate, in which people of color have been subjected to multiple forms of race-related discrimination and distress (Lee & Waters, 2020; Lopez et al. 2018; Waldron, 2021). The interaction of racial microaggressions and well-being was not significant for critical motivation or critical action.

It is important to remember that this study included three measures of critical consciousness, which may interact differentially. For example, if an individual has a high level of reflection, but a low level of motivation and action, they may experience hopelessness and despair in the face of race-related discrimination (Tyler et al., 2020). Individuals with low reflection, high motivation, and low action may feel self-agency, but lack the awareness of how to situate racial discrimination in their lives and, therefore not do anything about it. Also, if someone has high reflection and high motivation, but feels too overwhelmed by the current sociopolitical climate of racism and oppression, they may not be able to do something about what they are experiencing.

Notably, Asian/Asian American and Hispanic/Latinx individuals reported lower levels of well-being compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Asian/Asian American participants also reported the highest frequency of racial microaggressions. When we consider the current sociopolitical climate (Tessler et al., 2020), we could infer that the increase in anti-Asian racism may directly relate to greater perceptions of racial microaggressions and lower self-reports of well-being. Asian/Asian American participants reported moderate levels of critical reflection and critical motivation. Although critical reflection does not significantly predict well-being, there was a significantly positive prediction related to critical motivation, indicating that lower motivation is related to lower well-being. This may partially explain the lower level of well-

being reported by Asian/Asian American participants. This group also endorsed a moderate level of action, and while action may be positively related to well-being, evidence indicates that it may be differential across racial groups (Hope et al., 2018). Perhaps for Asian/Asian American participants, engaging in critical action diminished their overall well-being. It is also possible that one could feel hopeless if they are trying to change things and don't believe that things are changing for the better. Tyler et al., (2020) did not find a significant effect associating critical reflection and action, suggesting that this departure from previous studies (Bañales et al., 2020; Diemer & Rapa, 2016) may indicate ambivalence due to feeling both motivated and disheartened at the same time; they also propose that using different measures may be responsible for differential outcomes.

Hispanic/Latinx participants endorsed the highest levels of critical reflection and critical motivation, but the lowest level for critical action, next to Black/African American participants. They also reported moderately low perceptions of racial microaggressions and moderate well-being. Although Hispanic/Latinx individuals did not indicate a high frequency of racial microaggressions, they may have received harmful messages of racial discrimination related to immigration and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals controversies, exacerbated by the Trump administration (Bosma et al., 2019; Mallet-García and García-Bedolla, 2021). It is possible that the impact of the racial microaggressions they did experience was distressful enough to impact their overall well-being.

Related to lower critical action, it may be that this group engaged in actions that were not accounted for on the critical action measure. Questions on the critical action subscale (Diemer et al., 2020) include "Participated in a civil rights group or organization," "Participated in a political party, club, or organization," "Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell

him/her how you felt about a particular social or political issue ,” “Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting,” and Participated in a human rights, gay rights, or women’s rights organization or group.” Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it is possible that many individuals would not have participated in any kind of march, demonstration, or meeting. Participation with political and civil and human rights groups may have been limited as well. It is also possible that participants in this sample may have been concerned about calling attention to themselves in an unsafe sociopolitical climate (Cadenas et al., 2018). Yet, it is possible that they found other ways to engage in sociopolitical action that were not represented on this subscale.

In the current sociopolitical climate, Black/African American individuals have been subjected to ongoing terror and anti-Black racism that has been widely shared through various news and digital media formats (Kilgo, 2021), yet, this group had the lowest self-report of racial microaggressions out of all the racial/ethnic groups. This was surprising, especially when also considering the rise of racial discrimination delivered online (Hurd et al., 2021). Ongoing research demonstrates that racial microaggressions are still a reality for African Americans (Abdullah et al., 2021; Morales, 2020). In fact, other studies have shown that African American individuals endorse higher levels of racial microaggressions than Asian and Latinx individuals (Lui, 2020). However, in this study’s sample, it is possible that the onslaught of overt experiences of racism in some way minimized awareness of the subtler version of race-based discrimination. There also may be variability related to other demographic characteristics (i.e. age, socioeconomic status) which might explain the lower endorsement of racial microaggressions. It has also been suggested that preestablished examples of racial microaggressions may not represent those that some individuals experience (Davis et al., 2016).

Interestingly, Black/African American participants also reported the second highest level of well-being, second to Mixed Race/Multiracial participants. Black/African American participants also endorsed moderately high levels of critical reflection and critical motivation, but moderately low critical action. The report of higher well-being may be partially explained by the buffering effect of critical reflection on the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being. As individuals are able to contextualize experiences of racial microaggressions, they may come to realize that they are an external form of oppression that they are not responsible for (Anyiwo et al., 2018), which may ameliorate any severe negative impact on their well-being.

Further, critical motivation is a significant predictor of well-being and Black/African American and Mixed Race/Multiracial both had higher levels of critical motivation. This kind of agency and self-efficacy to counter oppression may also contribute to positive mental health. Finally, Black/African American participants reported lower levels associated with action. Political action has been shown to possibly exacerbate mental health distress for Black youth (Hope et al., 2018), but in this case, perhaps their lower involvement resulted in no impact on well-being. Other studies have found that people of color with higher levels of ethnic-racial centrality endorsed more reflection and motivation, but reported less action (Kiang et al., 2021). Similar to Hispanic/Latinx participants, it is possible that the questions for critical action subscale did not adequately reflect ways in which these populations engaged in sociopolitical action. However, individuals may have engaged in other forms of activism including donating to organizations (which may not have been interpreted as ‘participation’) or participating in events via social media. Thus, they may have higher levels of action than what would have been captured on the survey.

In addition to the highest report of well-being, Mixed Race/Multiracial participants reported moderately high critical reflection and motivation, moderate critical action, and a lower frequency of racial microaggressions. As with Black/African American participants, I anticipated that Mixed Race/Multiracial individuals might report a higher frequency of racial microaggressions. However, it is possible that the REMS did not adequately capture racial microaggressions experiences because the scale may represent a more monoracial perspective. Yet, as previous research has not demonstrated differences between monoracial people of color and multiracial individuals on the REMS (Nadal et al., 2011), there may be other reasons for a lower endorsement of racial microaggressions. Unfortunately, the participant numbers for Middle Eastern/North African, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander were so small that I had to combine them into one group in order to explore any between group differences. Therefore, I can't adequately make any interpretations related to data collected for these groups, but will recommend their inclusion in the future research section.

Implications

There are considerable implications for counselors and counselor educators. We know that race-related discrimination is harmful to people of color and has demonstrated a negative impact on individuals related to anxiety (Liao et al., 2016), depression (Nadal, Griffin, et al., 2014), stress and trauma symptoms (Williams et al., 2018), self-esteem (Nadal, Wong, et al., 2014), and suicidality (Hollingsworth et al., 2017). Yet, there is less evidence whether racial microaggressions also negatively impact positive mental health (i.e. well-being). Keyes (2009) has suggested that African Americans demonstrate higher levels of flourishing (positive mental health) after controlling for perceived discrimination. This may suggest that without additional

race-related stressors and structural oppression, Black individuals (and other people of color) could have higher levels of well-being (Keyes, 2009).

Counselors and counselor educators are in the business of wellness, which promotes a responsibility to work with clients and students in ways that promote wellness and well-being. First, it is important for practitioners and educators to understand what racial microaggressions are, how they occur, and the differential ways that people of color may experience and respond to them. Racial microaggressions can create ruptures and negative experiences in the therapeutic alliance (Branco & Bayne, 2020; Owen et al., 2014), supervisory relationship (O'Hara, 2014), and in counselor education programs (Vaishnav, 2021). It is incumbent on counselors and counselor educators to (a) acknowledge the reality of racial discrimination, (b) make space for clients, supervisees, and students to discuss and process any of these experiences, (c) avoid perpetuating racial microaggressions, but to take responsibility if it happens, and (d) use their power and privilege to dismantle racial injustice.

One way to acknowledge the reality of racial discrimination, and to a greater degree, White supremacy and social injustice, could begin with sharing one's positionality. Positionality is about who we are, what we believe, and how we apply those truths in a responsible way to our endeavors (Bourke, 2014). When we do this, we let others know where we stand as representatives of the profession and our relationship to justice and equity. Both counselors and counselor educators could use the graphic depiction of the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC; Ratts et al., 2016) to visually guide a conversation on marginalization and privilege related to various identities. These efforts can lay the groundwork for creating intentional spaces and opportunities for those we serve to discuss and process experiences of racial oppression. For example, the MSJCC can be utilized as a leadership

framework which guides professionals in addressing oppression, power, and privilege in schools (Ratts & Greenleaf, 2017), clinical supervision (Fickling et al., 2019), and the pervasive status quo of the counseling profession as dominated by White, Western, and male perspectives (Singh et al., 2020).

Another approach to discuss and dismantle racism, white supremacy, and social injustice is to explicitly address these issues by broaching. Broaching is the capacity to understand socio-politically relevant elements present in the counseling relationship and the ability to discuss them (Day-Vines et al., 2007). These might be ideal opportunities to explore ways to respond to racial microaggressions as well as overt instances of racism. Day-Vines and colleagues (2020) provided a Multidimensional Model of Broaching Behavior as a strategy that is conceptually similar to the MSJCC, and is designed to support multicultural counseling and social justice efforts. This model is further explicated and expanded to include instructional guidance to support counseling professionals' in advancing competence in promoting well-being through addressing relevant race-related issues (Day-Vines et al., 2021). An additional tool to explore and process these experiences is through facilitating and encouraging microaffirmations. Racial microaffirmations are a response to racial microaggressions, which can serve as a process of cultivating self-worth, regard, and dignity among communities of color (Solórzano et al., 2020). This form of counterstorytelling, grounded in CRT, is a strategy of disrupting racism and injustice through intimate cultural affirmations among people of color (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Solórzano et al., 2020).

Counselors and counselor educators must also accept and understand that multicultural competence is more a journey than a destination. Along this journey, we must be open to sharing what we know, accepting that we have more to learn, and committing to intentional growth and

development. While it is important to avoid perpetuating all forms of discrimination, there will likely be times when it happens despite ones' best intentions. When we find ourselves in this situation, we must accept and acknowledge that we have committed a harm and not ask those we have harmed to mollify us. It is advisable to take responsibility for the offense, apologize, and avoid making the same mistake again by learning and growing from the experience. As allies, accomplices, and co-conspirators, counseling professionals can actively engage in antiracist work to advance psychological and political liberation (Collins et al., 2020). This will involve using whatever power and privilege one possesses to disrupt and dismantle racial injustice and white supremacy in our profession (Arredondo et al, 2020).

Efforts to address racial microaggressions must consider individual-level *microaggressions*, as well as systemic-level and institutional-level *macroaggressions* (Pérez Huber and Solórzano, 2014). Macroaggressions create the circumstances and conditions which allow microaggressions to thrive (Sue et al, 2019). Sue et al., (2019) identify various injustices within the current sociopolitical climate as macroaggressive examples including the Trump administration's ban on travel from Muslim-majority countries, anti-immigration efforts related to the border wall, and election and voting challenges that impact people of color who may also be economically marginalized. The authors propose a conceptual framework of "microintervention strategies" which can be used to disrupt, disarm, and challenge microaggressions at the individual, institutional, and societal level. Through these various strategies, we have countless opportunities to enact antiracist and anti-oppressive practices. In therapeutic settings, we can ensure that spaces and policies are free of environmental microaggressions that convey messages about who is or is not valued and respected (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). In clinical supervision, we can make the invisibility of ethnocentric

monoculturism visible (Sue, 2004) by processing client conceptualizations in a way that acknowledges the reality of an individual's raced, classed, and gendered experiences. In counselor education settings, we can decolonize our departments and programs by infusing multiculturalism and social justice through admissions processes, curriculum, retention considerations, and overall experiences (Singh et al., 2020; Goodman et al., 2015).

This study contributes to our understanding of critical consciousness and the ways it may be a protective factor for people of color against racial microaggressions. Recent scholarship suggests that racial microaggressions serve to condition people of color to understand their inferior positionality in relation to their White counterparts, and further, how people of color should accommodate and care for the needs of White people above their own (Lui et al., 2019). Therefore, it is critical to advance research, education, and advocacy that can serve to empower people of color. We must invest time, efforts, and resources toward promoting the development and practice of critical consciousness as a protective factor. Many counseling programs already engage in self-awareness and self-reflection as a professional disposition (CACREP, 2016; Spurgeon et al., 2012). This can broaden to critical reflection by including activities that specifically focus on issues related to racial oppression and injustice. Counselors can work with clients to explore and develop self-efficacy and agency related to how they might counter experiences of racial oppression. Opportunities to engage in action might include advocacy projects in a counseling class or identifying an activism accountability partner as a directive therapeutic homework assignment.

As people of color experience more racial discrimination, they may develop greater critical consciousness (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Mathews et al., 2019). In turn, critical consciousness may enhance one's perceptions of racial discrimination. What happens next could be

instrumental in well-being outcomes for people of color. If heightened reflection, motivation, and action are developed and promoted, the result could be positive mental health symptoms. If these elements are not developed and promoted, it could result in hopelessness and despair, leading to negative mental health symptoms. However, it is crucial to keep in mind that there are other factors which can influence these processes for people of color. Future studies may be instrumental in investigating other conceptualizations.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are many opportunities to engage in additional research related to racial microaggressions and well-being. Futures studies should look at racial/ethnic groups independently. Consistent with other research, this study found significant differences between groups for all study measures, therefore it would be helpful to investigate each group separately. Additionally, researchers could examine the specific REMS (Nadal, 2011) scales across racial/ethnic groups and examine whether specific types of racial microaggressions impact well-being. In an effort to advance our understanding of protective factors, extended research could include a mediation analysis to explain the relationship between critical consciousness and well-being. There could also be opportunities to design experimental studies which employ targeted critical consciousness development interventions. Another area of future research can explore other protective factors (i.e. ethnic identity) and coping strategies that are related to racial microaggressions and well-being. For example, Black history knowledge (BHK) has been conceptualized as a strategy to engender liberation in Black youth (Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016); this kind of framework could be applied to various racial-ethnic groups to investigate whether it might support resilience and resistance to racial microaggressions. Finally, due to the various ways in which marginalized social identities can influence our experiences,

future research should focus on intersectionality. Some scholars have identified ways in which constructs associated with elements of critical consciousness (i.e. collective action, womanism) can buffer the impact of perceived discrimination on psychological distress for sexual minority women of color (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013; DeBlaere et al., 2014). There are many opportunities to advance research that will inform microlevel, mesolevel, and macrolevel efforts to dismantle systemic racism and promote liberation and well-being.

Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations to consider. This study was cross-sectional, therefore it only observed relationships and made some inferences; no causal predictions were possible. Additionally, self-report measures were utilized to collect participant data, which may not accurately reflect attitudes and experiences. There was also an unbalanced participant sample, with a disproportionate number of Black/African American participants related to other racial/ethnic groups. The SHoCCS (Deimer et al., 2020) is a relatively new measure that was normed with a sample of middle and high school students. Besides the measure development article, there was no other data to compare study results with, and no other studies with information on using the measure with an adult population. Therefore, results and interpretations from this measure should be considered with caution. A final relevant consideration is the influence our current sociopolitical climate may have had on participant responses.

Conclusion

We need to do more than just help people of color recognize and cope with racial microaggressions. Despite the name “*microaggressions*,” there is nothing small about them; it refers to the fact that these are daily and ongoing experiences (Sue et al., 2019). Through the process of critical consciousness, people of color who experience racialized oppression (i.e.

racial microaggressions), can begin to challenge the systems and structures which maintain the status quo of that oppression to achieve liberation. However, liberation is only meaningful when we engage in actions that lead us to it (Freire, 2000; Singh, 2020). Scholars have highlighted the need for helping professions to explicitly embrace our role in addressing sociopolitical issues (DeBlaere et al., 2019). Additionally, we have an opportunity to engage in a process of decolonizing wellness (Gamby et al., 2021). Gamby and colleagues (2021) remind us that wellness predates our Westernized conceptualization, and further urge us to adopt a “wellness paradigm that intentionally indigenizes the pursuit of collective *and* individual wellness practices by actively decentralizing the white-settler colonial capitalist cisheteropatriarchal view of wellness,” (p. 233). As counselors and counselor educators committed to wellness and well-being, we have an opportunity to radically support sociopolitical change, which can move us closer to a world in which people of color can experience liberation from racial and other forms of oppression. We can work both with and on behalf of clients and students to engage in advocacy and empowerment for marginalized individuals and communities. We can and should hold ourselves and our colleagues in the profession accountable for these efforts. Because this is the work that we do; counseling work is wellness work, and wellness work is social justice work.

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CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL REFLEXIVITY OF AN EMERGING SCHOLAR'S PROCESS TO ENGAGE IN ANTI-OPPRESSIVE RESEARCH

It is Thursday, January 7, 2021. It is the day after a mob of pro-Trump right-wing radicals stormed the United States Capitol and proceeded to desecrate this symbol of American democratic values. Many explain that these insurgents believe themselves to be patriots; believe their act of 'protest' at the Capitol was in response to the violation of their right to a free and fair presidential election. In our current sociopolitical climate, the United States' 45th president has promoted a conspiracy that the 2020 election was rigged in favor of his opponent. It has been clear to me that sociopolitical tensions have been escalating over the past thirteen years, since 2008. In fact, they have accelerated in the past four under the Trump administration. The explosive mix of social and political factors at play since the nation's first biracial Black president took office has brought us to a place of shock and disbelief. Grounded in feminism is an appropriate ideal: the personal is political. The phrase seems to have originated as the title of a paper in the publication *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (Hanisch, 1969). In a sociopolitical climate rife with conflict and trauma primarily impacting communities of color, immigrants, women, LGBTQ+ individuals, and those who are economically disadvantaged, national everyday events feel very personal. A very personal issue for me is racism – it has been for a very long time. (R. Finan, personal communication, January 7, 2021)

This chapter is a critical reflexivity of myself as a researcher. According to Mao et al. (2016), critical reflexivity can be conceptualized as “a form of researcher critical consciousness that is constant and dynamic in a complex spiral-like process starting with our own experiences as racialized, gendered, and classed beings embedded in particular sociopolitical contexts” (p. 1). Researcher reflexivity is typically practiced in qualitative research (Pillow, 2003), yet it is finding a home in quantitative work as well (Hernández, 2015; Mao et al., 2016). This process of reflexivity asks us to engage in a critical self-reflection of our assumptions and biases, with particular attention to our own positionality within the sociopolitical context, and through which we can elicit meaningful understanding of ourselves as researchers in relation to paradigmatic, pragmatic, and personal aspects of our research (Kleinsasser, 2000; Mao et al., 2016). This is relevant in all research, because no research system is neutral (O’Hara et al., 2021). Aligned with feminist reflexivity practices, I am interested in exploring how I engage in anti-oppressive research, how my research may be useful and empowering to those who experience marginalization and oppression, and in what ways I can link my research to advocacy and political action (Pillow, 2003).

A Process of Anti-Oppressive Research

Anti-oppressive research is committed to social justice (Potts & Brown, 2005) and aligns with the counseling professions’ commitment to wellness, diversity, and social justice (Myers, 1992; Ratts et al, 2016). Potts and Brown (2005) proposed three tenets of anti-oppressive research: (a) anti-oppressive research is social justice and resistance in process and in outcome, (b) anti-oppressive research recognizes knowledge as socially constructed and political, and (c) an anti-oppressive research process is about power and relationships. They further provide an intentional process to guide the effort of anti-oppressive research through (a) questioning,

designing and redesigning a plan to study the questions, (c) collecting data through seeking, listening, and learning, (d) making meaning, (e) posing conclusions, new questions, and taking action, and (f) reclaiming reliability and validity (Potts & Brown, 2005). This process is based on a Western scientific model, which the authors seem to begrudgingly adhere to due to the expectations of the research community, and speaks to growing tensions related to quantitative research traditions and the need for advancing socially just practices.

Quantitative research is historically grounded in a positivist paradigm and has been lauded as an inherently objective means of conducting valid and reliable research (Reichardt & Cook, 1979). It has also, however, been criticized as a research tradition that promulgates marginalization of minoritized groups and is at odds with the aims of social justice (Cokley & Awad, 2013). Yet, increasingly, scholars are clarifying the belief that quantitative methodology can be used to advance social justice research and advocacy (Cokley & Awad, 2013; Gillborn, et al., 2018; Stage, 2007). In fact, scholars assert that research with the aim of social justice should move beyond the advancement of knowledge, and center on the needs of the community, the potential to impact public policy, and the ensuing implications (Cokley & Award, 2013). Reichardt and Cook (1979) noted that the scientific community rigidly promotes the assumption that it is necessary to choose one research paradigm or another (i.e. positivist vs constructivist), and following this logic, one must subscribe to the methods associated with the chosen paradigm. However, the authors suggest this logic is flawed and that researchers should consider other factors when determining how to conduct research, including the specific context, and to embrace a flexible and adaptive spirit of inquiry (Reichardt & Cook, 1979).

In this spirit, I chose to engage in a scholarly project from the perspective of a critical paradigm (Hays & Singh, 2012) due to my intention to seek opportunities to advance social and

political change for the community of research (people of color). Further, scholars argue that culture, power, privilege, and oppression are all embedded within research (O'Hara et al., 2021). My research questions led me to utilize a critical quantitative method (Stage, 2007) in an effort to investigate relationships of variables that are indicative of participant experiences, internal mechanisms, and potential associated outcomes. These questions were: (a) what is the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for people of color, (b) does critical consciousness significantly predict racial microaggressions for people of color, and (c) does critical consciousness significantly moderate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for people of color? In this chapter I will engage in a critical researcher reflexivity by first sharing my positionality and then through discussing the first seven elements of Potts and Brown's (2005) process of pursuing anti-oppressive research.

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault.

Those four words reverberated in my mind over and over again. It was spring break in 2002 and I was a graduate student in the master's program for Student Personnel in Higher Education program at the University of Florida. I was the graduate advisor for Florida Alternative Breaks (FAB) and volunteered to take a group of college students to Detroit, Michigan during spring break to experience and evaluate issues in urban education. I was sitting in a Kindergarten classroom with a beautiful little Black boy, who recounted for me that he witnessed his father shoot and kill his mother, and then remarkably, laughed at a joke he overheard right after this confession. I visited a school where all of the computers were over ten years old and if they were all on at the same time, the power in the school would shut down. This school had outdated books. This school was serving children who oftentimes did not have

enough food to eat and lived in neighborhoods where crime and violence were an expectation. In the spring of 2002, I realized that I was an absolute fraud as I cheerfully and earnestly told these children that if they worked hard and did well in school that they could go to college someday and be whatever they wanted. It is not that my message was wrong. It is part of the truth, and one that any child should hear. However, the other side of the truth was that their circumstances would relentlessly work against them to succeed in achieving the future that I had promised. And yet, another piece of that truth was that it's not their fault. It is not their fault. But, how could they ever know this? Who would tell them this? What on earth was at fault and how on earth could we change it? And then I cried, as I still do when I think of this experience. I felt heartbroken and angry and helpless and complicit in a system that has denied basic decency to entire communities based on intersecting facets of oppressed, marginalized, and disenfranchised social and cultural identities.

I didn't know it at the time, but my social justice identity began to take shape in the spring of 2002. The foundation had already been laid, thanks to my family and my own lived experiences. As the only daughter of a Black American military father and a Korean immigrant mother, I was raised with my two brothers both in the United States, as well as in other countries. In this upbringing, I was able to understand that there were complexities in having an American identity, before I realized that there were complexities in having a minoritized racial/ethnic identity. While my father never said much about it, my mother explained that even though she was Korean, I was really Black; that the world would see me as Black. I grew up in a home with Korean food and soul food; with an image of Black Jesus on the wall; watching *Roots* (Wolper, 1977), the miniseries about Kunta Kinte and slavery in America; with cultural artifacts from various countries; with *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (X et al., 1992) as required reading. My

parents instilled in me values of fairness, equity, appreciation for diversity and difference, and an intense disdain for bullies, opportunists, and willful ignorance.

A memory that evokes these values is from when I worked at the commissary (the military grocery store) at Ft. Gillem in Georgia. I would sometimes walk across to the Post Exchange (PX, the military retail store) on my break to buy something or after my shift to wait for my mom to get off work. At times I witnessed customers interact with my mom by speaking slowly, loudly, and rudely to her; no other cashier seemed to be subjected to this treatment. While I never said anything outright, I would often go stand next to her and say “hi mom, just wanted to let you know I am here,” or something to that effect, while giving the customer a meaningful glance. *I am here and I am watching you.*

So, years later, in the spring of 2002, social justice was not a new concept for me. However, I had never felt the impact of social injustice outside of my own lived experience. My experience in Detroit, Michigan shaped me in ways that influenced my life, and even now, my research. *It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault.* What would they think if they knew it wasn't their fault – the circumstances of their lives? Their poverty. Or their lack of access to opportunities. Or the way that people treat them because of the color of their skin, socioeconomic status, or the slang that they use. How would they feel? What would they be capable of? I have never stopped asking these questions. Racism was hurting Black people. Racism was hurting all of us. I have been asking myself what I could do about it for the past 19 years.

Questioning

There were countless experiences of racial microaggressions in my life. These slight, indignities, statements that ‘othered’ me, and assumptions that marginalized me. They were not

exactly blatant expressions of racism, and sometimes they were so subtle, or conveyed with a well-intentioned smile. It was difficult to know whether I imagined the incident, overreacted, or if something significant and harmful really had taken place. According to scholars (Pierce, 1970; Sue et al., 2007), these various descriptions are all typical of racial microaggressions. Once I had the language and understanding for this race-based form of discrimination, I felt a mixture of anger and relief. But, more than the sum of those feelings, I was overcome with an intense desire to do something about it. Racial microaggressions – the term became a part of my everyday conversation. *That was very inappropriate for someone to say ‘you are so articulate.’ That feels like a racial microaggression. Do you know what that is?* I wanted other people of color to feel the same sense of empowered liberation that came with knowing that you are not imagining or overreacting. I was, unknowingly, engaged in my own process of critical consciousness about racial microaggressions.

When I began my doctoral program I knew that I wanted to research racial microaggressions, but I had yet to make a connection to critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is grounded in Paulo Freire’s (2000) work to engage oppressed, poor Brazilian citizens in a process of liberation through cultivating their ability to understand the circumstances of their oppression through informed critical education. It is through this process of investigating, reflecting upon, and dismantling the oppressive threads within their lives that they can experience *conscientização* and take actions toward their own liberation (Freire, 2000). Once I was exposed to this concept, I knew that it had to be a part of my research inquiry. The final piece of my research question was influenced by my professional identity as a counselor and counselor educator. Our profession is committed to wellness (Myers, 1992), so I decided I wanted to explore how racial microaggressions were connected to wellness.

As an anti-oppressive researcher, it was important to me to focus my research on people of color in a way that did not exploit, marginalize, or mischaracterize them or their experiences. It was also important to not use a deficit lens by simply focusing on mental illness, as much of the existing literature does (Paradies et al., 2015). While it is important to understand the impact of racial microaggressions on various negative indicators of mental health such as suicidality, anxiety, depression, and substance abuse, I wanted to approach the conversation from a different perspective. When I came across Keyes' (2002, 2005) work on subjective well-being and flourishing, I felt that it was an approach that fit with the question I wanted to ask. Keyes' (2009) has suggested that Black individuals actually have higher rates of flourishing than White people, despite their experiences of racism. This realization prompted the hypothesis that Black people would have even higher levels of flourishing if they were not experiencing racism. It exposed a deeper sense of injustice in that not only do racialized experiences of discrimination contribute to negative mental health outcomes, but they also diminish the potential for people of color to experience optimal well-being. Yet, I didn't want to just explore this relationship; I wanted to use the information towards a purposeful engagement with communities of color by exposing this inequity. *It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault It's not their fault*. If they understand what is happening, and how it is impacting them – might that support their sense of agency to act against this injustice?

Throughout this process I have questioned myself. I have questioned my privilege as a light-complexioned, biracial Black and Korean woman, who has lived in multiple countries, grown up in a middle-class income family with both parents, has three college degrees while working on a fourth, and married to a White man with three White-presenting children. This process of questioning has occurred within a sociopolitical context which is antithetical to who I

am at my core based on my values of fairness, equity, appreciation for diversity and difference, and an intense disdain for bullies, opportunists, and willful ignorance. During 2015, Donald Trump was re/establishing an American identity of nationalism, nativism, xenophobia, racism, sexism, heterosexism, sexism, and white supremacy. This has also become a time when many historically marginalized and oppressed communities have demanded to be seen and heard, and in many ways, much of the country has obliged (or at least, in some ways, attempted to).

In this climate, I questioned whether it was *relevant enough* to study racial microaggressions rather than good old-fashioned racism. Black men and women were literally dying at the hands of the police, and yet, I wanted to focus on a subtler form of racial discrimination. In the end, I stayed with my research inquiry. It has not been without ongoing reflection and doubt, but it is with the conviction that it is purposeful and can contribute both to a community of understanding as well as toward advocacy efforts for communities of color.

Designing and Redesigning a Plan to Study the Questions

Design

My plan was always to utilize a quantitative research design. I made this decision for two reasons. One reason was to push myself out of my comfort zone. Qualitative research is not easy and requires an extraordinary level of persistence, patience, integrity, and skill. However, I more intuitively understand qualitative research design and procedures. This is not true for quantitative research. I have to work harder to understand the underlying concepts embedded in the positivist paradigm and the associated methodologies, methods, and data analysis strategies. To some degree, I may subscribe to the notion that if it is more difficult, then it is more important or more meaningful. I know this is not true, however this kind of thinking may have influenced my decision to challenge myself to do something that would stretch my abilities. The other reason I

chose a quantitative study design is because I have accepted the colonized belief that numbers equal true and verifiable data. I don't actually believe that myself, yet, I believe that we exist in a world that will often only accept that belief. Instead of challenging that ideal, I chose to be complicit with standards that reflect internalized white supremacy (Liu et al., 2019), albeit with good intentions. My hope was to design and implement a quality study that could be more universally accepted in order to establish the problem as legitimate (*as if racial discrimination is not legitimate!*). And then, with an established foundation, I would launch additional studies on the topic that would utilized various research designs across quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approaches. Through this process, I have worked to unlearn the motivation to need to "prove" something by utilizing a quantitative method, and instead embrace it as a different way to tell the stories of those who have been marginalized (Stage & Wells, 2014). Ultimately, I believe that each approach adds to the completeness of the stories we tell through research.

The next challenge, after determining that my study would be quantitative, was to engage in a process that would feel authentic to who I am as a social justice scholar. According to Potts and Brown (2005), anti-oppressive research must be conveyed through both purpose and process. So, it is not enough that the outcome could be applied toward anti-oppressive goals of social justice; it was also necessary to engage in a process that applied characteristics of anti-oppression efforts. In company with other scholars (O'Hara et al., 2021), I believe that all approaches to research are subject to assumptions, biases, and perspectives. There is bias in the topics we choose to research, the population we choose to work with, the methods we employ, how we interpret results, and what we choose to do with the information. Although the accepted belief about quantitative research is that it is neutral, I oppose that belief and thus, intentionally adopted (a) a critical quantitative paradigm (Stage, 2007), (b) critical race theory (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw,

1991; Delgado, 2009; Freeman, 1978; Matsuda, 1987) as my theoretical foundation, and (c) QuantCrit (Gillborn et al., 2018) as my research methodology.

Using a critical approach as a researcher allowed me to remain authentic in my values as an anti-oppressive researcher, working to uncover inequity and injustice through data, toward the goal of centering the needs of marginalized and minoritized individuals and communities.

Further, this felt like a way I could decolonize assumptions about research in a responsible and innovative way (Hays, 2020). Critical race theory helped to guide me to that goal by providing clear tenets that clarified my purpose and process. These guiding principles include (a) race and racism as a central and pervasive form of oppression, (b) challenging dominant, colonial ideologies, (c) social justice advocacy, (d) valuing voices of the marginalized, and (e) an interdisciplinary context (Solórzano et al., 2000). QuantCrit promoted the use of quantitative methods toward a critical analysis of race and racial inequity (Gillborn et al., 2018). With this foundation, I was constantly thinking about the underlying assumptions (based on CRT) of my research questions and of how to design my study. As a part of this process, I spent a lot of time deciding on the most appropriate measures.

Measures

The measure for racial microaggressions was mostly an easy decision, as the Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (Nadal, 2011) was developed by a queer man of color, normed with a diverse racial/ethnic group of participants, and has demonstrated reliability and validity across a number of studies. The one concern I had was that I wasn't sure if the questions adequately captured the essence of racially microaggressive experiences due to the nature of the wording of several items. For example, some of the questions are worded based on an individual making an assumption about the person of color. This means that the participant taking the

survey may be put in a situation to decide what a possible perpetrator of a racial microaggression assumed about them. Racial microaggression experiences can result in confusion, as recipients may not entirely understand what has occurred. Therefore, utilizing wording that may complicate any feelings of uncertainty could be problematic. It might be better for the item to say: I feel that someone assumed I was poor because of my race. Another example is that some of the wording seems somewhat prescriptive and may not allow for a more flexible application to one's experience of microaggressions. For example, the item "Someone told me that they don't see color" might be more individually applied if worded as "Someone conveyed the idea that the color of people doesn't matter." In this situation, perhaps an individual did not have someone actually say to them "I don't see color," but perhaps someone said "You could be black, white, blue, or transparent and I would treat you the same." One person might infer that statement to mean "I don't see color," whereas another person might apply a more rigid adherence to the exact words and not indicate having the experience. Ultimately, I recognized the measure as appropriate and selected it.

There were no quantitative measures for critical consciousness until 2014. Previous iterations of critical consciousness measures did not capture all three dimensions (reflection, motivation, and action). The ShoCCS (Diemer et al., 2020) is a shortened version of the original Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer, 2017), and was designed to capture all three dimensions of critical consciousness. Diemer's work has focused on investigating and promoting critical consciousness in marginalized youth of color (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008; Diemer, 2012; Diemer et al., 2016; Diemer et al., 2019) and on utilizing quantitative methods in a way that addresses oppression for marginalized individuals in research. Admittedly, I felt nervous about utilizing a new measure that was not normed on the population I was examining,

and that lacked other studies to compare to in terms of validity, reliability, and data outcomes. I had to address my fear of making a ‘wrong’ decision. Eventually, I was able to reframe my decision-making process as one that included a great deal of effort on my part to (a) review available measures, (b) weigh the pros and cons of using the ShoCCS, and (c) recognize that it is ok to try something and to learn from it without feeling like I failed.

I engaged in a similar struggle when deciding which measure to use for well-being. Initially I wanted to use the 5F-WEL (Myers & Sweeney, 2005). However, upon deeper review, it included far more dimensions of wellness than I wanted to focus on in my study. For example, it includes scales for the Creative Self and for the Physical Self, which would certainly produce interesting information, but not necessarily for my goals. I knew I did not want to investigate symptoms of pathology (anxiety, depression, stress, etc.), but instead wished to focus on symptoms of well-being. When I came across Keyes’ work related to subjective well-being (2005), which incorporated emotional, social, and psychological aspects of well-being, I felt I found what I was looking for. The unexperienced researcher in me again struggled with whether to use the Mental Health Continuum Short Form (Keyes, 2005), as I did not find a broad cache of literature providing clear information related to validity, reliability, and data outcomes. However, I felt that I found enough to move forward. I acknowledge that there are alternative ways I could investigate positive mental health through use of multiple related measures. Yet, I appreciated that this was a shortened version of an original measure, which incorporated all dimensions of subjective well-being.

Participants

The focus of this project of inquiry was on individuals who identified as a person of color. As a Black and Korean biracial woman, the saliency of racial/ethnic identity has been very

important to me. Particularly, it has been important to feel included and validated instead of ‘othered.’ My racial/ethnic experience of othering began early in my life when I encountered demographic questionnaires that did not allow me to specifically indicate my full racial/ethnic identity; I could choose ‘Black’ or ‘Asian’ or ‘Other.’ It felt diminishing and demoralizing; I felt unseen. I did not want any participants in this study to feel that way. This mindset extended to other demographic categories including gender and sexual orientation. I researched various recommendations related to demographic categories and how to present them (Hughes et al., 2016), as I wanted to be inclusive and use appropriate options for collecting demographic data. My final form utilized intentionally-worded options, as well as a write in option, as well as an opt-out option. While this would create additional effort on my part to review any written-in data and then recoding it as appropriate, it was important that individuals participating in my study felt seen.

I also considered whether or not to include a demographic question related to immigration status. In our current sociopolitical climate there have been outrageous anti-immigrant sentiment and policies (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). While I would have liked the ability to look at outcomes on measures of racial microaggressions, well-being, and critical consciousness for individuals who identified as immigrants, I decided to not include a demographic question to identify this population for a couple of reasons (Hernández et al., 2013). First, I didn’t have a relationship with immigrant communities that would foster trust in collecting that specific data. Additionally, I was concerned that including that demographic question might induce undue stress for any participant who identified as immigrant, and especially an undocumented immigrant. Finally, I did not feel fully confident in whether there might be some way that those participants could be identified as undocumented immigrants (if

that was the case). Therefore, I could not in good conscience include that information. There were other ways that I tried to be intentional in my process to design a study that would respect participants and collect data in a responsible and ethical manner, but these are some of the main strategies that I used.

Collecting Data and Making Meaning

Data collection was a fairly streamlined process. I recruited participants using diverse strategies including contacting colleagues in academic and student affairs departments, sending emails out to related listservs and to student organizations that represented racial/ethnic groups of color, posting on social media, and encouraging individuals to share with others who would meet the participant criteria. My specific participant criteria were (a) at least 18 years old, (b) identify as a person of color (e.g. Asian American/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Indigenous, African American/Black, Latinx, Mixed Race/Multiracial, etc.) and (c) identify as having experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months. Ideally, I would have wanted the study to be funded so that I might provide some kind of compensation to every participant. I tried to keep the survey as short as possible, while collecting as much data as I thought would be necessary. This harkens back to my efforts to identify brief measures. Ultimately the survey was approximately 20 minutes and I offered a drawing for one of six \$25 Visa gift cards.

In this part of the anti-oppressive research process, Potts and Brown (2005) specifically focus on qualitative strategies of ‘political listening.’ Political listening is a way of not just hearing what we expect and believe fits with our narrative; but rather becoming attuned to “multiple interpretations and multiple truths” (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 272). Although I was collecting data very impersonally through surveys, this point did make me think more deeply

about what my assumptions were and how they were conveyed through my study. First, there was an assumption that there were adults who belonged to various racial/ethnic groups and had experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months. My own personal experiences, and the experiences of friends, acquaintances, and colleagues supported my assumption; countless posts on social media supported my assumption; and frequent stories on the news supported my assumption. However, I had to entertain the belief that there may be many others who (a) did not recognize their experiences of racial microaggressions or (b) actually did not experience racial microaggressions.

Second, for those who did experience racial microaggressions, I assumed that there was a negative impact on their well-being, as this concept is supported in the literature (Paradies et al., 2015). It is, again, also supported through my own lived experience. Yet, the literature also informs us that individuals can respond to racial microaggressions differentially (Forrest-Bank et al., 2015; Nadal, Wong, et al., 2014). This was difficult to sit with because I was forced to think about why this is the case, and further, how I felt about those possibilities. For example, what does it mean when someone chooses to not respond? Is it due to shock, confusion, fear, or because they simply don't believe anything offensive occurred?

Third, I have to acknowledge the overall assumptions I have made related to my stance as an anti-oppressive, social justice researcher. I believe that racism is real and that it hurts everyone, but particularly people of color. I believe that white supremacy is woven into the fabric of our everyday lives and that each of us is complicit in maintaining it. I believe that we have to name these things and work collectively to dismantle systems of oppression (Freire, 2000). I believe that the sociopolitical climate we are in exemplifies multiple interlocking systems of oppression that work in concert to minimally disadvantage people of color, and

maximally kill people of color. And yet, I knew that I had to make space for multiple realities from myriad voices that were delivered by numbers to produce data about experiences.

The data did convey what I anticipated. My hypotheses were either entirely or partially supported: (a) there is a significant negative relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, (b) critical consciousness significantly predicts the perception of racial microaggressions, and (c) critical reflection moderates the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being, but critical motivation and critical action do not. What did surprise me was the lower levels of racial microaggressions endorsed by participants – especially Black/African American participants. While there may be a number of reasons for this, it occurred to me that privilege may account for some of the result. Many participants (a) had at least a Bachelor's degree and many had advanced Master's and professional degrees and (b) reported family income above \$75,001. It is possible that some level of economic and educational privilege may have impacted the frequency of microaggressions participants were exposed to. It is also possible that racial microaggressions are typically delivered in a face to face context. Due to COVID-19, face to face interpersonal contact and communication has been significantly decreased. There may be other considerations and this is something I will continue to process for implications and future actions.

Posing Conclusions and New Questions, and Taking More Action

“Power lurks in all our reflections and decisions” (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 273). It is very humbling to sit with this. I had to wonder, how many people with privilege sit with this thought? How many White researchers sit with this thought? And how many, instead, embrace their privilege to not think about power and how it can shape their decisions and how they present outcomes? I know that there are many White researchers who do think about this and

who truly engage in anti-oppressive work. But I am dismayed as I think about the countless others who probably do not. However, it is not unique to White researchers alone. I have to consider how I am sitting with my power in this process, and how I can appropriately use it in a way that honors the participants and the valuable information they have provided to me.

What is clear to me, is that I have the opportunity and the ability to tell a part of a story that people need to hear; one which many people do not want to hear. I have been challenged by some academics on my choice to research racial microaggression, with the suggestion that there is little scholarly evidence to support them. Critical race theory has been characterized as divisive and anti-White, was banned within the federal government by former President Trump, and is currently the subject of multiple bills across the United States which call on legislatures to ban teaching the theory (Harris, 2021). There may be a professional risk in pursuing an area of research that some counseling students and educators will be opposed to (Evans-Winters & Hines, 2020; Nassar & Singh, 2020). I have to consider how those power differentials and relationships may impact me. I also have to consider how I cultivate learning and conversations around the implications of race and racism in the counseling profession. How will my power factor into my role as a counselor educator in my relationship with students? A part of that process is how I convey the conceptual values (Potts & Brown, 2005) that influence my professional identity and guide my work.

While this study has answered some questions, it has done so only partially. It has also generated many new questions. On the one hand I want to begin finding answers to these new questions: what are the differences in outcomes when I look at individual racial/ethnic groups; how can I design an experimental study to answer these questions; what are the pathways for how critical consciousness influences the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-

being? And so many more. However, as an anti-oppressive researcher, it is my responsibility to use these results to advance sociopolitical justice; to advance well-being. Because, ultimately, that is what I really want as a counselor and as a counselor educator. I want to help people to be able to live their best lives without the constraints of oppression. In order to do that, I have to engage in social justice, which is any effort directed toward dismantling oppression that deprives individuals of the ability pursue and experience well-being.

Through this process I had the most empowering realization: counseling work is wellness work, and wellness work is social justice work; thus, counseling is social justice work. I increasingly see this knowledge in many others in our profession and it makes me feel incredible pride to be a counselor and counselor educator. It has not been easy to engage with this topic on a daily basis for the past four years. I have often avoided emotionally processing many of the racist atrocities and injustices consuming the news and social media, and which have devastated and traumatized so many lives. It has been too much. And it has, at times, made me question the relevance of racial microaggressions in the face of so much overt and violent racial trauma. And then I remind myself that all of it matters. All of it matters. Those beautiful children in Detroit – they matter. Their families, friends, and teachers matter. They should all know that there is structural racism in our country that operates in myriad ways to maintain their oppression; an oppression that was conveniently and purposefully initiated because of the color of their skin and a false construct of race. They should know that they have been forced to try to build lives in a system that was not designed to work for them. But they should also know that there are people who recognize these truths and are working to change these systems of oppression. They should know that they can do the same; in fact, that we can't change the system until we all work together through advocacy and action.

Potts and Brown (2005) argue that research can be wielded to create social change or to maintain the status quo. As a scholar, educator, and activist, I hope to engage in anti-oppressive work that will cultivate social change and promote wellness for individuals and communities who experience the damaging effects of marginalization and oppression. I can't wait to begin.

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APPENDIX A

**UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
INFORMED CONSENT
EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL MICROAGGRESSIONS
AND WELL-BEING AND THE ROLE OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS FOR
COLLEGE STUDENTS OF COLOR IN AN ADVERSE SOCIOPOLITICAL CLIMATE**

Dear Participant, My name is Regina Finan and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling and Student Personnel Services Department at the University of Georgia under the supervision of Dr. Anneliese Singh. I am inviting you to take part in a research study.

PURPOSE: You are being asked to participate in a research study titled “Exploring the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being and the role of critical consciousness for college students of color in an adverse sociopolitical climate.” The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for college students of color within the context of the current sociopolitical climate. Further, this study will examine the role of critical consciousness on racial microaggressions and well-being.

PROCEDURES: I am looking for participants who meet the following criteria: (a) 18 and older, (b) identifies as a person of color (Asian American/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Indigenous, African American/Black, Latinx, Mixed Race/Multiracial, etc.), and (c) identifies as having experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months. Racial microaggressions are subtle expressions of racial discrimination regularly delivered to people of color. Some examples include asking a person who looks Asian “Where are you *really* from,” telling a person of color that they are just being paranoid when they say that a store owner is following them, telling someone who speaks Spanish that they need to speak English in America, or assuming that a Black student is at a prestigious university because of an athletic scholarship. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, five survey instruments on the cloud-based survey platform Qualtrics, and one short answer question. It should take approximately 20-25 minutes to complete the form, survey instruments, and short answer question. You will be asked questions about your own thoughts, feelings, and experiences. There are no right or wrong answers.

PARTICIPANT DRAWING: All participants are invited to provide their email address to be added to a drawing for one of six \$25 Visa gift cards. These cards can be used wherever Visa cards are accepted. Email addresses that have been provided will be entered into Excel for the random drawing. Any information provided will be deleted after the drawings are complete. Your email address will not be used for any other purpose. You do not have to be in the study to enter the drawing. You can email rfinan@uga.edu to enter the drawing and your name will be provided to the departmental business office for tracking purposes if you win. The drawings will be done on June 18, 2021.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL: Participation is voluntary. You can refuse to take part or stop at any time without penalty. Even if you begin the study, you may withdraw from participating at any time without any loss of benefits or consequences. Your decision of whether to take part in the research or not will have no effect on your grades or class standing.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: There is minimal risk associated with this study. While many individuals typically enjoy answering questions about their thoughts, feelings, and experiences, there are questions that may make you uncomfortable and/or bring up hurtful recollections. You can skip any questions if you do not wish to answer them and you can stop the survey if you wish. If you experience feelings of sadness or distress related to answering questions in the survey, please seek professional help through a therapist. You can identify a local mental health provider at www.psychologytoday.com. However, answering these questions may also result in your feeling validated and relieved to share your experiences. Although there are no direct benefits for participants, your responses may help us to better understand the impact of racial microaggressions on college students of color and factors that may be protective.

CONFIDENTIALITY: All efforts will be made to maintain your confidentiality. This research involves the transmission of data over the Internet. Every reasonable effort has been taken to ensure the effective use of available technology; however, confidentiality during online communication cannot be guaranteed. The survey responses will be collected on Qualtrics, which is a secure, cloud-based survey platform. Your personally identifiable data, including your computer IP address, will not be collected. Survey results will be identified with a number so that no names or emails will be linked to data. The data collected will be kept in a password protected cloud-based file. When the data is analyzed and findings are written, it will be based on collective participant data and will not refer to individual responses. Data will be retained for use in future studies without additional participant consent or communication. The same confidentiality protocol will be followed.

CONTACT: If you have questions about this research, please feel free to contact me at rfinan@uga.edu or Dr. Anneliese Singh at asingh@uga.edu. If you have any complaints or questions about your rights as a research volunteer, contact the IRB at 706-542-3199 or by email at IRB@uga.edu.

This study has been reviewed by the University of Georgia Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on May 20, 2021.

CONSENT: I have read this paper about the study or it was read to me. I understand the possible risks and benefits of this study. I know that being in this study is voluntary. I choose to be in this study. I can print a copy of this consent form. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please select “Yes” under “Consent Given” below.

Thank you for your time and participation in this study. If you would like to receive the results of this study, please email me and I will add you to a distribution list. Your name and email will not be connected to any data you submit for the study.

Warmly,

Regina Finan

University of Georgia

APPENDIX B

Colleague Email

Greetings colleague!

I hope you are well! My name is Regina Finan and I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling and Student Personnel Services program at the University of Georgia. I am recruiting participants for my research study investigating the relationship between racial microaggressions, well-being, and the role of critical consciousness for college students of color. My hope is to use findings from my study to enhance well-being and resilience for college students of color who are experiencing race-based discrimination in their lives.

Would you please consider sharing this brief 20-25 minute survey with your students? The survey includes a demographic questionnaire, five brief surveys, and a short answer question delivered on the secure, cloud-based survey platform, Qualtrics. I understand that you may be subject to institutional policies, and I encourage you to seek clarification from your institution's review board as to whether this request is subject to their review.

Any questions about this study may be directed to the student researcher Regina Finan (rfinan@uga.edu) or to the principal investigator Dr. Anneliese Singh (asingh@uga.edu). Thank you for your consideration and willingness to support my research endeavors by distributing the Qualtrics survey link to your students if you are able.

Please see the recruitment email below.

Warmly, Regina Finan

Greetings!

My name is Regina Finan. I am a doctoral candidate in the Counseling and Student Personnel Services doctoral program at The University of Georgia. I am looking for participants for my dissertation study titled "Exploring the relationship between racial microaggressions, well-being, and the role of critical consciousness for college students of color in an adverse sociopolitical climate." The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for college students of color within the context of the current sociopolitical climate. Further, this study will examine the role of critical consciousness on racial microaggressions and well-being.

Participant criteria include: **(a)** 18 and older, **(b)** identifies as a person of color (Asian American/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Indigenous, African American/Black, Latinx, Mixed Race/Multiracial, etc.), and **(c)** identifies as having experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months. Racial microaggressions are subtle expressions of racial discrimination regularly delivered to people of color. Some examples include asking a person who looks Asian "Where are you really from," telling a person of color that they are just being paranoid when they say that a store owner is following them, telling someone who speaks Spanish that they need to speak English in America, or assuming that a Black student is at a prestigious university because of an athletic scholarship.

If you meet the participants criteria, please consider taking my 20-25 minute survey on Qualtrics: https://ugeorgia.ca1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0fg9Pm6OGCWA6YC

Participants will have an opportunity to enter a drawing for one of six \$25 Visa gift cards. You do not have to be in the study to enter the drawing. You can email rfinan@uga.edu to enter the drawing and your email will be included for tracking purposes if you win.

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, five survey instruments on the cloud-based survey platform Qualtrics, and one short answer question. It should take approximately 20-25 minutes to complete the form, survey instruments, and a short answer question. You will be asked questions about your own thoughts, feelings, and experiences. There are no right or wrong answers.

There is minimal risk associated with this study. While many individuals typically enjoy answering questions about their thoughts, feelings, and experiences, there are questions that may make you uncomfortable and/or bring up hurtful recollections. You can skip any questions if you do not wish to answer them and you can stop the survey if you wish.

Any questions about this study may be directed to the student researcher Regina Finan (rfinan@uga.edu) or to the principal investigator Dr. Anneliese Singh (asingh@uga.edu). I encourage you to share this with others who may be eligible to participate or who may be interested in learning more about the study. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Warmly,
Regina

APPENDIX C

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS FOR A
RESEARCH STUDYExploring the Relationship Between Racial
Microaggressions, Well-being, and the Role of
Critical Consciousness for Students of Color in
an Adverse Sociopolitical Climate

Please contact Regina Finan (University of Georgia)
at rfinan@uga.edu with any questions

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between racial microaggressions and well-being for college students of color within the context of the current sociopolitical climate. Further, this study will examine the role of critical consciousness on racial microaggressions and well-being.

CRITERIA FOR PARTICIPATION

- (a) 18 and older,
- (b) identify as a person of color (Asian American/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Indigenous, African American/Black, Latinx, Mixed Race/Multiracial, etc.), and
- (c) identify as having experienced at least one racial microaggression in the past 6 months.

There is **minimal risk** associated with this study. Some questions may make you uncomfortable and/or bring up hurtful recollections. You can skip any questions can stop the survey if you wish.

PROCEDURES OF STUDY

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, five brief survey instruments, and one short answer question.

It should take approximately 20-25 minutes to complete. Participants have an opportunity to enter a drawing for one of six \$25 Visa gift cards.

You do not have to be in the study to enter the drawing. You can email rfinan@uga.edu to enter the drawing and your name will be provided to the departmental business office for tracking purposes if you win.

If you meet the participant criteria, please consider taking my survey on [Qualtrics](#)



APPENDIX D

Demographic Questionnaire

You are invited to answer the following demographic questions. This information is being collected to provide the researcher with specific information about participants so that we can report findings in a way that honors the diversity of participant experiences. When the data is analyzed and findings are written, it will be based on collective participant data and will not refer to individual responses. Please select and/or write in the description(s) that are most accurate for you. Some of these options may be limited, so open boxes are provided so that you can share a better option as you see fit. There is also a comment box included if you would like to provide any feedback on this demographic questionnaire.

1. What is your age:
2. How do you describe your gender (please select all that apply):
 - ☐ Man
 - ☐ Non-binary
 - ☐ Transgender
 - ☐ Woman
 - ☐ Prefer to not say
 - ☐ Prefer to self-describe:
3. How do you describe your sexual orientation (please select all that apply):
 - ☐ Asexual
 - ☐ Gay
 - ☐ Heterosexual
 - ☐ Lesbian
 - ☐ Queer
 - ☐ Prefer to not say
 - ☐ Prefer to self-describe:
4. How do you identify racially/ethnically (please select all that apply):
 - ☐ Asian/Asian American
 - ☐ Black/African American
 - ☐ Hispanic/Latinx
 - ☐ Native American/Alaskan Native
 - ☐ Middle Eastern/North African
 - ☐ Mixed Race/Multiracial
 - ☐ I would like to specify my race/ethnicity (e.g. Cuban, Filipino, Nigerian, Maori, Iranian, etc.):
 - ☐ Prefer to not say
 - ☐ Prefer to self-describe:

5. How would you describe your political views:
 - Very Liberal
 - Liberal
 - Moderate
 - Conservative
 - Very Conservative
 - Prefer to not say
6. What do you estimate your family's socioeconomic status to be:
 - \$0 –\$15,000
 - \$15,001–\$25,000
 - \$25,001–\$50,000
 - \$50,001–\$75,000
 - \$75,001–\$100,000
 - \$100,001–\$125,000
 - \$125,001–\$200,000
 - \$200,001 and above
 - Prefer to not say
7. Name of College/University Currently Attending (this information is requested so that the researchers can identify the type and classification of your institution, but the name will not be shared in the research findings):
8. Student Classification
 - First Year
 - Second Year
 - Third Year
 - Fourth Year+
 - Graduate or Professional
9. If not currently in school, what is your highest grade/level of education completed:
 - Did Not Complete High School
 - High School/GED
 - Some College
 - Bachelor's Degree
 - Master's Degree
 - Advanced Graduate or Professional Degree (Ph.D., Law, etc.)
10. Are you an international student:
 - Yes
 - No
 - Prefer to not say
11. Demographic Questionnaire Comments/Feedback:

APPENDIX E

Mental Health Continuum - Short Form (MHC-SF)

Please answer the following questions are about how you have been feeling during the past month. Select the box that best represents how often you have experienced or felt the following:
During the past month, how often did you feel...

	Never (0)	Once or Twice (1)	About Once a Week (2)	About 2 or 3 Times a Week (3)	Almost Every Day (4)	Every Day (5)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						

APPENDIX F

Short Critical Consciousness Scale (ShoCCS)

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by circling how much you agree or disagree with each statement. For each statement, choose “Strongly Disagree,” “Mostly Disagree,” “Slightly Disagree,” “Slightly Agree,” “Mostly Agree,” or “Strongly Agree.”

Strongly Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Mostly Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. Women have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

5. It is important for young people to know what is going on in the world

1 2 3 4 5 6

6. It is important to correct social and economic inequality

1 2 3 4 5 6

7. It is my responsibility to get involved and make things better for society

1 2 3 4 5 6

8. People like me should participate in the political activity and decision making of our country

1 2 3 4 5 6

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by circling how often you were involved in each activity in the last year. For each statement, choose “Never did this,” “Once or twice last year,” “Once every few months,” “At least once a month,” or “At least once a week.”

Never did
this
1

Once or twice last
year
2

Once every few
months
3

At least once a
month
4

At least once a
week
5

9. Participated in a civil rights group or organization

1 2 3 4 5

10. Participated in a political party, club, or organization

1 2 3 4 5

11. Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell him/her how you felt about a particular social or political issue

1 2 3 4 5

12. Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting

1 2 3 4 5

13. Participated in a human rights, gay rights, or women’s rights organization or group

1 2 3 4 5

STOP

APPENDIX G

Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale (REMS)

Instructions: Think about your experiences with race. Please read each item and think of how many times this event has happened to you in the PAST SIX MONTHS.

0 = I did not experience this event.

1 = I experienced this event 1 time in the past six months.

2 = I experienced this event 2 times in the past six months.

3 = I experienced this event 3 times in the past six months.

4 = I experienced this event 4 times in the past six months.

5 = I experienced this event 5 or more times.

1. I was ignored at school or at work because of my race.
2. Someone's body language showed they were scared of me, because of my race.
3. Someone assumed that I spoke a language other than English.
4. I was told that I should not complain about race.
5. Someone assumed that I grew up in a particular neighborhood because of my race.
6. Someone avoided walking near me on the street because of my race.
7. Someone told me that she or he was colorblind.
8. Someone avoided sitting next to me in a public space (e.g., restaurants, movie theaters, subways, buses) because of my race.
9. Someone assumed that I would not be intelligent because of my race.
10. I was told that I complain about race too much.
11. I received substandard service in stores compared to customers of other racial groups.
12. I observed people of my race in prominent positions at my workplace or school.
13. Someone wanted to date me only because of my race.
14. I was told that people of all racial groups experience the same obstacles.
15. My opinion was overlooked in a group discussion because of my race.
16. Someone assumed that my work would be inferior to people of other racial groups.
17. Someone acted surprised at my scholastic or professional success because of my race.
18. I observed that people of my race were the CEOs of major corporations.
19. I observed people of my race portrayed positively on television.
20. Someone did not believe me when I told them I was born in the US.
21. Someone assumed that I would not be educated because of my race.
22. Someone told me that I was "articulate" after she/he assumed I wouldn't be.
23. Someone told me that all people in my racial group are all the same.
24. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in magazines.
25. An employer or co-worker was unfriendly or unwelcoming toward me because of my race.
26. I was told that people of color do not experience racism anymore.

27. Someone told me that they “don’t see color.”
28. I read popular books or magazines in which a majority of contributions featured people from my racial group.
29. Someone asked me to teach them words in my “native language.”
30. Someone told me that they do not see race.
31. Someone clenched her/his purse or wallet upon seeing me because of my race.
32. Someone assumed that I would have a lower education because of my race.
33. Someone of a different racial group has stated that there is no difference between the two of us.
34. Someone assumed that I would physically hurt them because of my race.
35. Someone assumed that I ate foods associated with my race/culture every day.
36. Someone assumed that I held a lower paying job because of my race.
37. I observed people of my race portrayed positively in movies.
38. Someone assumed that I was poor because of my race.
39. Someone told me that people should not think about race anymore.
40. Someone avoided eye contact with me because of my race.
41. I observed that someone of my race is a government official in my state
42. Someone told me that all people in my racial group look alike.
43. Someone objectified one of my physical features because of my race.
44. An employer or co-worker treated me differently than White co-workers.
45. Someone assumed that I speak similar languages to other people in my race.

Items 12, 18, 19, 24, 28, 37, 41 are reverse scored.