

Spring 2017

Cross-Racial Trust Factors: Exploring the Experiences of Blacks Who Have Had White Mentors in the Counseling Profession

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CROSS-RACIAL TRUST FACTORS: EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACKS
WHO HAVE HAD WHITE MENTORS IN THE COUNSELING PROFESSION

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Old Dominion University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COUNSELING

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

April 2017

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ABSTRACT

CROSS-RACIAL TRUST FACTORS: EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACKS
WHO HAVE HAD WHITE MENTORS THEY TRUST IN THE COUNSELING
PROFESSION

Eric M. Brown
Old Dominion University, 2016
Director: Dr. Tim Grothaus

The primary researcher conducted a phenomenological study on cross-racial trust factors between Black doctoral students ($n = 10$) and their White mentors within the counseling profession. Three participants identified having a White professor as a mentor; two participants identified having White supervisors as mentors; five of the participants reported having both faculty members and supervisors as White mentors. Through semi-structured interviews, the primary researcher sought to ascertain what factors engendered cross-racial trust between Black doctoral students and White mentors within the counseling profession. The research team identified four superordinate themes related to cross-racial trust: contributors to trust, reasons for mistrust, critical consciousness, and benefits of cross-racial mentoring. In addition, the research team identified 22 themes and 22 subthemes through consensual coding of the data. The findings of this study may inform multicultural competence and practice in mentoring and supervision within counselor education.

Key Words: cross-racial, trust, mentoring, supervision

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my committee, Drs. Tim Grothaus, Kaprea Johnson, and Tammi Dice for your work and invaluable input on this dissertation. Tim, I chose you as my chair because you are a White person I trust. You are also my primary role model as a counselor educator and mentor. I deeply appreciate your dedication to social justice advocacy and multicultural competency. Your mentorship has embodied the support and challenge you taught in supervision class. The tireless work and discipline you put into this dissertation was a gift, reminding me that my scholarship is worth the effort. Tammi, I've been able to witness your deep dedication to social justice and am thankful to have been your GA for two years. Kaprea, you have always kept it real and I greatly appreciate that about you.

To my cohort, Amber Jolly, Kristy Carlisle, Marina Kuzmina, Marla Newby, Mary Roberts, Mike Kalkbrenner, Sandy Griffith, Sonia Ramrakhiani, Traci Richards, and Zach Scully, I could not have asked for a better group to share this journey with over the past three years. I would like to especially thank Kristy and Mike for being a part of my research team and cheering me on.

To Marina Kuzmina, Joanna Darlene Ajex, and Shreya Shukla, our prayer times over this past year have provided me the fellowship, inspiration, and encouragement I have needed to complete this project, we have witnessed Heaven touching earth.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, A.R. Maytubby, a Church of Christ minister who engaged in positive cross-racial relationships with Whites despite the racism he experienced daily because he believed in the Kingdom of God. Finally, to my parents John and Aurelia Brown and sister Tabitha, you have always been my loudest cheerleaders. I have never doubted your love or desire for my good. I pray I have represented us well.

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Chapter I

Introduction

This phenomenological study will examine cross-racial trust factors between Blacks and Whites within the counseling profession. Cross-racial mentoring dyads will be the context of the trusting relationships and Black doctoral students will be interviewed concerning their experience of trust with White mentors. The primary researcher's goal is to contribute to the multicultural literature by generating knowledge about what occurs psychologically and relationally in positive Black-White mentoring relationships in the counseling profession.

Racism in the Counseling Profession

William Richardson, a Black Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Northwestern University, in a moment of frustration, asked on Twitter if anyone else had “considered throwing hands w/ a white student/prof for saying some wild racist stuff in class” (Zamudio-Suarez, 2016, para. 3). Hundreds of minority students and faculty responded. Richardson believed the overwhelming response was a result of the silent suffering that many students and faculty of color go through in academia. Richardson stated that although academics in the social sciences believe they are beyond the racism of typical society, the experiences of minority faculty and students of color tell a different story.

Although both the ethical code and academic accrediting body for the counseling profession call for greater racial inclusivity, research suggests that racism is prevalent in both counselor education and the counseling profession (Boysen, 2010; Henfield, Woo, & Washington; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). Boysen (2010) found that despite their stated values, White counselors have implicit racial bias against Blacks. Scholars in the counseling profession have found in numerous studies that White therapists over and

misdiagnose Black patients and are guilty of racial microaggressions (Haskins et al., 2013; Hayes, Prosek, & McLeod, 2010; Jordan, Lovett, & Sweeton, 2011; Stambaugh & Ford, 2015).

Researchers have also found that Black doctoral students and faculty within the counseling profession consistently report experiences of racism despite the profession's rhetoric of social justice advocacy and calls for cultural inclusivity (Alvarez, Blume, Cervantes, & Thomas, 2009; Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). As a result of these experiences, cultural mistrust may be a reasonable response for Blacks within the counseling profession.

Cultural Mistrust

Cultural mistrust describes the suspicion that some ethnic minority groups have of White persons in the United States (U.S.) as a result of historical and present day racism (Whaley, 2001a, 2001b, 2012). Blacks and Native Americans tend to rank highest on levels of cultural mistrust as compared to other ethnic minorities in the U.S. Black psychologists have described cultural mistrust as a healthy adaptive factor that protects Black persons from potential harm resulting from being naïve in relation to White racism (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Bell & Tracey, 2006; Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009). Yet, Bell and Tracey (2006) note that high levels of cultural mistrust can be detrimental to a Black person's psychological health. Another negative consequence of high levels of suspicion may possibly be a reluctance to build growth fostering cross-racial relationships with Whites of good will.

Psychologists have studied the implications of cultural mistrust within the therapeutic relationship (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 2001a, 2001b, 2012). Blacks are less likely to utilize mental health care as a result of suspicion of White clinicians (Lo, Cheng, & Howell, 2014). This mistrust is well founded in light of the inequitable treatment received by Blacks in

healthcare, including misdiagnosis and over-diagnosis (Boulware, Cooper, Ratner, LaVeist, & Powe, 2003; Hays, Prosek, & McLeod, 2010; Holden et al., 2014; Whaley 2001a, 2001c).

Cultural mistrust has serious implications for the potential of cross-racial mentor relationships. Yet the literature lacks examinations of positive factors present in cross-racial relationships. Although the primary researcher affirms the need for further research on the potentially negative aspects of inter-ethnic encounters in the counseling profession, this dissertation seeks to contribute to the discussion by examining cross-racial relationships that have been affirming for Black persons.

Trust

Much of the literature on trust originates outside of the U.S. (Chang, Yeh & Yan, 2014; Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). These studies examine traits between parties that help to create trusting relationships, such as honesty, affection, and consistency between words and actions. These scholars have also noted underlying factors within the trustee, such as having positive relational experiences in one's past, as vital to the ability to build trusting relationships (Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). Research on trust factors in the U.S. is scant, the primary researcher of this study found no studies on cross-racial trust factors between Blacks and Whites in the U.S.

Implications for Counselor Education

The American Counseling Association's (ACA) Code of Ethics (2014) calls for greater inclusion of ethnic minority groups, as well as increased multicultural competency in counseling, teaching, and research. The Council for Accreditation of Counseling & Related Education Programs (CACREP) 2016 standards call for counseling departments to seek diversity within both their student bodies as well as faculty. Yet, Brooks and Steen (2010) found that most

counseling departments not only lacked ethnic diversity in their faculty but had no plan to recruit and retain faculty of color. Johnson, Bradley, and Knight (2007) found that Blacks are underrepresented in counseling faculty across the country.

Brooks and Steen (2010) interviewed 12 Black male faculty members and found that they felt a greater sense of pressure was placed on them to function as minority representatives on campus in ways that may possibly hurt their advancement professionally. Holcomb-McCoy and Addison-Bradley (2005) found, in a mixed-method study, that though most Black counselor educators were satisfied with their career choice, they believed that systemic racism was prevalent in their departments. These participants felt unappreciated and suspected that there was a glass ceiling that hindered their procurement of tenure. Henfield, Woo, and Washington (2012) discovered, in a qualitative study of 11 Black doctoral students, that the majority felt isolated and disconnected from their peers and the department. These students spoke of not having mentoring relationships in their department.

As a result of the lack of minority faculty members, cross-racial mentoring may be a potential avenue to increase the number of Black doctoral students and faculty within the counseling profession (Alvarez, Blume, Cervantes, & Thomas, 2009; Brinson & Kottler, 1983). Mentoring has been shown to have numerous benefits for novice professionals, including increased self-esteem, a greater sense of belonging to the profession and institution, and an increased likelihood of reaching one's academic and professional goals (Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Ghosh & Reio 2013; Lenz, 2014; Ortiz-Walters & Gilson, 2005). Though two studies have found that ethnic minority graduate students prefer mentors of color (Ortiz-Walters & Gibson, 2005; Patton, 2009), the lack of faculty of color in counseling departments (Brooks &

Steen 2010) necessitates the use of cross-racial mentoring. Yet cultural mistrust may possibly hinder the forming of potential Black-White mentoring relationships.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to examine which intra and interpersonal factors engender trust in Black-White mentoring relationships within the counseling profession. By examining trust as a factor in positive interracial mentoring relationships within counselor education programs, the researcher hopes to contribute to the promotion of cultural competency. This research may also add to the recruitment and retention of ethnic minorities into the counseling profession. Finally, this research will serve as the base for a line of research looking at trust factors between historically oppressed persons and those in more dominant positions in society.

Rational for Phenomenological Study

A phenomenological study was conducted to ascertain the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have had trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling field (Hayes & Singh, 2012). Phenomenological research examines the lived experiences of persons and the meanings they give to these experiences (Adams & van Manen, 2008). By using a phenomenological lens this study described the experience of 10 Black doctoral students in counselor education programs who have experienced cross-racial trust with White mentors.

Research Question

This study sought to answer one overarching research question and two subquestions:

What are the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have participated in or are currently in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession?

- a. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the mentors engendered cross-racial trust in the mentees?

- b. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the protégé enabled their cross-racial trust?

Role of the Researcher

I, the primary researcher, am a Black heterosexual male doctoral student in counselor education. I come from a middle-class background and have served as a Christian pastor. I believe that knowledge is unlimited and that multiple diverse voices need to be heard in order to better understand what we as humans experience as reality. I also believe that research is influenced by values and therefore the researcher's assumptions and goals should be acknowledged and bracketed to the extent possible.

I have participated in cross-racial mentoring relationships with Whites that I trust. One trait in these mentors that enabled my trust was the mentors' willingness to acknowledge White privilege and how that has influenced their lives, along with acknowledging racism and their desire to grow in multicultural awareness. I also assume that Blacks who have engaged in cross-racial mentoring relationships have had White persons in the past that they have trusted.

I led a research team of two other third year doctoral students in counselor education in an effort to increase the trustworthiness of the study. One research team member identifies as White female, heterosexual, agnostic, who comes from a middle-class background. She is 35 years old. Another member is White, male, heterosexual, atheist, and comes from a working-class background. He is 29 years old. Finally, this study will have an auditor who is a White male Counselor Educator from a socio-economically poor background. He has conducted numerous qualitative research studies. The dissertation committee is comprised of a White male chair and one Black and one White female committee members.

Overview of Methodology

The primary researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 Black doctoral students (Hays & Singh, 2012; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). These interviews were centered on the experience of cross-racial trust. Selection criteria included being a Black doctoral student who has a White mentor in the counseling profession with whom the participant experiences or has experienced trust (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang et al., 2014). The primary researcher used a social network of Black doctoral students and counselor educators as well as snowball sampling to gain participants for the study.

Potential interviewees were contacted through email and given an introduction letter explaining the study and a demographic questionnaire to fill out if they chose to participate. Initial interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes. The interviews were transcribed by a transcription service and given to participants before a follow up interview was attempted in order to seek further clarification or any additional information on their experiences of trusting a White mentor (Creswell, 2013).

The research team independently coded each transcript and came together to create a codebook based on consensus amongst team members (Hays & Singh, 2012). The research team compiled the codebook after developing codes and themes for each participant's transcript. Textural-structural descriptions from the transcripts were used to illustrate codes and themes found in the data.

Definition of Key Terms

- *Race* describes a social construct that groups people by physical features such as skin color and facial features such as eye and nose shape.
- *Black* describes a socially constructed racial designation based on biological characteristics that depict physical features that denote African ancestry. The term

Black is used in this study to denote the collective experience of persons of African descent.

- *White* is a socially constructed racial designation based on biological characteristics that depict physical features that denote European ancestry.
- *Ethnicity* is a categorization of people based on shared geographical ancestry, socio-political history, language and culture

- *Trust* has been delineated by multiple authors parsing various aspects of the concept.

Two such definitions roughly represent the types of definitions in the literature.

Cognitive trust denotes believing that a person has the knowledge or ability to help

the trustee advance. Affective trust denotes an emotional affinity as well as a

willingness to be vulnerable in relation to the other. General trust defines a person's

willingness to trust other humans universally. Specific trust denotes the willingness to

be vulnerable with a particular person.

- *Cultural Mistrust* was coined by Terrell and Terrell (1981) to describe the suspicion that persons of color have of White persons, assuming that White racism will result in ethnic minorities not being treated justly.
- *Mentoring* is defined as a relationship where the mentee or protégé receives guidance, instruction, and academic or professional development as a result of being in a relationship with a person who is more experienced in the particular area in which the relationship is centered (Breakwell, 1989).

Summary

Although psychologists recognize cultural mistrust as a protective factor for Blacks against White racism, mistrust has the potential of hindering cross-racial relationships that would

be of benefit to Black persons (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). One such beneficial cross-racial relationship is mentoring within the academic setting. In line with the CACREP 2016 standards' call for greater diversity among counseling faculty, cross-racial mentoring may help increase the number of Black Counselor Educators and leaders in the field (Brooks & Steen, 2010). Although multicultural literature is replete with descriptions of what constitutes negative Black-White encounters, there is a dearth of research on positive cross-racial relationships. This phenomenological study examined factors that engender cross-racial trust between Blacks in the counseling profession who have had White mentors that they trust.

Chapter II

Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to examine literature on topics pertinent to the study of cross-racial trust factors in mentoring relationships in the counseling profession involving Black mentees and White mentors. This chapter will begin looking at racism in the United States and how this is reflected in the helping professions in general and counselor education in particular. Then the topics of cultural mistrust, trust, and mentoring will be surveyed.

Racism in Counseling and Psychology

In 2001, David Satcher, the U.S. surgeon general, publicly denounced racial disparities in mental health care (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Satcher pointed to three inequities that people of color face: 1) lack of access, 2) poor diagnosis, and 3) inadequate treatment with regards to best practices. More than 10 years after the surgeon general's landmark report, Blacks continue to seek mental health care much less often than Whites and have higher rates of early termination (Holden et al., 2014).

Blacks have less access to mental health care, and as a result of mistrust, are less likely to utilize services when available (Lo, Cheng, & Howell, 2014). The literature attests to the cultural bias prevalent in diagnosis and treatment between White counselors and Black clients (Gushue, 2004; Hays, Prosek, & McLeod, 2010; Rosenthal, 2004; Rosenthal, Wong, Moore, Blalock, & Delambo, 2004). Whaley (2001a, 2001c) found that Black clients who mistrusted White clinicians were more likely to be misdiagnosed with pathologies such as schizophrenia. In a similar vein, Eack and Newhill (2012) examined the functioning of 925 persons who had been discharged from a psychiatric hospital after suffering from severe mental illness. A year after being discharged Blacks, regardless of diagnoses, gender, or social class, were significantly more likely to be functioning at a lower rate, according to the global functioning scale. They were also

more likely to be unemployed than their White counterparts (Eack & Newhill, 2012). Moore et al., (2016) also found that Black veterans who had been involved in rehabilitation counseling had significantly lower return to work rates than their White counterparts. This research likely reflects biases in both our society and our mental health care that need to be addressed in order to better serve the Black population (Barksdale, Kenyon, Graves, & Jacobs, 2014). The mistrust that many Blacks have of the health care system is rooted in realities of inequitable treatment outcomes and lack of trust in health care institutions (Boulware, Cooper, Ratner, LaVeist, & Powe, 2003).

Gushue (2004) found that after controlling for social desirability, White counseling and clinical psychologists were more likely to rate fictitious Black clients in a case study as having more severe symptoms than White clients with the same narrative. Hays, Prosek, & McLeod (2010) also found that White therapists diagnose ethnic minority persons more severely. In contrast to Gushue and Hays et. al., Rosenthal et. al., (2004) conducted one study that found White rehabilitation counseling graduate students did not have a cultural bias in their clinical impressions of ethnic minority clients, in fact they tended to rate Black clients as slightly less symptomatic than White clients. But that same year, Rosenthal published a study that found White rehabilitation counseling clinicians gave Black clients more severe diagnoses than White clients with the same symptoms (Rosenthal, 2004). Rahimi, Rosenthal, and Chan (2003) conducted a similar study with undergraduate Black students in rehabilitation services and found that they did not reflect a similar racial bias against Black or White clients.

Boysen's (2010) meta-analysis found that White counselors have implicit racial bias notwithstanding their expressed values for social justice and racial inclusivity. Despite their

stated intentions, the implicit biases of White counselors may be a source of microaggressions that effect the life of many persons of color (Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal, & Torino, 2008).

Microaggressions are so named as a result of actions and comments that are often viewed as benign by Whites but serve as reminders to ethnic minorities that they are seen as less than in mainstream society (Sue et al., 2008; Sue & Sue, 2007). Microaggressions are injurious for persons of color in all areas of life, no less so within the mental health professions (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Institute of Medicine, 2002). The effects of both implicit bias and microaggressions may have serious implications for the counseling profession and may result in cross-racial mistrust (Cooper et al., 2012; Sue, 2010).

Counseling literature has also highlighted negative aspects or outcomes of cross-racial relationships between Blacks and Whites, such as the over diagnosis or misdiagnosis of Black patients, lack of trust of White therapists, and racial microaggressions (Haskins et al., 2013; Jordan, Lovett, & Sweeton, 2012; Pack-Brown, 1999; Stambaugh & Ford, 2015; Whaley, 2001a, 2012). Cabral and Smith (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of studies examining ethnic matching of clients and therapists with a sample of Asian American, Black, Hispanic/Latino(a), and White clients. In regards to preference for counselor, an analysis of 52 studies showed a moderately strong preference for a therapist with an ethnicity similar to the client. Regarding perceptions of therapists, an analysis of 81 studies depicted a moderately weak likelihood that clients would rate therapist of their own ethnicity more positively than other therapists. Finally, after analyzing 53 studies of client outcomes they found practically no benefit in terms of clinical outcomes for matching clients with therapist of the same ethnicity. When the authors examined each ethnicity they found that African Americans were the only ethnic group that scored “statistically different from zero for all three analyses” (p. 543). African Americans had a very strong preference for

therapist of their same ethnicity, with an effect size of .88. African American clients' evaluations of therapists based on ethnicity was moderate with an effect size of .59, and outcomes for Black clients were slightly better with Black therapists at .19. Blacks may have good reason to desire counselors of similar ethnicity.

Given the aforementioned studies of cross-racial biases and inequities, it may be said that (1) Blacks have substantial reasons not to trust White clinicians, and (2) there is a need for Black counselors and counselor educators to work alongside other ethnicities to raise awareness of these discrepancies. The preamble to the ACA Code of Ethics (2014) states that the counseling profession values diversity and a multiculturally competent approach to counseling. The CACREP 2016 standards state that programs are required to make efforts to recruit and maintain a diverse group of students with the intent of forming an inclusive community. Furthermore, it is important that programs "...make continuous and systematic efforts to recruit, employ, and retain a diverse faculty to create and support an inclusive learning community" (p. 6).

The CACREP (2001) standards have called for greater ethnic inclusivity going as far back as the early part of this century. Yet Bradley and Holcomb-McCoy (2002, 2004) found that ethnic minorities, and Blacks specifically, were greatly underrepresented in faculty positions in CACREP programs, and even more so in tenured positions (Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). Also, most programs did not have a plan or strategy to recruit faculty of color (Brooks & Steen, 2010). Johnson, Bradley, and Knight (2007) emailed 45 CACREP doctoral programs to ascertain how many African Americans were enrolled. Twenty-nine programs (64%) responded and out of the 825 students represented in this sample 148 (17.9%) were Black. Johnson et al., conclude their article by stating that while the percentage of Blacks in doctoral programs exceeds that of the general population, Blacks are underrepresented in counselor

education faculty positions. The reasons for the disproportionately low representation of Black counselor educators cannot be fully known but the emotional climate that Blacks experience in counselor education programs may serve as a clue.

Racism in Counselor Education

Baker and Moore (2015) conducted a qualitative study with 19 doctoral students in counselor education from marginalized ethnic backgrounds. Twelve of the participants identified as either Black or African-American. The authors found that students felt pressured to play the game set up by White persons, felt the need to suppress some of their cultural identity, and believed that ethnic stereotyping was prevalent in their departments.

Henfield, Woo, and Washington (2012) conducted a phenomenological study of the experiences of 11 Black doctoral students in counselor education programs at predominately White institutions (PWI) which focused on their challenging experiences. Students spoke about feelings of isolation and peer disconnection and also feeling as if they were not an integral part of the program. These doctoral students also felt distant from or disrespected by faculty members. Their experiences speak to an overall discouraging climate that Black students encounter in programs with a predominately White faculty (Gasman, Gerstl-Pepin, Anderson-Thompkins, Rasheed & Hathaway, 2004). These students spoke about a lack of mentoring. This lack of academic and professional support could possibly be ameliorated if additional Black faculty were present (Henfield, Woo & Washington, 2012).

Gregory (2001) notes that the intersection of race and gender is particularly challenging in professions and settings such as colleges and universities where the good ol' boy system has prevailed for years. Gaining tenure is particularly difficult for Black women for many reasons including: a lack of support from colleagues; high stress levels due to experiencing various

microaggressions; as well as possessing a strong sense of familial responsibilities, often including extended family. The women in Gregory's study expressed feeling overloaded at times by the number of female students of color that they mentored and recognized this as a hindrance to obtaining tenure. Dade, Tartakov, Hargrave, and Leigh (2015), Black female academicians, describe similar experiences of disenfranchisement and feeling discouraged while working in PWI's. As a result of these stressors and barriers to tenure, many Black female faculty view the process to the professorship as designed for White males (Dade, Tartakov, Hargrave, & Leigh, 2015; Gregory, 2001). These experiences mirror those of Black male faculty within counselor education (Brooks & Steen, 2010).

Brooks and Steen (2010) interviewed 12 Black male counselor education faculty members and asked them what the implications were for having so few Black male faculty members in CACREP programs. A number of them responded by saying that it perpetuates the perception that counseling is a field for White females and therefore limits the number of Blacks, men in particular, who will be recruited into Masters programs. These men stated that having so few Black faculty in counselor education programs put a "tax" on those that are present, one participant stated "there is not enough of us to go around" (p. 148). As a result of Black faculty being so few in numbers, they are often heavily recruited and expected to be on committees that need diversity, both inside the university and in the community (Blackwell, 1989; Bradley & Holcomb-McCoy, 2004).

Participants in Brooks & Steen's (2010) study spoke of the strong pull they felt to serve the community as leaders and role models. These Black counselor educators did not perceive their White peers sensing the same pull to serve in similar ways and noted the negative

consequences that too much community involvement may have for the potential of Black faculty to gain tenure. Similarly, a Black counselor educator shared that,

You will get phone calls all the time from students, staff, and faculty across the university as well as people in the community wanting you to be a part of what is often a very good cause. But that is how you can easily get caught up in activities that will keep you from getting tenured (C. Williams, personal communication, September 15, 2014).

Holcomb-McCoy and Addison-Bradley's (2005) quantitative study found that many Black counselor educators were satisfied overall with their careers but felt it was difficult for Black faculty to gain tenure and full professorship in their programs. In addition, they often felt an absence of recognition for their achievements. Blacks who lacked job satisfaction rated racial climate as a greater component of their dissatisfaction than their academic rank and tenure (Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). This finding was similar to Bradley and Holcomb-McCoy's (2004) mixed method study on Black counselor educators' perceptions. The participants in the 2004 study indicated that there were racial barriers to promotion and tenure, racism was a reality in their department, and there was no emotional or academic support from fellow faculty members. Even at the highest level of counselor education, Blacks still experience cross-racial tensions and biases (Bradley & Holcomb-McCoy, 2004).

Whether Blacks are in the position of client, student, or faculty within the counseling profession, there is a consistent sense of experiencing discrimination. These experiences have corrosive effects on Black-White relationships which in turn may have detrimental effects on the mental health care of Blacks. One of the results of racism and inequalities in mental health care and academia has been an erosion of trust, a topic that has been studied in the fields of

psychiatry, psychology and counseling (Bell & Tracey, 2006; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Whaley, 2011).

Cultural Mistrust

In 1968, Grier and Cobbs, two African-American psychiatrists, authored the book *Black Rage* which spoke about the psychic damage resulting from the legacy of racism that African-Americans have experienced in the United States. The authors coined the term cultural paranoia to describe the mistrust that many Blacks have of White persons. Whaley (1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2012) noted that White mental health professionals have often over-diagnosed Blacks as having paranoid schizophrenia. Grier, Cobbs, and Whaley believed that this over-diagnosis was due to a lack of understanding of what many Black mental health professionals consider a healthy suspicion of White persons due to the long history of personal and systemic racism Blacks have experienced.

Terrell and Terrell (1981) coined the term cultural mistrust to describe the suspicion that ethnic minorities, particularly Blacks, have of White persons. These two psychologists believed that cultural mistrust serves as a protective defense mechanism that buffers clients from the experience of racism promulgated by White clinicians. In order to measure levels of cultural mistrust, Terrell and Terrell created the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 2002). The CMI has 48 items that are structured as a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1-completely disagree to 7-completely agree; some of the items are reversed scored (Whaley, 2002). Examples of items on the CMI include: “White politicians will promise Blacks a lot but deliver little”, “A Black person can usually trust his or her White co-workers”, “There are some Whites trustworthy enough to have as close friends.”, and “Black students can usually talk to White teachers in confidence without fear that the teacher will use it against him or her

later” (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). Higher CMI scores indicate greater mistrust of White persons. The psychometric properties of the CMI has been measured on both college and psychiatric populations with a test-retest reliability of .83, and good internal consistency with a Cronbach α = .85 (Nickerson et al., 1994; Terrell, Terrell, & Taylor, 1981; Whaley, 2002).

Watkins (1989) examined Black clients’ cultural mistrust toward White counselors. He studied the perceptions of 120 Black college students at a historically Black university, 60 males and 60 females. He conducted a 2X2X2 factorial design based on the subjects’ sex, CMI scale level, and the race of the counselor. Experimental groups were formed, one group for the top 50% scorers on the CMI and another group for the lower 50% scorers on the CMI, designated respectively as the high and low cultural mistrust group. The students were given counselor-client scenarios with only one difference in wording being “Black” or “White” as the adjective for the counselor. The authors found that students who scored higher on the CMI had lower expectations of White counselors’ ability to help them with issues such as general anxiety, dating issues, shyness, and feelings of inferiority as compared to their view of Black counselors. Notably, students who scored high on the CMI did not think either White or Black counselors were able to help them with sexual problems. This may be a result of the private nature of the issue which might require higher levels of general trust in order to share with anyone. A similar study done by Townes, Chavez-Korell, and Cunningham (2009) examining 168 African-American college students also found high levels of cultural mistrust correlated significantly with a preference for a Black counselor.

Terrell and Terrell (1984) also conducted a controlled experiment with 143 African-American clients measuring whether CMI correlated with early termination with White therapists. Three African-American male counselors and three White male counselors were used

in this study. The clients were given the CMI prior to their seeing one of the Black or White counselors. There was a significant relationship between the clients' CMI level and their likelihood of terminating a session early with a White therapist. The authors defined early termination as a client who did not come back to a second session (or any thereafter) within a three-month time frame. Whereas 25% of clients did not return to see a Black counselor, 43% did not return to see a White counselor. A limitation of this study was the small number of counselors as well as a more specific designation of premature termination.

Whaley (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) conducted a number of studies using the CMI instrument with Blacks experiencing mental illness. One study entailed 154 Black psychiatric patients, 116 males and 38 females, and examined the correlation between cultural mistrust and the diagnosis of paranoid schizophrenia by White clinicians (2001c). The Structured Clinical Interview for the DSM (SCID) was used as a more objective measure of paranoia as compared to subjective clinical diagnoses. The researchers found that there was an 83% rate of disagreement between the two methods with the more subjective forms of clinical diagnostics finding Blacks to have paranoid schizophrenia much more than those who used the SCID. Patients who scored higher on the CMI were more likely to be misdiagnosed. This study lacked a comparison group of Black clinicians.

Whaley (2001b) researched 154 Black patients in a psychiatric hospital in the northeastern U.S., 112 males and 42 females with the average age of 38 ($SD = 10$). Eighty percent of the patients had been diagnosed with a type of schizophrenia, 15% were diagnosed with bipolar, depression, a psychotic disorder, or a substance-related disorder, and 5% had no diagnosis. Whaley hypothesized that Black patients who had higher levels of mistrust would have more negative views of White clinicians. Using a regression model, Whaley found his

hypothesis confirmed. He also found that patients with higher levels of cultural mistrust believed that White clinicians had higher quality training. Whaley assumed this may be a result of the patients' perceptions of injustices in education equality.

Ross, Mirowsky, and Pribesh (2001) found that persons who feel powerless as a result of living in under resourced neighborhoods where crime is high were more likely to score higher on levels of general mistrust. This may have implications for studies on cultural mistrust as Blacks are more likely to live in such neighborhoods (Austin, 2013). But with the preponderance of injustices against Blacks committed by Whites in the U.S., scholars have argued that cultural mistrust is a healthy response in an oppressive climate (Benkert et al., 2009; Whaley, 2011).

Though possibly an adaptive reaction to a history of oppression, there may be costs associated with a lack of trust toward Whites. Children who score very low on trusting their peers have higher rates of internalized maladjustment (Rotenberg, Boulton, & Fox, 2005). Nickers, Helms, and Terrell (1994) found in a study of 105 Black college students at a PWI that higher levels of cultural mistrust resulted in lower help seeking behaviors and lower opinions of White counselors. In contrast, Bell and Tracey (2006) found that moderate levels of trust in White persons were associated with positive psychological health for 125 Black students at a PWI.

The price of cultural mistrust may also be paid in other arenas of life such as one's education and professional development. Mentoring relationships are one example of the need for cross-racial relationships within the counseling profession since most counselors and counselor educators are White (Brooks & Steen, 2010; Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012). If cross-racial mentoring relationships are desirable, learning how to build trust between Blacks and Whites within counselor education may be beneficial.

Trust

John Bowlby's work on attachment theory affirmed the need for trust in both healthy human development and in the therapeutic relationship (Larsson, 2012; Parpottas, 2012; Pistole & Fitch, 2008; Skourteli & Lennie, 2011). Although the therapeutic relationship is often written about, its meaning is largely assumed. Hobbs articulated the importance of the therapeutic relationship as lying in

...the fact that the client has a sustained experience of intimacy with another human being without getting hurt and that he or she is encouraged, on the basis of this concrete learning experience, to risk more open relationships outside of therapy (1962, p. 743).

The quality of the therapeutic relationship is a significant enough component of successful therapy that it has been established as a core common factor of successful therapy (Fonagy & Allison, 2014; GrenCavage & Norcross, 1990; Laughton-Brown, 2010; Safran & Kraus, 2014). Rapport is one aspect of the therapeutic relationship that creates the safe climate needed for the client to explore new possibilities (Frank & Frank, 1993; Jordan, 2009; Laughton-Brown, 2010). Trust is fundamental for both rapport building and the sustaining of the therapeutic relationship (Hobbs, 1962).

Hurley (2006) suggests that trust maybe more easily felt than defined, particularly when it is absent in a relationship, but he defines trust as "the confident reliance on someone when you are in a position of vulnerability" (p. 56). A distinction has also been made between rational and affective trust (Todorov, Baron, & Oosterhof, 2008). Rational trust is defined as an economic transaction which seeks the benefit of both parties, while affective trust describes a willingness to be emotionally vulnerable with another (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang, Yeh & Yang, 2014).

Chang et al., (2014) distinguished between general trust, toward humanity as a whole, and specific trust which is characterized by a willingness to be vulnerable with a specific person. In a study on general trust, Keller et al., (2015) found that persons who routinely related to others in ways that served to protect themselves from social threats scored lower on trust. This may have implications for people who have been historically marginalized and as a result routinely protect themselves from threats of bigotry (Sue et al., 2007). While the literature on cultural mistrust suggested that it is a result of White oppression of Blacks, there is a lack of research on factors that help establish cross-racial trust among Blacks towards Whites (Bell & Tracey, 2006; Grier & Cobbs, 1992; Whaley, 2011).

A few international studies on trust attempted to characterize which traits exists between trustor and trustee (Chang et al., 2014; Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). Chang, Yeh, and Yan (2014) conducted a phenomenological study of 14 Chinese persons, seeking to understand how they experienced trust in daily relationships. The participants spoke about trust as a two-way relationship, dependent on characteristics both in the trustee and the one who chooses whether or not to trust. The trustworthiness of the trustee, characterized by their honesty and the consistency of their words with their actions, was crucial to the trusting process. The participants also spoke about the trustee's sincerity and affection as being significant, particularly the trustee's benevolence, care, and willingness to sacrifice for the trustor. The participants also believed that the ability to trust was contingent on internal factors of the trustor, such as the belief or worldview of the trustor – whether they believed humans were trustworthy in general. They also spoke about the past relational experiences of the trustor, whether or not their family background either engendered trust or hindered the willingness to risk vulnerability. Finally, participants stated that a person's self-confidence was important in regards to their

ability to trust, more specifically whether a person believed they could withstand a betrayal undamaged.

Robbins (2016) conducted research on the effects that social trust, the perception that known others are generally helpful and benevolent, has on relational trust. The study entailed over 4,000 Turkish participants and found that social trust was positively related to relational trust. Participants who rated highly on social trust also measured highly on levels of relational trust. The implications of this study suggest that one's ability to trust another is influenced by one's prior relational experiences with significant others (Robbins).

Choi, Moon, and Nae (2014), three business professors, assessed cognition and affect based trust and its relation to feedback seeking behavior and learning goal orientation between 194 supervisor-supervisee pairs in three South Korean provinces. The authors define cognition trust as believing that the supervisor is competent and has the information that the supervisee needs to develop professionally. Affect trust involves a belief that the supervisor cares about the supervisee's overall well-being. A multiple regression analysis was used to look at how the two different forms of trust affected the supervisees' feedback-seeking behavior, as well as their perception of the value and cost of supervision. Not surprisingly, greater levels of cognitive trust were correlated with valuing the supervisors' information and feedback more highly, particularly for those supervisees who had high performance goal orientations. Higher levels of affect trust in supervisors both raised the value of the supervisor's feedback but also lowered the cost associated with receiving the feedback, such as loss to ego or increase in shame, specifically for supervisees who had low performance goal orientation.

Though these international studies do not deal with cross-racial trust, they may help inform a study of personal characteristics of such trust by Black mentees and White mentors in

the U.S. What was missing in the literature on trust are studies examining the perspectives of historically oppressed persons and their perspectives of trusting those in power. This parallels the study of allies for the LGBTQI community, where qualitative research that examines what makes an ally and how they develop cultural sensitivity are most often comprised of interviews of heterosexuals who identify as allies (Asta, 2013; Eichler, 2010; Fingerhut, 2011, Russell, 2011).

Although the literature lacks studies of cross-racial trust in the U.S., counselor educators have found that addressing the subjects of race, ethnicity, and oppression contribute to positive therapeutic and supervisory relationships (Burkard, Knox, Groen, Perez, & Hess, 2006; Day-Vines et al., 2007). For example, one study of 51 clients found that White counselors who discussed ethnic differences with their clients were viewed as more credible by clients of color. This led to experiencing a stronger working alliance (Zhang & Burkard, 2008). As CACREP (2016) seeks to increase the ethnic diversity of the profession, understanding factors that engender trust between Black and White counselors may be helpful. Mentoring relationships may also be one avenue of increasing ethnic diversity within the profession (Alveraz et al., 2009; Brinson & Kottler, 1993).

Mentoring

The designation of mentor originated in the Greek myth of Odysseus. When Odysseus went off to battle during the Trojan war he entrusted his son, Telemachus, to Mentor who served as a guide and parental figure (Homer & Knox, 1999). Mentors play a unique role in the development of young persons and novice professionals, often wearing the hat of friend, advisor, and colleague (Sanfey, Hollands, & Gantt, 2013). Blackwell (1989) defines mentoring as “a process by which persons of superior rank, special achievements, and prestige instruct, counsel, guide, and facilitate the intellectual and/or career development of persons identified as protégés”

(p. 9). Today, mentoring is widely recognized as an important component of academic and professional development, supporting protégés' self-esteem, work identity, and providing social and cultural capital (Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Lenz, 2014). Mentoring is credited for increasing academic success, professional growth, and increased professional identity (Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Lenz, 2014). In light of all of these benefits, it is not surprising that Hurd and Zimmerman found that informal mentoring had beneficial effects on the mental health of 615 young Black adults, helping to ameliorate depression and risky sexual activity (Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010, 2014).

Mentoring usually is divided into two categories, formal and informal (Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010, 2014). Formal mentoring is usually set up by an organization for the purpose of the maturation of young persons or budding professionals. Informal mentoring occurs when a relationship is initiated by either a more experienced person or by the one who is seeking guidance outside of any structured program (Bynum, 2015; Eller, Lev, & Feurer, 2014). Protégés report feeling institutional support as a result of formal mentoring programs (Baranik, Roling, & Eby, 2010). Informal mentoring has the advantage of a personal affinity between the dyad (Hurd & Zimmerman, 2014). Ortiz-Walters & Gilson (2005) noted that mentoring in academic settings provided three types of support. Psychosocial support addresses the insecurities of mentees and involves the bolstering of the students' or new faculties' confidence, ameliorating their anxieties, and giving them hope for the future. Instrumental support provides mentees with the day to day work and professional assistance to achieve the tasks needed to excel in the profession such as technical writing, grant proposals, and instructions on teaching. Finally, networking support provides the social and cultural capital that is needed to succeed in the field.

Allen et al., (2004), in a meta-analysis of career benefits related to mentoring, found that persons who were mentored were more likely to be satisfied in their career, had greater hopes of being successful, were more committed to their profession, had greater salary growth, and more promotions. Mentoring also has benefits for mentors. Ghosh and Reio (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of 18 studies looking at the benefits of mentoring on the mentors. They found that comprehensive mentoring (career, psychosocial, and role modeling) were correlated with greater job satisfaction, job performance and career success for mentors in contrast to non-mentors. Cross-racial mentoring can provide the added benefit of increasing the mentor's cultural competency and expanding their general cultural awareness (Brinson & Kottler, 1993).

A qualitative study of 117 mentor-protégés pairs in university settings was conducted to determine what makes for a beneficial mentoring relationship across academic disciplines (Eller et al., 2014). Several themes were identified including: an implicit trust, shared admiration, affection, challenge and support, and motivation to work toward a desirable goal. One limitation of this study was that both mentor and protégé were present during the interview which may have hindered negative aspects of the relationship being discussed openly. It is important that protégés have good experiences since bad mentoring relationships tend to discourage mentees from seeking other mentors (Eby, Butts, Durley, & Ragins, 2010).

Turban, Dougherty, and Lee (2002) studied over 200 graduate students, 68% of whom were White, and found that ethnicity of the mentor was not a statistically significant factor in terms of satisfaction for White students or students of color. In contrast, Ortiz-Walters and Gilson (2005) surveyed 163 Ph.D. business students to ascertain the experiences of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native American students who were mentored. The results indicated

that the majority of these students gained “psychosocial and instrumental support from, and are more satisfied with mentors of color” (p. 459).

In a conceptual article, Alvarez et al., (2009), articulated a vision of what is needed for White psychologists to successfully mentor students of color. He wrote about the importance of recognizing and discussing differing cultural values with the protégé, particularly those inherent in academia (which is based on middle-class European culture) that may cause cultural dissonance for the student. Alvarez encouraged mentors to recognize the importance that family plays in the identity of many persons of color and that the mentor be open to discussing the role that the mentee plays in their own family system and how this may inform the student’s professional identity. Overall, mentors need to have an acute awareness of their own racial consciousness. The authors suggest that Helms racial identity development model (Helms, 1984; Tokar & Swanson, 1991) can aid White mentors in being conscious of their own Whiteness, allow for reflection on how their race may influence their relationship with protégés of color, and be willing to speak about the racial discrimination and tensions that students of color face (Helms, 1984; Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

Patton (2009) conducted a phenomenological study with eight Black female graduate students toward the end of their degree in various disciplines, namely education, business, law, the humanities, and science. Half of these women had Black female mentors and the others had White mentors. All of the participants voiced their desire for a black female mentor. Those with Black female mentors saw them as role models and appreciated that their emotions would not likely be misconstrued when they expressed negative feelings about their experience at a predominately White university. They also appreciated that Black female mentors “kept it real” by discussing topics that some of their White professors may avoid (p. 524).

The participants also spoke about the importance of family to their identity and work but they did not feel comfortable sharing how their family life was influencing their work with White mentors. Most felt a lack of support from White mentors. “The issue of trust was mentioned by all participants. They found it difficult to establish trust in their mentoring relationships with White people and never felt comfortable sharing their full selves, which was inclusive of personal struggles” (p. 526).

Bradley and Holcomb-McCoy (2004) conducted a mixed method study with 41 Black counselor education faculty persons in CACREP programs. The quantitative aspect of the study examined the demographics of where Black counselor educators worked and lived. The qualitative portion of the study asked these faculty members about their experience of being Black in counselor education programs. The results were not positive. Many of the faculty persons spoke of the particular stressors they experienced, many of which could have been ameliorated by having a good mentor. One participant stated, “There was no capable or credible mentor in my department to guide me in the tenure process” (Bradley & Holcomb-McCoy, p. 266.) Another said, “Don’t depend on someone inviting you to mentorship—ask for what you need” (p. 266). A number of Black faculty members said they believed the unspoken rules and processes for tenure and full professorship were hidden from them. They also stated that they were not invited into research projects by their White peers. Bradley and Holcomb-McCoy suggest that one of the reasons Black faculty may lack mentors is that their interests may not align with those of White faculty, an ingredient found to be significant in the development of mentoring relationships. One limitation to this study was that it only asked faculty from CACREP accredited programs.

Farrell's (2007) dissertation examined personal experiences of mentoring among doctoral students in counselor education. This study involved 65 participants, 46 White and 8 Black, who were asked what the most important aspect of their mentoring experience. Farrell found that a dominant theme that ran through doctoral counseling students' descriptions of their mentors was that they were genuine. These genuine relationships were described as fostering feelings of acceptance, mentors being honest about "the profession and departmental politics," and supportive of their efforts (p. 144). Mentees also spoke about the importance of the mentors connecting them with their social networks. Farrell also found commonality to be a theme in mentoring relationships. Many of the participants in this study felt that the "relationships also involved similarities in personal characteristics, values, and beliefs" (Farrell, 2007, p. 154). Alvarez et al. (2009) notes that one of the reasons that cross-racial mentoring relationships do not happen as readily is because mentor-mentee relationships are often comprised of persons with similarities in professional interest and experiences. This may make it more difficult for Black counseling students to find growth fostering mentoring relationships.

Brinson and Kottler (1993) believed cross-racial mentoring provided the psychological, social, and political support that graduate students or new faculty members need to progress in the counseling profession. Mentoring faculty of color is a significant way that counseling programs can produce and retain additional Black faculty (Gregory, 2001). Therefore, research is needed to support cross-racial mentoring.

The literature on mentoring students of color appeared to be in general agreement that cross-racial mentoring is needed due to the lack of faculty of color (Brinson & Kottler, 1993; Chan, Yeh, & Krumboltz, 2015; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2004; Woods et al., 2013). Researchers also acknowledge that cultural mistrust is a significant hurdle in mentoring as stated

by Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2004): “Certainly, the foundation of any successful mentoring relationship is trust. However, establishing trust in a cross-cultural mentoring relationship is a major issue in development of such relationships, more so than in same-race mentoring relationships” (p. 11). There is an absence of literature pertaining to trust factors between Whites and Blacks in general, and to cross-racial mentoring relationships specifically.

Gasman et al., (2004) used narrative inquiry to understand their experiences of “transgressing race and status in the academy” (p. 689) as two White female faculty members and three Black doctoral students (two female and one male) in a department of Higher Education at a predominately White university. Gasman and Gerstl-Pepin, two White female faculty persons, discussed the dismissal and disrespect of Black graduate students that they perceived from their discussions with other white faculty members. Gasman and Gerstl-Pepin were hearing from White peers the racist assumptions and perceptions that validated what they were hearing from their Black students in class when they would talk about their experience in the university setting. Gasman and Gerstl-Pepin felt a need to collaborate with Black doctoral students in order to record their experiences, both as White faculty and Black students, of bringing up racial injustice and the Black academic experience in the university. The authors stated:

...little has been written from the perspective of graduate students and faculty working in collaboration—across race and status lines. The absence of such collaboration is itself a signal that we need to address the complexities of how race and status collude to create difficult learning situations for African-American students and the faculty who work with them. (Gasman et al., 2004, p. 690)

In their article entitled “Negotiating power, developing trust: Transgressing race and status in the academy,” the authors repeatedly stressed their need to build trust with the three Black doctoral students involved in this project as they understood the precarious position that the doctoral students were in, working on a project that spoke to their experiences of racism with White faculty members. The Black doctoral students were initially resistant to work with the two White professors due to past experiences of racism with other White faculty members and not knowing either of the professors well. One of the students stated their reason for taking a chance:

I think the willingness on the part of the professors to take risks and put themselves out there and to share their own experiences, whether in graduate school or in facilitating classroom experience, enabled us to get to a place where we felt comfortable and at ease sharing and collaborating in the way that we have.
(p. 706)

Gasman et al., conducted this study out of a desire to better understand how White faculty members can join with Black doctoral students in ways that can encourage the latter's academic development. In summation, Gasman and Gerstl-Pepin wanted to better understand how they could become allies for Black doctoral students and they discovered that trust is imperative to this endeavor (Gasman et al., 2004).

The research is scant on the power differential that exists between professors and students, yet scholars recognize that graduate students are highly cognizant of the danger of discordant relationships with faculty advisors (Bartlett & Mercer, 2000; Hagenauer & Volet, 2014; McLeod, 2011; Seale, 2010). For this reason, trust may possibly be all the more imperative within cross-racial mentoring in academic settings.

Summary

Racism continues to plague the U.S., and remains a concern in academic and mental health fields and results in a significant amount of Black cultural mistrust towards Whites (Alexander, Hearld, & Mittler, 2014; Bell & Tracey, 2006; Benkert, Hollie, Nordstrom, Wickson, & Bins-Emerick, 2009; Brooks & Steen, 2010; Whaley, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2011). Most of the research on Black-White relationships has examined what is wrong, such as racism, microaggressions, and the various forms of discrimination that Blacks suffer in the U.S. (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Dade et al., 2015; Gomez, Khurshid, Freitag, & Lachuk, 2011). Although the fields of positive psychology and positive counseling have been with us for the past two decades, there is a dearth of literature on positive cross-racial relationships (Lopez, 2008). By examining positive cross-racial relationships, specifically trust between Black students and White faculty mentors, this study hopes to contribute to an understanding of growth fostering cross-racial trust within the counseling profession.

Chapter III

Methodology

Mentoring has been shown to increase scholastic success, contribute to a sense of belonging in the institution, and assist in the attainment of tenure (Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Lenz, 2014). In spite of all of these benefits, many persons of color report feeling left out of mentoring circles (Alvarez et al. 2009; Patton 2009). With the disproportionately low number of faculty or supervisors of color in the counseling field, there is a need for students of color to be mentored by White faculty members (Brinson & Kottler, 1993; Gregory 2001; Johnson, Bradley, Knight, & Brandshaw, 2007). Yet one hindrance to successful mentoring experiences between Black academics and White faculty or supervisors is cultural mistrust (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2004; Woods et al., 2013). Although mistrust has been examined, there is a lack of counseling literature focused on trust factors present in cross-racial relationships. This study seeks to contribute to the discussion by examining growth fostering professional relationships between Black and White counseling professionals. Specifically, this inquiry features a phenomenological investigation of the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who experience or have experienced trust as part of positive mentoring relationships with White counseling professionals.

Purpose

By examining trust as a factor in positive interracial mentoring relationships within counselor education programs, the researcher hopes to contribute knowledge in the promotion of cultural competency. This research may also add insights for the enhanced recruitment and retention of ethnic minorities into the counseling profession. Finally, this research may serve as

the foundation for a line of research looking at trust factors between historically oppressed persons and those in more dominant positions in society.

Rationale for Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has the capacity to give voice to the perceptions and experiences of persons who are affected by a particular occurrence (Hays & Singh, 2012). This study proposes to elucidate the lived experiences of Black students and faculty in the counseling profession who have chosen to trust White mentors. Given the need for cross-racial mentoring, it appears necessary to encourage Black-White relationships for the purpose of recruiting and retaining Black counseling faculty and leaders in the field. (Brinson & Kottler, 1993; Johnson, Bradley, Knight, & Bradshaw, 2007). One way of encouraging these cross-racial mentoring dyads is to examine the experiences of marginalized persons who have benefited from being in mentoring relationships with Whites within the counseling profession. Qualitative research also allows for the voices of marginalized persons to be expressed for the purposes of scholarship and to guide action that seeks to ameliorate various social conditions (Hays & Singh, 2012; McNiff, 2013). In this study, Blacks in the counseling field will be given the opportunity to voice their experiences of mentoring relationships with Whites. One hope for this research is that counseling professionals will better understand the dynamics of a positive, trusting cross-racial mentoring relationship.

Qualitative research allows for a phenomenon to be investigated from a social constructionist paradigm, which understands truth as being derivative of the perspectives of communities, which may differ depending on their social locations (Merriam, 2002; Moustakas, 1994). Qualitative research also has the strength of being contextual, recognizing the various demographic variations that create unique experiences for people (Hays & Singh, 2012;

Creswell, 2013). Therefore, the inductive approach of qualitative research allows for the researcher to construct themes and categories from the data gathered which can then better reflect the perspectives of those who do not have prominent voices in academic scholarship (Hays & Singh, 2012; Merriam, 2002). Specifically, the influences of Black experiences of historical and contemporary racism on their decisions to trust White mentors may be better captured by a qualitative study (Bradley & Holcomb-McCoy, 2004). One of the goals of this study will be to elucidate why Blacks in the counseling profession, despite the current racial climate, have chosen to voluntarily participate in trusting relationships with White counselor educators.

Rationale for Phenomenology

Edward Husserl (1859-1935), known as the father of phenomenology, examined the existential experiences of persons in the aftermath of World War I in Europe (Hays & Singh, 2012). Husserl believed that the human experience could not be adequately grasped by positivist approaches to understand mental well-being. Martin Heidegger, also influential in phenomenological philosophy, was interested in the “lifeworld” of a person, their “way-of-being-in-the-world,” of having contact with and interacting with life prior to prescribed theory and categorization (p. 617).

Research from a phenomenological tradition is a study of “lived or experiential meaning and attempts to describe and interpret these meanings in the ways that they emerge” (Adams & van Manen, 2008, p. 614). This research tradition gives priority to how persons consciously experience and interact with their reality, taking note of the inner dialogue between the participant and their world. The goal of the phenomenological researcher is to describe experience and reflect on that experience without valuing it as good or bad (Overgaard, 2015).

Those who are interviewed are considered co-researchers. The interviewee is understood to be the expert about their experiences from which the primary researcher gleans information (Hays & Singh, 2012). The researcher utilizes epoche, the suspension of assumption or judgment, in order to portray the existential encounter of the person with their world while reducing researcher bias (Overgaard, 2010). With epoche, the researcher comes to a phenomena without framing it according to theories or frameworks found in the literature (Moustakas, 1994).

Within the phenomenological tradition, the researcher examines the unique lived experiences of individuals and looks for common and divergent experiences across a number of persons' narratives (Cornett-Devito & Worley, 2005). "A powerful phenomenological text thrives on a certain irrevocable tension between what is unique and what is shared between particular and transcendent meaning" (Adams & van Manen, 2008, p. 616).

Phenomenology came into greater interest in North America with the rise of studies on ethnic minorities (Adams & van Manen, 2008). I will be using a phenomenological lens to give voice to Black experiences of trusting White mentors within the academic discipline of counseling. Brinson and Kottler (1993) suggest that mentorship is a viable path toward the recruitment and retention of Black faculty. This phenomenological study will attempt to describe the experiences of Blacks who have had positive trusting mentoring relationships with White counselor educators and/or supervisees. I hope to contribute to an understanding of positive Black-White relationships in general, and an understanding of Black-White trust factors in particular.

Research Questions

This study sought to answer one overarching research question and two sub questions:

What are the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have

participated or are participating in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession?

- a. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the mentors engendered cross-racial trust in the mentees?
- b. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the protégé enabled their cross-racial trust?

Role of the Researcher

My ontological perspective is that the experiences and therefore reality of participants are subjective and contextual (Hays & Singh, 2012; Ponterotto, 2005). Epistemologically, I believe that what is considered knowledge is culturally influenced and that reality is comprised of various perspectives as a result of differing life experiences. In regards to axiology, I believe that all research is embedded with values and so should be acknowledged. My rhetorical preference for this research team will be that the voice of the participants will be used as much as possible in articulating their experiences and that the methodology of this study will be inductive, consistent with qualitative research.

In qualitative research, it is important for the researcher to explicitly state “their biases, values, and personal interest about their research topic and process” (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). As the lead researcher and a Black doctoral student in counselor education, I am what Lynda Baker calls a “complete member” of the group that I am studying (Baker, 2006, p. 178). Not only do I consider myself a mentee of three White counselor educators but I am also an advocate for mentorship and positive Black-White relationships. For this reason, it was particularly important for me to attempt to bracket my assumptions about why Blacks trust White mentors.

I interviewed peers, both those I had been in relationship with prior and those I met through this process. Within these relationships, I have felt a bond or kinship as a Black person on the path to become a counselor educator. As a result of these relationships, it was important for me to be conscious of maintaining my formal role as researcher (Leckie, 2008). I achieved this by following the interview protocol as closely as was beneficial for capturing the participants' lived experiences. I also included probing questions that deepened the understanding and clarified the meaning of participants' experiences.

As a Black doctoral candidate in a counseling program, I am an insider in relation to the group I interviewed. I am also male, heterosexual, middle-class, and a former Christian pastor. I can identify four mentors that I have had during my academic career, three of which were White. As a result of personal experience, I believed that one of the reasons Black mentees would share for trusting White mentors is the comfort with which their mentors were willing to talk about race and racism. I also believed that these White mentors appeared to take an interest in the academic and professional development of the protégé. Furthermore, I assumed that the participants would value that the White mentors acknowledged White privilege. Finally, I assumed that trust in White mentors will have been shaped considerably by past experiences with Whites in power, particularly those in educational settings.

Gearing (2008) states that "bracketing is a scientific process where a researcher suspends or holds in abeyance his or her presuppositions, biases, assumptions, theories, or previous experiences to see and describe the essence of a specific phenomenon" (p. 63). The researcher kept a reflexive journal through the research project in hope of fostering an internal dialogue between his own preconceived assumptions and what was being discovered in the research process (LeVasseur, 2003). Due to the subjective nature of personal experience and the influence

that the researcher may have on study participants, it is imperative that the researcher conducts the study with great intentionality and consciousness. Leckie (2008) categorizes the role of the researcher into two parts, tacit roles and interactionist roles. The tacit role of the researcher is that of the educated academic professional who comes to the research project with a body of knowledge and experience that helps to guide research practice. I have been engaged in multicultural counseling research and will bring this knowledge into this project.

The interactionist role concerns how the researcher engages with study participants, how she or he proceeds in relating with participants in order to collect data. The interactionist role is influenced by the positionality of the researcher in relation to the persons being studied, such as whether the researcher is a member of the group being studied or if the researcher has a prior relationship with the participants (Leckie, 2008). I am what Tinker and Armstrong (2008) call an insider, in that I am an African-American counselor and doctoral student who has White mentors.

Research Team

A research team was assembled to help maximize trustworthiness as research team members will serve as a check on the biases and assumptions of the researcher during the data analysis process (McGinn, 2008). To ensure credibility, the research team stated and discussed their suppositions in order to bracket assumptions. I, as the primary researcher, functioned as the team leader, provided the transcriptions, gave instructions on Moustakas' coding process described below, and organized the codes and themes that emerged from consensual agreement. The research team comprised of two third year doctoral students in Counselor Education, both of whom have taken a doctoral level qualitative research class, one has also completed an advanced qualitative course.

The primary researcher is the only Black person on the research team, the only insider of the group being studied. One team member is a U.S. Citizen, White, 34-year-old heterosexual female, who identifies as agnostic, and grew up middle-class. Her assumptions include a belief that having a long-term relationship will be central to cross-racial trust, with the mentor and mentee having similar professional interests. The other team member is also a U.S. Citizen, a 30-year-old White male, who identifies as atheist and grew up working middle-class. His bias includes the assumption that the mentor had spent time with the participant, shown empathy toward them, and acknowledged their White privilege. Both research team members have taken masters and doctoral level multicultural classes.

The primary researcher chose to allow both research team members to first identify what codes and themes they found in the data. After the research team agreed on the codes and themes found by the first two researchers, the primary researcher had very few new themes to introduce. The primary researcher went last in the order of theme presentations with the hopes of not unduly influencing the consensus coding as a result of his being the only Black member and primary researcher. All research team members agreed that consensual coding and developing of themes occurred relatively quickly and without significant disagreement due to the similarity of statements, thoughts, and experiences found in the data. I used an external auditor to oversee the project for its confirmability; a White male who is a Career Center Director who has published research on multicultural concerns in counseling. He has been a counselor educator for over four years, and has led qualitative research studies.

Research Plan

I conducted interviews with Black doctoral counseling students using an in-depth semi-structured format (Hays & Singh, 2012; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Selection criteria included

being a Black doctoral counseling student who had a mentoring relationship with a White mentor whom the mentee trusted (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang et al., 2014). Black doctoral students were chosen due to the power differential between students and their supervisors or professors (Hagenaue & Volet, 2014; McLeod, 2011). This power imbalance creates a context for greater vulnerability between student and supervisor/faculty.

The criteria of being in or having been in a cross-racial mentoring relationship was used since professional mentoring relationships can be effective in enhancing academic and professional development of Black doctoral students (Chan, Yeh, & Krumboltz, 2015; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2004; Woods et al., 2013). Mentoring was defined as a relationship where the mentee receives guidance, instruction, and academic or professional development as a result of being in a relationship with a person who is more experienced in a particular area (Blackwell, 1989).

I am currently connected to an informal social network of Black counselor educators and doctoral students. I was introduced to this network through personal introductions at conferences and email exchanges centered on common research interest and informal mentoring. Accessing this network, I used both convenience and snowball sampling to recruit interviewees (Creswell, 2013; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). From these contacts, I used snowball sampling to contact Black doctoral students. Potential participants were contacted through email, given a synopsis of this study with the selection criteria, and asked to participate. Convenience and snowball sampling generated enough participants.

Creswell (2013) emphasizes the need for ethical considerations to be considered in order to respect the study's participants, protect the privacy of interviewees, and maintain the overall trustworthiness of the study. The data collection methods, analysis, and write up of this study as

described below sought to uphold the guidelines defined in the ACA code of ethics. The details of the research plan below were all designed with the ACA's ethical standards in mind.

Data Collection Methods

The primary researcher sought exempt status from the College of Education Human Subjects Review Committee at Old Dominion University before beginning the process of data collection. I emailed all potential interviewees. Those who were willing to participate in the study received an informed consent form electronically as well as a demographic sheet (Hays & Singh, 2012). The demographic sheet was comprised of questions concerning their (a) race or ethnicity, (b) gender, (c) age, and (d) socio-economic status of their family of origin. Interviewees chose or were assigned a pseudonym for the purpose of final reporting.

Individual interviews are the primary form of data collection for social research in general and phenomenological studies in particular as it allows participants to describe in detail their lived experiences (Breakwell, 2006; Creswell, 2012, 2013). While interviewing participants, I sought their input on not only their personal experience with the phenomena examined but allowed the interview to shape questions that would be asked of other participants (Hays & Singh, 2012).

I sought to interview at least eight persons, which meets Creswell's description of phenomenological studies "typically ranging from three to ten" participants (2013, p. 189). This number of participants was chosen in order to reach a saturation point with the data, where the research team perceives no new codes or themes are found (Charmaz, 2006; Hayes & Singh, 2012). I choose to interview two more participants, for a total of 10, to reach Creswell's upper number for participants. A follow up interview was attempted with each participant as an extensive form of member checking to ensure the validity of their responses. This follow up

interview also invited them to add additional insights that may have occurred after the first interview. Moustakas (1994) proposes that the purpose of a phenomenological study is to understand the lived experiences of a group of people. The primary researcher asked open ended questions to illicit broad descriptions of the participants' lived experiences. In an effort to accurately depict the experiences of the participants, I used participant quotes in the final manuscript in order to reduce the influence of the research teams' biases on the persons lived experiences (Overgaard, 2015).

Sampling Procedures

Once the study was approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee, I accessed participants through convenience and snowball sampling (Hays & Singh, 2012) as I am in a social network with several Black counselor educators and doctoral students (Creswell, 2013; Hunt, 2011). I asked members in this social network for a list of names and emails of Black doctoral students who may have fit the selection criteria. Potential participants were emailed and given an invitation to participate in this research with a cover letter explaining the study along with the criteria for participation (Appendix C). A demographic questionnaire was included in the email for those who volunteered to participate through a video interview (Appendix A). I brought the demographic questionnaire to the face to face interviews. Finally, an informed consent form was given for participants to sign (Appendix D). James (2014) provided a rationale for email interviews to provide participants "space to think and time to talk" (p. 150). In order to give participants time for reflection on the questions I would ask, I emailed the interview protocol 48 hours in advance of the interview (Appendix B).

Interview Procedures

Lincoln and Guba (1985) noted that interviews are a primary data source in order to get at the “here-and-now” experiences of participants (p. 268). I conducted purposeful semi-structured interviews, a method used in other phenomenological studies with Black scholars in counselor education (Brooks & Steen, 2010). I then attempted a follow up interview with each participant, allowing them to expound or further explain responses that were given (Creswell, 2013). The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by a transcription service (Creswell, 2013). The primary researcher used a transcription service for the purpose of quickly returning the transcriptions to the participants for member checking, prior to the follow up interview. The primary researcher also used a transcription service in conjunction with consensus coding so that he would not feel as if he knew the data better than the research team.

The interview protocol consisted of a series of 12 questions for the first interview and a series of three questions for the second interview (Appendix B) with probing questions as needed in order to gather a thick description of their experiences, allowing the participants to expand on their responses (Hays & Singh, 2012). Interview questions focused on factors within the mentee and within the mentoring relationship that engendered trust. Interviews were conducted by the primary researcher and lasted between 30 to 60 minutes (Hays & Singh, 2012).

Interviewing through the use of technology is becoming more common and accepted in qualitative research (Gleason, 2015; Siedman, 2013; Sullivan, 2012). The lead researcher attempted to do as many interviews face to face as possible but used video technology in order to not be restricted by geographical distance. The primary researcher used the internet software Adobe®Connect™ for video interviews, utilizing a secure connection to protect the confidentiality of participants.

Data Analysis

The three steps of phenomenological method are: (1) description, (2) reduction, and (3) interpretation (Cornett-Devito & Worley, 2005). Description, or data gathering, seeks to “capture the persons’ experience” and the meaning they give to that experience (Cornett-Devito & Worley, 2005, pg. 318). The goal is to capture and articulate the phenomena without explaining it. Reduction involves the researcher looking to find the threads and common themes that run through the experiences of the persons interviewed. During this phase the researcher analyzes transcripts to reduce the data to codes and themes (Cornett-Devito & Worley, 2005). Interpretation is a part of the reduction process, occurring in a cyclical pattern with data analysis.

A transcription service was used to create a word for word transcription. The transcription service signed a nondisclosure/confidentiality agreement and the audio and transcript was password protected to comply with HIPPA guidelines. A copy of the transcription was emailed to the participant. I then conducted a second interview within a week of the transcription being sent. During this second interview, I gave the participant an opportunity to clarify and expound on previous responses or add information as well as ask potential follow up questions. The second interview was transcribed word for word and added to the initial transcript and given to research team prior to data analysis. The research team believed that second interviews did not contain enough information for the transcriptions to be member checked.

I instructed each research team member on the coding of the transcripts. Each member analyzed the data and created codes and themes independently using textural descriptions to verify their coding. The research team members independently engaged in horizontalization of the codes prior to constructing themes. After the second transcript, all members met to ensure that the coding process was uniformed. The research team met again after the 8th transcript and the 10th.

The team employed Moustakas' (1994) process of data analysis for phenomenological studies. Horizontalization was used to capture the participants' experience. This involved identifying codes that were similar and considering each code as holding similar importance. Redundant codes were then eliminated (Lorelle, 2010; Moustakas, 1994). Participants' descriptions that were relevant to the phenomena were then listed by each research team member. Next, each team member grouped phenomenological descriptions into large categories. Then, the team member categorized non-repeating meaning units related to the unique experiences of each participant. This was followed by each team member creating clusters and themes from data. These groupings were then turned into emic and etic codes.

Next, the team engaged in reduction and elimination of meaning units based on whether they were "necessary and sufficient for understanding the phenomena," (Moustakas, 1994, p. 120) guided by 1) the research questions, 2) repetitive themes found in the data, and 3) saturation of the data as evidenced by the repetition of statements. The research team met and each team member presented the individual codes with textural descriptions from each individual transcript. The research team then decided if the code had sufficient backing based on the textural descriptions in the data. Textual descriptions were then categorized with quotes from participants elucidating their meaning and depth (Hays & Singh, 2012). Next the research team compared meaning units across transcripts. Negative case analysis was used in an attempt to acknowledge the diverse and potentially conflicting experiences of participants (Morse, 2015). Finally, the team created textural-structural descriptions based on meaning units that were found while looking for similarities and tensions across data from participants.

Hayes and Singh (2012) recommend the creation of multiple codebooks to serve as a reference guide as the research team navigates considerable amounts of data. The research team

created an initial codebook after analysis of the first four transcripts and a second and final codebook after the eighth and tenth transcripts with textural-structural descriptions to verify codes and themes (Moustakas, 1994). Themes were entered into the final codebook based on consensus coding, which required all three research team members to agree on a code (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to increase the trustworthiness of the presentation of the data, a minimum of two participants sharing a similar response was required for a theme or subtheme to be created (Tang, 2014). The research team constructed themes based on patterns found in the codes. Themes described broader relationships between codes that are found in the data (Hays & Singh, 2012). Subthemes described less prominent yet verifiable coding patterns. As Creswell (2013) states, these themes were derived from the data, were supported by quotations, and some were used as categories in the final presentation of the data. A frequency count (Hays & Singh, 2012) of the codes and themes were included in the manuscript to give a clear depiction of how many of the participants articulated a thought or experience.

I led the research team in this process, explaining each step in turn. The analysis involved a recursive process where themes from each subsequent transcript were compared to available data that had been gathered. With the use of consensus coding, no textural-structural themes were included in the final codebook without agreement from all three research team members (Hays & Singh, 2012).

Trustworthiness Strategies

Trustworthiness refers to the validity of the study, the degree to which the findings are an accurate reflection of the participants' voices and perspectives (Hunt, 2011). In this study trustworthiness was defined by these criteria: credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability (Given & Saumure, 2008). Credibility refers to the research methodology

faithfully capturing the experiences of the participants (Jensen, 2008). Initial and follow up interviews, the bracketing of assumptions by research team members, use of an independent auditor, and following Moustakas' data analysis process aided in ensuring credibility.

Confirmability establishes the description of the data as faithfully representing the intent of the research participants (Hays & Singh, 2012; Jensen, 2008a; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability was sought through member checking after transcription of each participant's interviews. I kept a reflexive journal throughout this research study in an effort to achieve epoche (Mays & Pope, 2000; Moustakas, 1994). Thick description was used in order to elucidate each code or theme (Jensen, 2008b). Negative case analysis was used in an attempt to disconfirm codes and themes created by the research team (Creswell, 2012, 2013; Drisko, 1997). This process entailed the research team discussing data that contradicted themes within the codebook in order to respect the unique lived experiences of all participants. Data that contradicted identified themes was presented in the findings. The research team engaged in simultaneous data collection and analysis in a recursive process of confirming the data (Jensen, 2008b).

Transferability involves providing enough information for readers to decide if the study and its results are applicable for another setting (Hays & Singh, 2012; Jensen, 2008d). Transferability was secured through thick description of the research process and by the triangulation methods stated above. I provided a thick description of the methodological process, research participants, and research context to aid in the discernment of the results applicability to a given location (Kline, 2008).

Dependability is defined by the ability of other researchers to replicate the study with the purpose of finding similar results (Creswell, 2013; Jensen, 2008c; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Thick description of the methodological process and any changes that occur during the study

were recorded and saved on a secure flash drive. The methodological process was made available for anyone interested in replicating the study or examining its credibility. This was made available to the research team and the auditor. The audit trail was kept secure with a password protected USB flash drive and is made available for the purpose of replication of the study (Lincoln & Gubah, 1985). No data compromising anonymity was included in the transcript. Anyone wanting to replicate the study may contact the primary researcher for a copy.

Summary

In this study, I examined the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who participate in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession. I conducted a phenomenological study using interviews to ask Black doctoral students about their experiences with cross-racial trust. A research team was used to analyze, code, and develop textual descriptions of thematic categories that will help to explain this phenomenon. One goal of this study is to assist counseling programs in the recruitment and retention of Black students by understanding components of cross-racial trust.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This phenomenological study examined the experiences of Black doctoral counselor education students who had White mentors that they trusted. Although the counseling profession promotes social justice and inclusivity as important values, research has shown that White counselors have implicit racial bias against Blacks (Boysen, 2010). Likewise, scholars have shown that Blacks within counselor education experience White racism as a significant problem in their work environment (Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). The purpose of this study was to identify factors that helped to engender cross-racial trust between the Blacks and Whites within the counseling profession.

This study was guided by one research question: What are the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have participated in or are currently in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession? Furthermore, two subquestions further explored this inquiry:

- a. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the mentors engendered cross-racial trust in the mentees?
- b. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the protégé enabled their cross-racial trust?

Review of Data Collection and Analysis

I utilized individual interviews with Black doctoral students within counseling programs as the primary means of collecting data. The interview protocol, consisting of 12 questions, was emailed to participants two days before the interview (James, 2014). More than half of the participants thanked the interviewer for sending the questions in advance in order to give them time to think on the questions. The research team believed that saturation was met by the tenth

interview. Audio recordings were transcribed and sent back to the participants within two days after the first interview for the purpose of member checking. The interviews were audio recorded and completed either in person or through a secure online video messaging system. A follow up interview was conducted with eight of the ten participants. None of the participants felt they had anything of significance to add in the second interview. Two participants declined the second interview.

The research team consisted of the primary researcher and two other doctoral students. All research team members attempted to bracket their assumptions before reading and then coding the transcripts. The research team met after the second, eighth, and tenth transcripts for the purpose of identifying themes and subthemes, consensus coding, and the development of codebooks. At least two participants needed to make a statement of similar thought or experience for the research team to consider it a code a theme or subtheme.

After the research team identified clusters of themes and subthemes, superordinate themes were developed in order to more comprehensively categorize the data. Four superordinate themes were created from the analyzed data: *contributors to trust*, *cultural mistrust*, *self-awareness*, and *benefits of cross-racial mentoring*.

Participant Demographic Profiles

There were 10 Black participants in this study, six females and four males. Pseudonyms were used instead of their actual names for the purpose of anonymity. The ages of the participants ranged from 24 to 51, with seven participants being in their 20's. (See Table 4.10 for demographic data on the participants.)

According to the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, three of the participants were attending doctoral programs in universities classified as highest research

activity institutions, six were at higher research activity institutions, and one was at a moderate research activity institution (2015). Regarding socio-economic status (SES), seven participants identified their SES growing up as working class, two identified as middle-class, and one participant identified as poor. In regards to their parents' education background, seven participants were first-generation college graduates (FGCG) and three were continuing generation college graduates (CGCG). Seven participants went to predominately white institutions (PWI) for undergraduate school, two went to historically Black universities (HBCU), and one went to a minority serving institution (MSI).

All participants spoke of either professors or supervisors, some both, as the White mentors they trusted. Three participants identified having a White professor as a mentor; two participants identified having White supervisors as mentors; five of the participants reported having both faculty members and supervisors as White mentors.

Black Ground Information of Participants

Anthony. Anthony was a Black male in his 20's who was raised in a working class family in a major urban city in the northeast U.S. He grew up going to a private religious school for grade school and graduated from a historically black university (HBCU). Currently, he is a doctoral student at a higher research activity institution, otherwise known as a research two university (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). Anthony identified one White counselor educator that he trusts.

Chad. Chad is a Black male in his 20's who grew up in a city in the southeast U.S. where he graduated from a selective PWI. He was a doctoral student at a highest research activity institution, otherwise known as a research one university (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). He described his upbringing as coming from a working class

background and is a FGCG. Chad has had five White mentors that he trusts, some professors and others clinical supervisors, within the counseling profession with relationships ranging from one to five years.

Darnell. Darnell was a Black male in his 20's who grew up in an urban setting in the Midwest and graduated from a PWI. He identifies as being a part of the LGBTQ community. He is currently a doctoral student at a moderate research activity institution, otherwise known as a research three university (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). He describes himself as coming from a working class background, his mother having a bachelor's degree and his dad having some college but not finishing. He has had two White mentors that he trusted, one a professor and the other a clinical supervisor.

Garvey. Garvey was a Black male in his 20's who grew up in both a suburban and urban setting in the midwestern and northeastern U.S. He identifies as being queer. He currently is doing his doctorate at a university that is classified as a highest research activity institution (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). He has had two white mentors within the counseling profession with relationships ranging from three to four years. Garvey stated that out of all of his identifications, his social class is the most significant for him having begun life in a middle class family and currently identifying as middle-class today.

Harpo. Harpo was a Black female in her 50's who completed her undergraduate degree as a FGCG at an HBCU. She was raised in a middle-class family in the suburbs of a Mid-Atlantic city. She currently attends a higher research institution (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). Harpo identified three White mentors she trusted in the counseling profession, all of which were clinical supervisors.

Jacen. Jacen was a female in her 20's who completed her undergraduate degree at a PWI. She grew up in an urban city in the Mid-Atlantic in a middle-class household. Jacen spoke about two White female supervisors that she trusts as mentors, both clinical supervisors that she has known for two to three years. Although she is a FGCG, she self-identifies as growing up in a middle-class home. She is currently completing her doctoral degree at a higher research activity institution (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015).

Jessica. Jessica was a female in her 30's who graduated from a selective public university in the southeastern U.S. where she was raised in a suburban southern city. She is a CGCG, with a mother who has a Master's degree and a father with a technical degree. She describes herself as being raised by a single mother in a working class home with financial hardships. Jessica is currently a doctoral student in a higher research activity institution and has had one mentor who is a professor in counselor education (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015).

Kelly. Kelly was a female in her 20's who graduated from a selective PWI in the South. She is a CGCG, and grew up in a working class family in a city in the suburban south. She currently attends a higher research institution for her doctoral degree (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). She identified three White mentors that she trusted, two being White male supervisors and one White female professor. She noted that one supervisor embodies the core tenants of Relational Cultural Theory.

Nicole. Nicole is a Black female in her 20's who finished undergraduate school at a PWI. She grew up poor in the Appalachian mountain region. She is a FGCG attending a higher research activity institution for her doctoral degree (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). Nicole identified one White mentor that she trusted who is currently a

professor in her doctoral program. In her masters in counseling program, she had a mentor that she trusted who she assumed was White, because of her appearance and name, but later found out that she was not.

Simone. Simone was a Black female in her 30's who graduated from a minority serving institution. She was raised in a working class family in the suburbs of a Mid-Atlantic city. She is a FGCG whose parents completed bachelor's degrees at non-traditional ages. Simone currently is at a higher research institution for her doctoral degree in counselor education (Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, 2015). She identified two White mentors she trusts, one a clinical supervisor she's known for over ten years and another a professor she has known for a year.

Themes

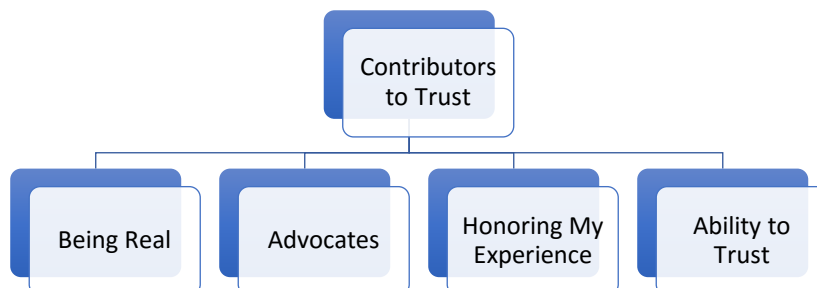
The research team identified four superordinate themes through data analysis: *contributors to trust, reasons for mistrust, critical consciousness, and benefits of cross-racial mentoring.*

1. Superordinate Theme One: Contributors to Trust

All participants spoke about factors that assisted them in trusting Whites in the counseling profession as mentors. The research team identified three themes under *contributors to trust* that were a result of the being or behavior of the White persons of trust: *being real, advocates, and honoring my experience.* The final and fourth theme, *ability to trust*, captured qualities or characteristics about the Black trustors that enabled them to trust White persons.

Table 4.1

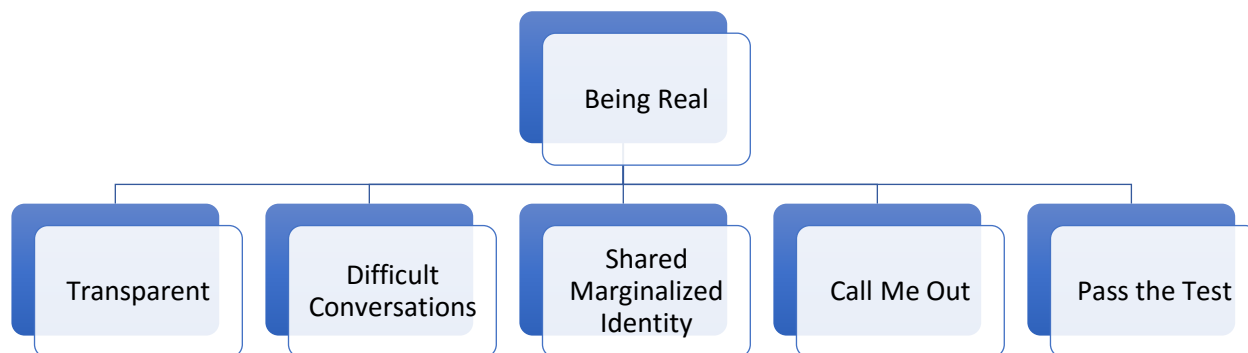
Contributors to Trust



1.1. Being Real. All ten participants spoke about the importance of their White mentors being genuine in expressing who they are and acknowledging the reality of racism. The participants sensed an authenticity in these persons, marked by their willingness to broach certain topics and share from their own experience. The research team identified five subthemes under *being real*: *transparent*, *difficult conversations*, *shared marginalized identity*, *call me out*, and *pass the test*.

Table 4.2

Being Real



1.1.1. Transparent. Six participants noted the importance of transparency in the Whites they chose to trust. This was described as a level of forthrightness and vulnerability which often included self-disclosure. Nicole spoke about how her mentor's transparency allowed her to be more vulnerable:

For him to be transparent with that made me open up more, and willing to be transparent about what I'm going through, my thoughts, my feelings, with the program and outside of the program. I think he kind of modeled that for me.

Likewise, Jacen stated:

I think disclosure is really big and being vulnerable with me as I was also being vulnerable with them. You could say in the clinical settings that they were demonstrating appropriate levels of self-disclosure and things like that, but I think they were willing to let down their walls enough to form a real relationship versus it only being whatever the university said was mandatory, or the typical expectations for a co-worker.

Simone spoke of transparency as the hinge that allowed her to trust cross-racially, “I didn't really realize that the transparency of another person is what was able to make me have a switch of trusting white people.”

Participants understood transparency as integral to trust and wanted the person in the more powerful position to lead the way.

1.1.2. Difficult Conversations. Six participants stated that it was important that the White person that they eventually chose to trust was willing to engage in potentially uncomfortable conversations surrounding race. Nicole said:

What I've been saying is that they are real individuals and not afraid to have those real discussions, not afraid to have discussions about identity, and my identity, me being black, and also their identity of them being White, and then owning who they are, not being shamed or anything like that. That goes a long way for me.

Kelly stated more simply, “You’ve got to be willing and able to have those difficult conversations.”

Chad spoke about the empathy that he has for Whites as he encourages them to engage in such conversations:

I can encourage them and say "Yeah, this is hard for you. This is not an easy conversation to have, but hear me out. I'm not here to judge you. I'm not here to tell you that you're wrong. I'm just willing to be in this space and acknowledge what is."

Though talking about race maybe challenging, a little more than half of the participants felt it was significant for Whites to engage in these conversations.

1.1.3. Shared Marginalized Identity. Two participants spoke about the importance of their mentors being able to talk about their own experiences of having a marginalized identity and their experience of oppression as a result. Simone shared about her White mentor's ethnicity:

Her parents were European immigrants. She expressed a lot of discrimination that she had growing up as a child, because her last name was like [European name] so it was really European. She expressed during that time in the '(decade named)...I don't know if the war was going on, but she said there was a lot of differences between [European country of origin] and the US and it was kind of fresh and she remembers having friends and liking these friends but their parents telling them once they found out her last name like, "Oh, you can't play with her anymore."

Garvey spoke about his White doctoral supervisor, when he was a Masters student, sharing about her hidden marginalized identity, an identity that he shared to some degree, and how this enabled him to be more vulnerable about his experience of being Black in the department of counseling.

The marginalized identity did not have to be one of race, but for these two participants this sharing at the appropriate time was beneficial in helping the students feel as if this person may be sympathetic to their oppression.

1.1.4. Call Me Out. Three participants spoke about appreciating that their mentors were willing to be forthright in giving them a corrective word when needed. Nicole said, "he challenges me. He is not afraid to call me out on my BS." Anthony said that his mentor:

Kind of pulled me to the side one day after class and was like, "Hey, you got some potential but I noticed that you're not as engaged as you need to be within the class." It was like, "You're doing your work, but are you really putting

forth your full potential?" Which is good. Sometimes you need someone to pull you by your coat tail.

These participants appreciated the motivation they received from their White mentors, two of them noting that their mentors saw potential in them that they did not see in themselves.

1.1.5. Pass the Test. Possibly related to trust by proxy, two participants spoke of trustworthy Whites as passing a test that showed to the trustee that they were worth risking a relationship with. Simone shared:

I think if I can observe a White person that gets along with other Blacks or other people from different cultures and they seem to get along and be genuine, then that would make it easier. I would feel like, "Oh, okay, maybe they've already passed the test. Maybe they've already proven that they're not distrustful." I think that for sure. I'm thinking about a woman that I work with in particular, she doesn't like ... Looking at her, I'm unsure of whether or not she's a person to trust or not. She eats lunch with people that I trust. Her circle overlaps with mine where then I feel like, "Okay. She must be an okay person," and my guard is down a little bit more.

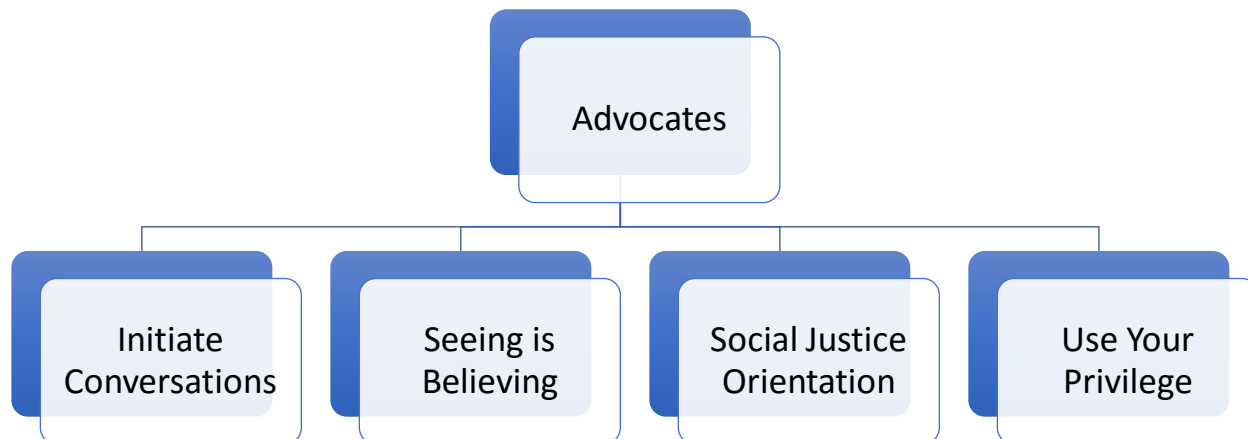
Garvey stated that he believed that cross-racial trust was a slow process that entailed "tests" where he observed Whites to see how they handled various conversations or incidents to see if they were culturally aware and competent.

1.2. Advocates. The research team found that seven participants spoke to a second theme under being real, which was identified as *advocates*. These participants trusted Whites who they viewed as "allies" for either the Black student or marginalized people in general. There were four

subthemes under *advocates*: *initiate conversations*, *seeing is believing*, *social justice orientation*, and *use your privilege*.

Table 4.3

Advocates



1.2.1. Initiate Conversations. Half of the participants spoke about how significant it was for them that the White persons they chose to trust were willing to not only have difficult conversations on race but initiate those conversations. Kelly said that it was important to her that she did not have to be the one to broach the topic:

not having to be the person to bring up race or racial experiences. I think what really enabled me to trust people was when they didn't shy away from that conversation. Not that they were, "I'm white, you're black. Let's talk about it," but that they brought it up as it was relevant.

Kelly also shared that it is important for Whites who desire to engender trust to be intentional “about creating spaces for students or mentee's to talk about whatever is affecting them and not placing the burden on your mentee to bring it up.”

Likewise, Nicole shared the sentiment that Blacks should not have to bear the burden of always bringing up a topic that is relevant:

The black person in the room doesn't have to be the one to bring it up because the professor is taking that and putting that into his course. I loved that. That was the moment I'm just like, "Okay, I might be able to rock with you".

Other participants spoke about the White person's willingness to initiate the conversation as lifting a burden from them as they questioned whether it was a safe topic to bring up.

1.2.2. Seeing is Believing. Half of the participants also spoke about the importance of being able to see White persons words line up with their actions regarding social justice. It was not enough for the White person to say they cared about advocacy but the Black students need to see behavior that was congruent with the mentor's stated values. Kelly said, "They're not just saying that they're a safe person but their actions back that up...Don't just say you're an ally and that we're multicultural, like, show me." Garvey spoke of observing the décor in a person's office:

I need visible support. The ways that you can show visible support are even in your office you can have a poster, a quote, at the very least MLK, if not a Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, show me something that I can see that you connect or are willing to connect with black people.

Participants were not willing to just accept the rhetoric of Whites concerning social justice but wanted to see that their actions, even in a small way, aligned with their words.

1.2.3. Social Justice Orientation. Three participants said the social justice orientation of their White mentor had great significance in their willingness to trust them. Kelly shared:

The main thing that enabled me to trust them is that we talked about race, we

talked about racial differences, or even if it wasn't race they had some kind of social justice orientation that was reflected in their research ... Whether or not it's pertaining to race, even if it's LGBT, even if it's undocumented immigrants, whatever it is....

Nicole also shared that if a White person had an interest in another oppressed group she would be more likely to trust them. For these participants, an interest in other marginalized peoples suggested that these Whites may serve as a racial ally.

1.2.4. Use Your Privilege. Five of the participants spoke about the importance of Whites using their privilege in their efforts to help Black students. Darnell shared ways that he felt cross-racial mentoring could be beneficial:

I think just providing them with ... I would say I guess providing them with some level of privilege, whether it be giving them a piece of your power or the privilege that you receive because of your status or power or position. You sharing your privileges with them, whether that be connections with people that you know, whether it be writing a letter of recommendation, sharing the knowledge that you have gained. I would say that to sum it up. I think sharing the privileges you have with that person.

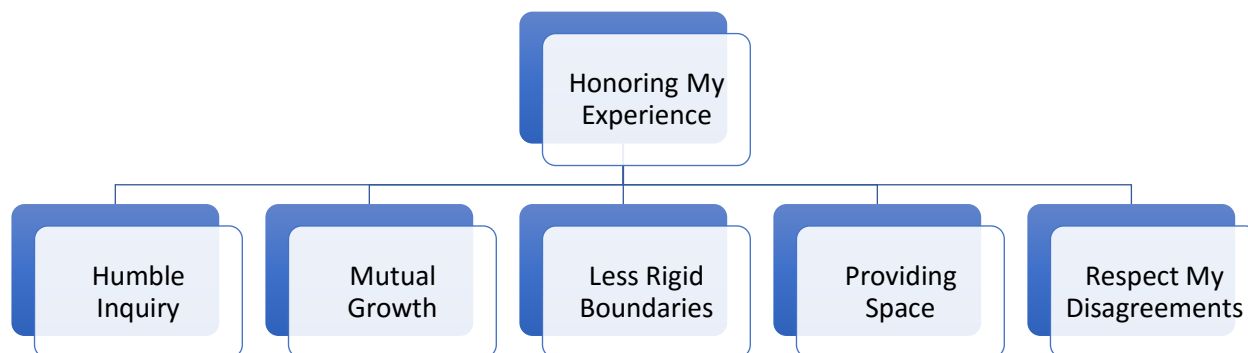
Participants believed that Whites should both acknowledge their White privilege and use it to help people of color. These mentees believed that the appropriate use of White privilege helped them tremendously in terms of their professional development and increased social network.

1.3. Honoring My Experience. Nine participants spoke to the importance of their mentor honoring their experience. Participants shared that Whites they trusted appreciated their history of oppression and the current barriers they faced as Black persons. Subthemes that were

under this theme were *humble inquiry*, *mutual growth*, *less rigid boundaries*, *providing space*, and *respect disagreements*.

Table 4.4

Honoring My Experience



1.3.1. Humble Inquiry. Four participants spoke about the importance of their White mentors not coming across as experts of the mentees racial experience. Chad said,

I can trust you as my mentor when you're available to me and you're available to ask me those questions about what my experience might have been as a person of color inside of that space, when you don't offer advice on how to navigate that space....you are not the expert on my racial identity development.

Kelly shared a story about a time when she needed to be vulnerable with a White male supervisor but did not want to say that she felt marginalized because of the intersectionality of her race and sex:

I remember with one [white male] mentor, I was really upset because I had a really not good experience with a [white male] supervisor. The whole time I had been in this other supervisory relationship, I was feeling as if there were racial and gender dynamics that he

was unaware of but I was very aware of. I remember, so crying in my other supervisors office about it, and him bringing that up...I'm about to cry thinking about it, but it's just a very gentle and just a curious way of bringing up those dynamics because I didn't want to have to be the one to say it because sometimes you feel like you're crazy, but he brought it up. Just being pleasantly surprised but grateful when that does happen.

It was important to these participants that the White person care about the participants' experiences enough to listen deeply, respectfully, and humbly.

1.3.2. Mutual Growth. Three participants believed that cross-racial relationships should be beneficial for the mentor and the mentee. They stated that a White mentor, who *honored their experience*, could grow as a result of the cross-racial relationship. As Kelly stated:

I would say a [cross-racial] mentoring relationship is one, one I don't think it's all about the mentee's growth. I think that the mentor grows from the relationship as well. The mentor should be open and willing to grow and learn from the mentee.

Chad shared that:

Just being able to share those conversations, share those experiences and even talking about what it's like for me to walk into a room professionally with a bunch of other white counselors and being the only black male counselor in the room. Those conversations, I think, help build me as a mentee, but also help build my mentor.

These participants believed that cross-racial mentoring could facilitate growth in the White person's cultural competence.

1.3.3 Less Rigid Boundaries. Seven of the ten participants spoke about the importance of the White person getting to know who they were as a whole person, which entailed the relationship not being confined to professional or academic topics. Simone shared, “We would talk about everything really. She wasn't only like a mentor for the profession. She was almost a mentor for life.” Kelly said:

I don't know if this is the culture or maybe the particular program that I'm in or if this is just a culture knack of academia in general, in that it feels as if sometimes professors set these boundaries as, I'm the professor, you are the student, the GTA, the doc student or whatever. In doing that, they set boundaries in what is acceptable to talk about, what are acceptable manners of acting with you, and I find that to be really limiting, especially with how I relate to people because I don't relate to people, it's probably a cultural thing, but when those boundaries are rigid and when they're set. I have a harder time working within those parameters because I'm just looking around like I don't know what I can talk to you about or can come to you with. If I'm struggling personally, is it okay if I come in crying in your office because if those boundaries are really rigid, I don't feel like I can do that.

Jacen also spoke about the importance of her mentor being open to talk about things more personal with her:

It wasn't so much like everything by the book and like we have to uphold some type of image. She's extremely relaxed, easy to talk to about anything. I'd call her for anything if I need. Well, not anything, but I could. There's been times when it's been more personal stuff and I talked to her about it. I would have no

reason to be hesitant with reaching out to her. She's just extremely relaxed. Now that I think about it, I perceived some white people as really uptight and super got to dot every I, cross every T. I need to show you how perfect I can be.

The participants believed that less rigid boundaries helped to facilitate their own vulnerability, which was important to their ability to trust and the White person's willingness to have a relationship.

1.3.4. Providing Space. Half of the participants expressed the need for Whites to create space for Blacks to process their racial experiences. Kelly shared that she needed the space due to the,

current political and social climate that's contributing to my experience as a black student, as a black person in America. I think it's important to even, we don't have to provide space every single time there is a shooting, the police shoot a black man or every single time something happens, but I think that just providing that space for students is really important. It's providing that space for your mentee's to talk about it is really important. I think if there's not, if that space isn't provided or if there seems to be this unawareness of historical but also current social and political context that are contributing to our experiences as black people, I just don't think that I would trust them as much

Likewise, Garvey too spoke to the importance of Whites providing environments where Blacks can process their experiences and feelings,

I think there needs to be specific spaces set up for the people of color specifically, black people, whoever, to talk about their experiences, so normalize that space and make it real, tangible, say on every third Friday we're gonna meet, but make

that a legitimate space and maybe even don't come. If that's a space that's needed just for people of color and that is needed then say "Hey, we have a space for you to share experiences and it's gonna be just for you." No white faces. I just do that and give you that and I might check up on it to make sure that everything is going right, that you don't need some support

Participants were thankful for the space provided by their mentors which allowed them to express difficult emotions or simply share their concerns.

1.3.5. Respect My Disagreements. Three participants developed trust in their mentors when they found that these White counselor educators allowed them to disagree with them. Nicole, speaking of the one White counselor she trusts, said, "Even when we've had disagreements and I tell him, "No, this is really how I feel, and I strongly feel this way," he respects that." Likewise, Garvey said, "Me challenging her...or challenging her slides. She honored my experiences and my thoughts on that and would often do that in class."

Harpo said it was important to her that a White person she may trust understands,

That having a different opinion doesn't mean I'm against you, doesn't mean I don't like you. It's being willing to stop and just have respect for the fact that people see something different than you. Somebody can still support you even when they have a different view than what you have.

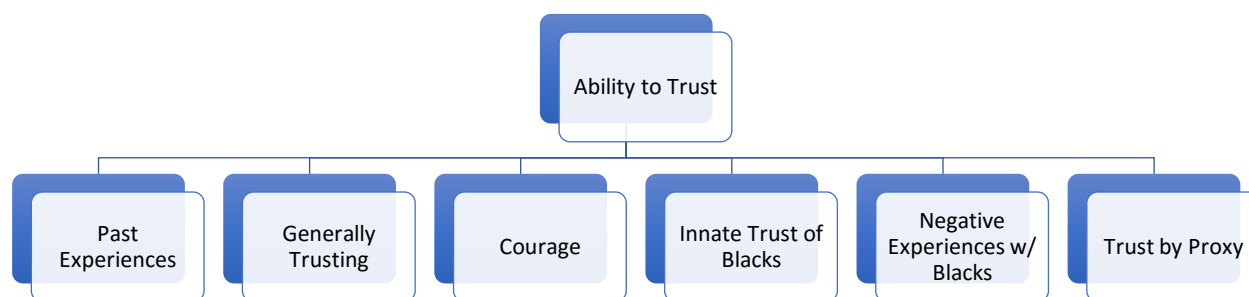
For these participants, their mentor's ability to honor their right to disagree allowed them the space to be more authentic about their feelings and perceptions.

1.4. Ability to Trust. The research team labeled the fourth and last theme under *Contributors of trust* as *ability to trust*. These attributes or experiences of the Black doctoral students are listed under this theme *ability to trust*. There are six subthemes under *ability to trust*:

past experiences, generally trusting, courage, innate trust of Blacks, negative experiences with Blacks, and trust by proxy.

Table 4.5

Ability to Trust



1.4.1. Past Experiences. Half of participants spoke about experiences in their past, in which Whites of good will pathed a way for them to consider trusting Whites as counseling graduate students or professionals. Kelly shared that there were Whites who married into her family and were empathetic to Black experiences of marginalization. Darnell spoke about being raised in a multiracial church. Garvey spoke of having a White coach as a kid who figuratively adopted him into his family, having him over to dinner many nights, as a result of Garvey's parents working evenings. Jessica said that she had a few managers and administrative supervisors in previous jobs that enabled her to trust Whites. Simone spoke about a k-12 teacher who gave students his phone number and told them to call him anytime they had problems with homework. She called him a few times, interrupting his dinner, and found him very encouraging and eager to help her. All of these relationships served as counters to messages and experiences that confirmed the need for cultural mistrust.

1.4.2. Generally Trusting. Five participants believed themselves to be generally trusting people, and this contributed to their willingness to risk vulnerability with White counseling professional. Jessica said:

Yeah, I feel like I'm the type of person who gives someone the benefit of the doubt unless otherwise, so I'm pretty open in terms of getting to know people. I think despite hearing what I heard kind of early on I'm like, okay, let's see what this looks like versus just kind of coming with a judgement. I think being open has helped me trust.

Simone described herself:

I think that I'm a trusting person. I'm also a cautious person at times. I think the internal quality I have is that I don't think that everybody is bad. I don't think that you're bad and you have to prove that you're good kind of thing. I think that people are good and I'm going to observe for a little while to see how good you are, if you're a very trustworthy person or if you can't be trusted too much. I think that people are good. I don't hold grudges against people that I don't feel like I can't trust. I don't feel like they're bad people. I think that if someone wants to know about me, I'm open to discussing it.

These participants felt that their willingness to give people an opportunity to prove themselves trustworthy allowed for the potential of a meaningful cross-racial relationship.

All participants did not feel as if they were generally trusting. Anthony described himself as cautious and guarded in trusting people of any race. He said that he likes to sit back and observe people for a while before he decides whether or not to trust.

1.4.3. Courage. Two participants shared that it requires courage in order for a Black

person to risk being hurt by a White person. Garvey said:

I know a couple of other students of color that are currently in doc programs and just the sharing of our experiences, it seems like there's a level of courage that one needs in general to pursue and continue and to persist. To be willing to open up to someone and know that the reaction that you get might not be one that you want or that you even should get...

As a result of the reality of racism, which all ten participants spoke about, a Black person must be willing to expose themselves to the possibility of being dismissed, suffering from a microaggression, or having their trust betrayed by a White person in power if a trusting relationship is to be formed.

1.4.4. Innate Trust of Blacks. Three participants stated that it was easier to trust Blacks, that trusting people of their own race came naturally. When asked if she found a difference between cross-racial trust and trusting other Blacks, Kelly said:

When I saw this question I laughed because I think it boils down to white people had to earn my trust. Black people had to earn my distrust. Whereas, there's just this assumption when you see someone who looks like you, that they get your experiences, that they understand and they know about code switching. They know about parents having white voices. That there're just cultural things that you don't have to explain to them and that you just don't even have to, like you can just connect with.

These participants felt that it was easier to trust other Blacks, particularly in predominately White settings, as a result of their sharing experiences of marginalization. But all participants did not feel that trust with Blacks came easier, in fact for some it was more difficult.

1.4.5. Negative Experiences with Blacks. Four participants spoke about having negative experiences with Blacks, either in their past growing up, graduate school, or in the counseling profession which served as a possible motivation to reach out to a White person.

Jacen shared:

when I think of mentors in the profession, those are the only two I had. I haven't had a good experience with Black individuals. I don't even know any... that are far enough ahead of me... With those two I feel less, the best word I can think of is catty. I feel like when I have approached some black females that are in the profession, it has not been approachable, and I'm just like I don't know what's going on here. I have found two [White] people, and I don't know if that is the fact that they're different than me, so maybe they feel less intimidated. I don't know what it is.

Chad spoke about being rejected by Black peers as a child because his hobbies and interests did not align with what was typically considered Black culture. This fear of rejection carried into young adulthood. He said:

I guess I just really was unaware of how blind I've become or how fearful I've become of my own race. It was, actually heart wrenching for me to recognize that I'm not comfortable being in a room full of Black people. I don't know if I'm gonna be outed as the Black man that doesn't have a whole lot of experiences with being Greek or going to all the late night parties and things like that. I was always worried about being, even in a professional setting, being outed as, "Oh, well he's black, but he's not really".

A few of these participants stated that they were afraid sharing these negative experiences would “mess up” this study. They did not realize that they were not alone, that four tenths of the participants shared their experiences of being disappointed with other Black persons.

1.4.6. Trust by Proxy. Half of the participants spoke about looking for how other Blacks felt about a White person as a way of discerning whether trust was warranted. Jessica shared:

There's a gentleman before me, he was African-American as a doc student, and I would see him, as an undergrad, and I always noticed their dynamic. I was like, oh that's interesting. What's he doing talking to her? I kind of was like noting that. I talked to him one day and I was like, "What's ... How's that going?" I'm like, "How is she?" He's like, "Oh, she's great. You should talk to her. I'm about to graduate." I was like, "Really? "...To see him and to chat with him and to hear his relationship with her, I think it confirmed that I could even open up more in trying to build a relationship with her when she approached me.

Kelly likewise described her use of the opinions of other Black persons to discern if a White person was culturally competent:

Usually, if I wasn't familiar with someone and I had a friend who was saying, "You can trust this person. I've gone and talked to them before. They get it. They'll talk to you about it." People kind of backing up what they're saying with their actions and having peers saying that this is someone you can go to.

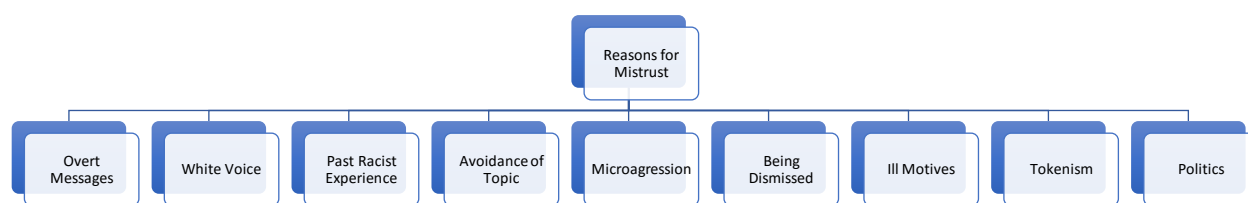
For these participants, seeing that other Blacks felt a person was trustworthy helped to eliminate some of the risk of cross-racial trust.

2. Superordinate Theme Two: Reasons for Mistrust

Reasons for Mistrust. The research team created a second superordinate theme which we labeled *reasons for mistrust*. All ten participants spoke about reasons they had to mistrust Whites. This superordinate theme captures various hindrances participants mentioned that impeded their trusting Whites, the following nine themes were constructed: *overt messages*, *White voice*, *past racist experiences*, *avoidance of topic*, *microaggressions*, *being dismissed*, *ill motives*, *tokenism*, and *politics*.

Table 4.6

Reasons for Mistrust



2.1. Overt Messages. Half of participants said they received overt messages from their family not to trust Whites. Chad said, “I was constantly told ‘You can't have friends. You can have people around you, but just don't trust the white people that are around you.’” Nicole likewise stated that she grew up hearing her parents say, “Don't trust them. It was that simple...There was this overarching theme of don't trust white people.”

All of the participants did not receive overt messages from family members. When Garvey was a child his parents told him he could trust Whites. His father married a White woman after his parents’ divorce. But as a result of racist encounters which perplexed him as he grew older, his parents made sure to make him aware that White racism is still prevalent.

Jacen stated that her older brother is also a mental health professional. After the initial interview, she spoke with him about cross-racial trust and he said that he has not had a choice but to have White mentors. She mentioned in the follow up interview that she was surprised to hear him say that he does not give much thought to microaggressions or racism within his profession.

2.2. White Voice. The theme of White voice captures messages that two participants said were implicit regarding the need to not fully trust Whites. Kelly said:

I think I just noticed in people's mannerisms. We used to just call it - my mom and my aunts or uncles - we used to just call it the white voice, but they changed when they were around...professional people who they weren't super comfortable with, I think with people they weren't super comfortable with, their mannerisms, the way they spoke changed.

Harpo also mentioned noticing the switch of voice when her parents were around White people:

You flipped from...everybody feeling really relaxed and everybody being able to relate to the same thing to you go into a work environment or you go into a white establishment and you're certainly cleaning up the tone of your voice. That is an uncomfortable thing. Really, I always felt that it was something that empowered me to be able to move through life. I feel like now I'm somewhere in the middle where I probably mix it all together now and don't feel like I need to apologize if I'm talking with a white person but I relax my tone a little bit.

White voice is a form of code switching which signaled to these participants that it was not safe to be who they were, that their culture was not accepted among White professionals.

2.3. Past Racist Experiences. Five participants spoke about racist experiences they had in the past that hindered their willingness to trust Whites. Some of these experiences went back

to childhood where others were more recent. Harpo spoke about how a childhood incident validated her parents' overt messages to not trust Whites:

Certainly I never went to a white friend's house to spend the night. I did have a friend in the neighborhood that we became friendly in elementary school although she was a grade behind me and we started playing together after school, but one day when I showed up at her house, her parents clearly said I couldn't come in. I'll always remember that. It wasn't something that ended my world because I had already been told but it proved that yes, that can happen.

Garvey spoke about getting pulled over seven times by police officers while a teenager and only once being given a ticket, because the other times they had no valid reason to pull him over. Once a police officer pulled a gun on him after pulling him over with friends in his car.

Simone, who had a White teacher who she grew to trust, spoke about White teachers in elementary school who were always trying to get her in trouble. Garvey also shared an experience with a White teacher:

The first thing the teacher said to me, I'm in the second grade, I did an in-class paper wrong and I went up for her to grade it and she marked all of them wrong in front of my face and said, "I know you want to call me something that rhymes with 'witch' and starts with a B." I was like, "Okay, like I know what word that is." I didn't tell my mom immediately, but I remember one time were sitting on the bed, my mom, my sister... so my parents were divorced at this time, and I told my mom and they were like, "What? Are you kidding?" The next day, my mom marched up to the school and was like, "Are you kidding? This is what your teacher said to

my son as the only black person here, how are you gonna make him feel comfortable? This is ridiculous. I can't believe this would happen. Y'all need to talk to her" and all this. It wasn't until I heard my mom's reaction to that, the retelling of what she said to the principal, when my attitudes towards white people started to develop.

These participants shared that these experiences with racism confirmed the overt and implicit messages they were receiving from family that Whites are not to be trusted.

2.4. Avoidance of Topic. Two persons shared that they tended not to trust persons who avoided the topic of race. This served as a trigger for mistrust in the same way that a willingness to engage in difficult conversations engendered trust. Kelly shared, "I would say in regards to people who I have chosen to trust less, there's been less of a willingness...one, either we never have conversations about race or cultural differences."

Jessica, during the first half of the interview, said that she did not want a White person to bring up uncomfortable topics such as race with her unless they appreciated the power differential -the vulnerable place she would be in- if she did not agree with their perspective.

2.5. Microaggressions. Two participants talked about microaggressions and how these experiences closed them off from a potential trusting relationships with Whites. Kelly said:

they may... perpetuate microaggressions that just, you know, whether it's something super small, like, calling by the wrong name, the name of another black student in the program or it's just for calling me articulate. It's just one of those things where I'm just looking, it seems small, but I just look at them and I'm like, "You don't get it. It's not my job to educate you." It closes me off to that relationship.

Jacen, who described herself as generally trusting, said that unless a microaggression was recognized and apologized for, she would not trust a White person who committed them.

2.6. Being Dismissed. Three participants shared feelings of being dismissed by White counselor educators or supervisors. Chad said, “Don't try and tell me it's gonna be okay. Don't try and tell me a story about how you helped a black kid get a scholarship opportunity.” Kelly shared:

Even if I'm the one to bring up those conversations, it's felt as if I've either been shut down or the person on the other side of the table has just been like, "Well, that's the way it is." They haven't been open or receptive to how I'm experiencing things.

These occurrences of having their perspectives or feelings not recognized as important were detrimental to their trust of Whites.

2.7. Ill Motives. Five of the ten participants shared that one of the reasons that they were reluctant to trust Whites was due to questioning their motives for wanting a relationship. Nicole, who only has one White mentor she trusts, said:

All of them probably got some type of ill motive lying underneath somewhere, so even if it hasn't come out yet there's a potential of it, so just always kind of proceed with caution when it comes to that.

Before the second interview she stated that she believed she sounded too cynical in the previous interview. But she was not the only person with the suspicion of White motives. Jacen shared:

I definitely am a little hesitant to see what's your true motive. Are you trying to make up for something? Do you see this as an opportunity to fix some wrongdoing you've done in your past? Are you in the savior mode? Are you

thinking, "I need to be nice to this person because my ancestors did x, y, z?" I feel like I have to think about all that sometimes with some people.

What's your motive? What are you trying to get at?

Some of the participants spoke of hearing their parents question the motives of Whites and how their own personal experiences legitimized these suspicions.

2.8. Tokenism. A possible corollary to questioning the motives of Whites was four Black doctoral participants' concern of being used as a token, stated by Chad said:

I felt like they had the ulterior motive that my parents talked about. I felt commodified by them, that I was a person that they wanted... They saw me as "[name], the Black male counselor that works with trauma". "[name] the Black male counselor that works with kids." They could get something unique out of me. They wanted me around in order to not just cover the bases on working in that population, but cover the bases of the diversity culture and that was very frustrating for me

Likewise, Nicole shared, "I've noticed professors who will try to use me to get what they need, or to be on a multicultural presentation, and he doesn't do that."

Chad told the story of an occurrence that the research team did not code as tokenism but touched on the experience of being reduced to one's race that tokenism entails.

An example would be, when I was a group therapist ...I was just leading the group and we had just transitioned from a Black supervisor to a White supervisor and I was constantly being told, "[his name], you gotta really dig in and talk to these clients because you just have something special about you that you can connect to them" and it didn't sit with me the right way because when I observed

my own working in the group, I thought that I did not have a great connection with the clients of color. I actually saw them as they were more aggressive towards me. In a 20 day program, it took them 8 to 12 sessions before they were ready to trust me and so I didn't really understand ...only to recognize once I called it out and said "Are you thinking that they're trusting me because I'm Black and they're Black?" Just kind of getting that look from my mentor of "Oh, yeah. That's not really what I meant to say, but I guess that is what I was saying. I'm sorry." Those experiences really hinder my ability to trust...

2.9. Politics. The research team identified the final theme under *reasons for mistrust as politics*. This theme encapsulated the weariness that two participants shared of observing the politics in their department. Nicole said:

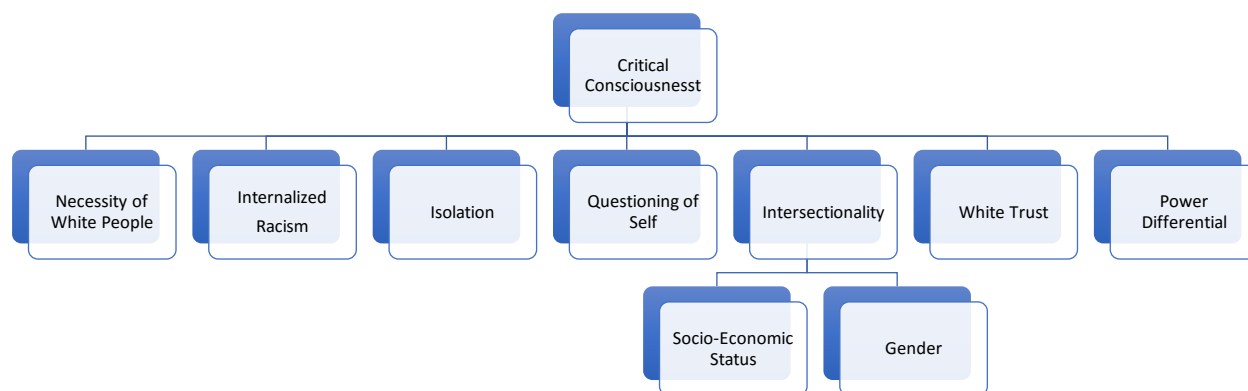
Especially counseling! It surprises the hell out of me quite honestly. You all be doing some crazy stuff! You all counselors, you all should know better. I've seen how the politics work and how they interact with each other, White faculty, with other faculty members. Faculty members of color, non-color, all that. Makes me not trust them even more. Makes me even more apprehensive because of all of their clinical drama. It makes me run way from counselor education, to be quite honest. You all are crazy, I don't want to be amongst the crazy. I even have my professors tell me, this is just how it is, and you've got to learn how to play the game. Should it be that way? For a white professor to tell me that makes me not trust you all even more. Makes that trust process even harder, even longer.

Like other participants, Nicole observed Whites in order to discern whether trust was a viable option. Darnell stated that if he saw that Whites could not trust each other in a particular setting then he knew he was not able to trust them.

3. Superordinate Theme Three: Critical Consciousness

Critical Consciousness. The research team identified a third superordinate theme which they entitled *critical consciousness* to capture participants awareness of socio-political factors related to race and their social location in relation to Whites. The research team identified seven themes that fall under *critical consciousness*: *necessity of White people*, *internalized racism*, *isolation*, *questioning of self*, *intersectionality*, *White trust*, and *power differential*.

Table 4.7 Critical Consciousness



3.1. Necessity of White People. Four participants talked about either being told growing up or believing as adults that it is necessary for Blacks to have relationships with White persons in order to succeed educationally and professionally. Kelly said:

it was reluctant trust because we didn't have a choice. I'm trying to think. I don't think I had any Black teachers. We did have a Black vice principal, but there weren't a lot of people who looked like me. So I think it was a reluctant trust, kind of like you don't have any choice.

Nicole spoke about why relationships with Whites are necessary for success:

Even if you can't trust them, do what you got to do, fake it till you make it, act like you can trust them. Because like I said earlier, you need a White ... You need them. You do. Whether you want to say you do or not ... If you want to be connected and you want to get these, if you want to learn about how to negotiate that salary across a table full of White people, if you want to know all of that, and you want to be at the top of your success and all that, better find you a White mentor. Just flat out.

For some of these participants, being a Black professional entailed a Catch-22. One must have positive relationships with Whites, though most Whites are not trustworthy.

3.2. Internalized Racism. Two participants shared insecurities they had in the program and how they questioned where these thoughts came from. Garvey said:

I was, for the first time in a grad program, narratives that had followed me all through my life that weren't as salient definitely became salient as in "You're not supposed to be here. You can't make it. You got here because you're a minority" kind of thing. Those were starting to surface to me and I didn't have a place to talk about that.

Garvey's statement that he did not have a place to talk about these thoughts are tied to his recommendation that Whites should provide space for these discussions. Chad likewise experienced doubt while recognizing these negative feelings are rooted in larger socio-political realities:

I really want to know how these power dynamics developed over time and I want to know why, at times, I personally don't feel equal to my White peers,

regardless of if we match up completely on ever other level. I'm curious about those things.

It was striking for me as the interviewer to hear these two Black men who came across as confident and passionate to express these insecurities.

3.3. Isolation. Three participants spoke about feeling alone in their programs, particularly when they were expressing their thoughts and experiences as a Black person. Nicole shared, “I’m that one student who brings up race, and who brings up people of color, and anybody who’s not white, and our issues in counseling, and none of my cohort does that.”

Garvey went further and talked about how his classmates’ silence compounded his feelings of isolation:

that class for me, being the only black person ... I would say four other visible minorities, not black, and they would never speak to the point where you didn't know if they thought they passed or you didn't know if they thought they were White or "why aren't you talking. Why aren't you sharing?"

Some White people shared but not really and it was to the point where I was so upset and I was also upset that...I had to take this research class, in the education college, a large class...all my classmates are in there and so for our research proposal that we had to do, I [entitled it] "Why aren't the White kids talking in multicultural class" a research proposal about tokenism and White guilt as a call to action and as a protest, like "I'm tired of this."

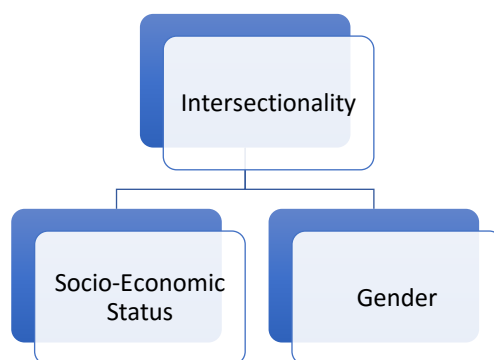
These participants experienced the silence of other students, some persons of color, as unsafe which made them all the more thankful for professors who were willing to take the initiative to build a relationship, provide a safe space, and have difficult conversations about race.

3.4. Questioning of Self. Two participants spoke about questioning their perceptions of racism, whether it was actually prevalent in their departments or whether it was a result of unresolved past issues. Garvey spoke about being reassured when two Black counselor educators, who had just graduated from his Master’s program a few years before told him, “It’s not just you. It’s not in your head. You’re not wilting out.” Garvey went on to say that it is unfortunate that Blacks must deal with the stress of this type of questioning. Kelly also shared, “Then I also look at me, like is this me? Is this a problem that I have, or am I just projecting my past onto them?”

3.5. Intersectionality. Four participants spoke about their intersecting identities and how that plays a significant role in the experience of Blacks. The research team identified two subthemes under *intersectionality*: *socio-economic status* and *gender*.

Table 4.8

Intersectionality



3.5.1. Socio-Economic Status (SES). Three participants shared how the intersectionality of various SES effects the Black experience differently. Harpo noted that some Whites are more willing to try and connect with middle-class Blacks but express more overt racism toward those who are poorer,

I would not trust as much someone who singles out which Black people they

think are okay. I guess we've seen it all. We've seen the folks who don't accept poor Blacks like, "Oh my gosh. You were underprivileged, blah, blah, blah. No, not looking for you. I'm looking for the one who comes from the suburbs."

Jessica spoke about how she felt disconnected from a potential Black mentor as a result of this person coming from what she perceived to be an upper-class background, and this person not being able to understand her struggles as a person from a working class home.

3.5.2. Gender. Three participants were cognizant of how gender intersects with race which places people in differing positions of influence in the counseling profession. Nicole said,

I think it's important to hear how to play the game from a White person, I think it's necessary, it is crucial to hear, as a Black person, how do you play this game in counselor education, from a White man. Not from a White woman, from a White man. Because counselor education is ruled by White men. Counseling by White women, the counselor education in academia, it's White men. It's just what it is.

Both Nicole and Kelly noted that their mentors were White men and how they were conscious of the vast power differential that existed between them. Darnell and Nicole commented on the counseling profession being comprised of a majority of White women, but leadership in counselor education seems to be predominated by White men.

3.6. White Trust. Two participants spoke about the importance of Whites being able to trust them as Black persons. Simone said, "I think with cross-racial trust, I think that it goes both ways as far as trusting one individual or another." She went on to share the story of being a school counselor and Blacks, within the administration at a predominately Black school, wanted her to apply for a higher position that her White (European country) mentor wanted. She was

reluctant to do so and completed the application but then went back and took her name out of the running because she felt she would be betraying her mentor without first asking her how she felt. Jessica said that she questioned whether Whites would trust her due to her being Black. These participants recognized that they could not trust Whites who would not trust them.

3.7. Power Differential. The last theme under the superordinate theme *critical consciousness* is *power differential*. The research team labeled this theme in identification of four participants who spoke about their awareness of the various levels of influence that exists in White-Black, faculty-student, mentor-mentee relationships. Chad said,

I think about my learning of history and position in power and recognizing that one of my core needs is that I want to equalize power dynamics within a space and so my analysis of the power dynamics with White mentors interferes with my ability to connect, to trust, to listen to the advice that they give me at first because I question the cultural relevance of the information that I get.

Jessica spoke about her appreciation for how the White woman she trusts was sensitive to her position as a student,

If there is a topic regarding race, like something that is little bit more like touch and go, like more sensitive, I always felt like she approached that in a very respectful way. It's not that she brought up uncomfortable topics, or didn't, I just felt like she had a tact about her or a way about her that was very mindful of me being a Black student working underneath her. I just found that to be really respectful and it allowed me to really just be myself and not uncomfortable.

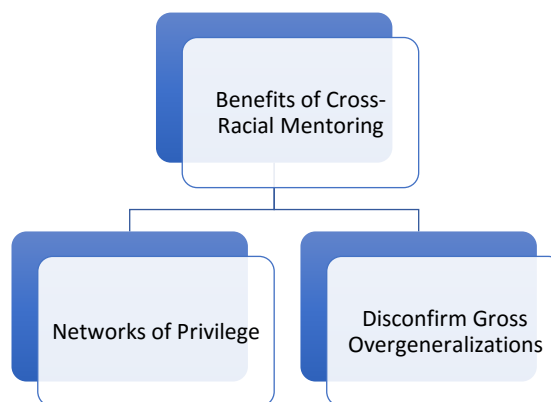
These participants were conscious of their social location within the ladder of influence and were sensitive to how their identities as Black students put them in a perilous position in relation to White counselor educators or supervisors.

4. Superordinate Theme Four: Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring

Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring. The research team labeled the final superordinate theme based on nine participants' statements about how they benefited from cross-racial mentoring, namely through *networks of privilege* and the cross-racial trust relationships *disconfirming gross overgeneralizations* of all Whites as untrustworthy.

Table 4.9

Benefits of Cross Racial Mentoring



4.1. Networks of Privilege. Half of participants spoke about how having White mentors was beneficial due to the networks they were invited into with endorsements from their White trustee. Chad said:

I also think about the opportunity of having that person that has this White privilege be able to connect you to these people who maybe would never give you the time of day and have them say, "Hey, this is my mentee. This is my person that I see has a bright future"

Simone shared:

I think the White mentors, both of them have their relationships with other White people, maybe they know how to rub elbows better. I don't know. They have it seems like this bigger network. For instance, even with the one, my supervisor when I was working at the middle school. She had a bigger network it seems. She knew people to call. She knew how to work things a little bit I think probably more so because even the other Black experienced [school] counselors weren't really going out after what they really wanted like that to stay in the jobs. They didn't know who to call. They didn't know who to contact. They hadn't made these relationships. Their kids didn't play baseball together. It was different.

Participants recognized that the recommendations they needed for professional advancement may have more impact if given by Whites.

4.2. Disconfirm Gross Overgeneralizations. Finally, four participants said that a benefit of cross-racial mentoring was that it disconfirmed their prejudgments of Whites that they heard growing up and that racist experiences with some Whites confirmed. Nicole said:

I think cross-racial mentorship is really important because it helps people of color. I'll speak for myself. It helps me as a Black woman not to make these gross over-generalizations about White people, about White men in academia, about White counselor educators. Because I just said earlier, they're all crazy. I try very hard to fight that. Not every single one of them are crazy actually, don't think that.

Jessica stated a similar sentiment:

I think that it allows for you to kind of have a different view of someone

outside of your race. I think that growing up in my household ... You know some of the early things that were shared for me to be somewhat skeptical of Whites. Especially within leadership roles or any type of way they could delegate anything to me. So having that type of mentorship kind of opened the doors for like good quality relationships of someone outside of my race. It helped me not be so like, uh-oh. Can I not ... You know can I trust them ... Those walls broke down and they're not all like plotting against us. It really did solidify that I could trust her. It made me feel inclined to be open to other relationships like cross racially. Yeah.

For these participants, their trusting relationships with White mentors opened them to the possibility of building other relationships with White persons despite the messages and past experiences they had of White racism.

Summary

The ten participants interviewed shared a range of experiences and reflections on their experiences of cross-racial trust and the larger socio-political context in which they practice counseling and engage in academic scholarship. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, at least three participants appeared to be hesitant during the first half of the interview to express negative experiences with Whites in the profession. By the end of the interview these three were more forthright concerning their feelings about White-Black relationships. This may have influenced the results found in the study.

The Black doctoral students interviewed answered several questions related to their lived experiences of cross-racial trust and the research team identified the four superordinate themes of *contributors to trust, cultural mistrust, self-awareness, and benefits of cross-racial mentoring*.

The research team categorized several themes and subthemes that identified both interpersonal and intrapersonal factors that facilitated cross-racial trust despite having life experiences that would warrant mistrust of Whites.

Table 4.10 Demographics Table

Pseudonym	Gender	Age Range	Ethnic Undergrad	Research Level PhD Program	Area/Location Raised	SES	Parents' Education	How Many mentors	Position of Mentor
Anthony	Male	20's	HBCU	2	Urban/Northeast	Working Class	FGG	1 for 3 years	Professor
Chad	Male	20's	PWI	1	City/Southeast	Working Class	FGG	5 between 1-5 years	Professors/Supervisors
Darnell	Male	20's	PWI	3	Urban/Midwest	Working Class	CGG	2 for 2 years	Professor/Supervisor
Garvey	Male	20's	PWI	1	Urban/Midwest	Working Class	CGG	2 for 3-4 years	Professor/Supervisor
Harpo	Female	50's	HBCU	2	Suburban/Midatlantic	Middle Class	FGG	2 for 3 yrs 1 for 10+	Supervisors
Jacen	Female	20's	PWI	2	Urban/Midatlantic	Middle Class	FGG	3 for 2-3 years	Supervisors
Jessica	Female	30's	PWI	1	Suburban/Southeast	Working Class	FGG	1 for 8 yrs	Professor
Kelly	Female	20's	PWI	2	Suburban/Midatlantic	Working Class	CGG	3 for 1-2 yrs	Supervisor/Professor
Nicole	Female	20's	PWI	2	Appalachian/Midwest	Poor	FGG	1 for 1yr	Professor
Simone	Female	30's	MSI	2	Suburban/Southeast	Working Class	FGG	1 for 10 yrs 1 for 1 yr	Supervisor/Professor

FCG = First Generation College Graduates CGG = Continuing Generation College Graduates

Table 4.11

List of Themes and Subthemes

1. Contributors to Trust
 - 1.1. Being Real
 - 1.1.1. Transparent
 - 1.1.2. Difficult Conversations
 - 1.1.3. Shared Marginalized Identity
 - 1.1.4. Call Me Out
 - 1.1.5. Pass the Test
 - 1.2. Advocates
 - 1.2.1. Initiate Conversations
 - 1.2.2. Seeing is Believing
 - 1.2.3. Social Justice Orientation
 - 1.2.4. Use Your Privilege
 - 1.3. Honoring my Experience
 - 1.3.1. Humble Inquiry
 - 1.3.2. Mutual Growth
 - 1.3.3. Less Rigid Boundaries
 - 1.3.4. Providing Space
 - 1.3.5. Respect My Disagreements
 - 1.4. Ability to Trust
 - 1.4.1. Past Experiences
 - 1.4.2. Generally Trusting
 - 1.4.3. Courage
 - 1.4.4. Innate Trust of Blacks
 - 1.4.5. Negative Experiences with Blacks
 - 1.4.6. Trust by Proxy
2. Reasons for Mistrust
 - 2.1. Overt Messages
 - 2.2. White Voice
 - 2.3. Past Racist Experiences
 - 2.4. Avoidance of Topic
 - 2.5. Microaggressions
 - 2.6. Being Dismissed
 - 2.7. Ill Motives
 - 2.8. Tokenism
 - 2.9. Politics
3. Critical Consciousness
 - 3.1. Necessity of White People
 - 3.2. Internalized Racism
 - 3.3. Isolation
 - 3.4. Questioning of Self

- 3.5. Intersectionality
 - 3.5.1. Socio-Economic Status
 - 3.5.2. Gender
- 3.6. White Trust
- 3.7. Power Differential
- 4. Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring
 - 4.1. Networks of Privilege
 - 4.2. Disconfirm Gross Overgeneralizations

Table 4.12

Codebook descriptions

Superordinate Theme/ Theme/ Sub-Theme	Characteristics	n=10
S: Contributors to Trust Research sub question a.	Factors that enabled Black counselors to trust White mentors	10
T: Being Real	Genuineness in expressing who they are and the realities of racism	10
s-t: Transparent	Denotes a level of forthrightness and vulnerability which often includes self-disclosure	6
s-t: Difficult Conversations	Willingness to engage in potentially uncomfortable conversations surrounding race	6
s-t: Call Out	Willingness to forthrightly give a corrective word to the mentee	3
s-t: Shared Marginalized Identity	White person was able to share a marginalized share identity they have with the student in an appropriate manner	2
s-t: Passing the Test	Whites who were trusted have shown themselves to be trustworthy overtime, as a result of how they handled certain conversations or incidents	2
T: Advocates	White persons who actively sought to work toward equity	7
s-t: Initiate Conversations	White persons were willing to bring up the conversations on race or racism	5

s-t: Seeing is Believing	Words and actions must align in order for the person to be trusted	5
s-t: Social Justice Orientation	Person has an interest in other marginalized groups (e.g. LGBT rights, Poor)	3
s-t: Use Your Privilege	Person uses their White privilege to assist the Black student and work for social justice	5
s-t: Seek Me Out	White person reached out to Black person	2
T: Honoring My Experience	White persons of trust valued the experience of the Black student	9
s-t: Humble Inquiry	White person allowed the Black person to be the expert of their own experience and sought to learn.	4
s-t: Mutual Growth	Both the mentee and mentor learned from the cross-racial relationship	3
s-t: Less Rigid Boundaries	White person invited discussion on topics that went beyond immediate professional or academic concerns	7
s-t: Providing Space	White persons of trust created an environment where Black persons could be vulnerable	5
s-t: Respects my Disagreement	When Black students argued against the White persons perspective on multicultural issues their right to disagree was honored	3
T: Ability to Trust Research sub question b.	Characteristics or experiences of Blacks that allowed enabled them to trust White mentor	10
s-t: Past Experiences	Experiences that Blacks had prior to meeting the White mentor that enabled them to feel as if trusting Whites was potentially a viable option	5
s-t: Generally Trusting	Having a predisposition to give others the benefit of the doubt in belief that they have good will	5
s-t: Courage	Belief that it requires a willingness to pursue relationships with Whites despite the likelihood of being dismissed or rejected	2

s-t: Innate Trust	Trusting Blacks came naturally, a belief that it often takes more time to trust Whites	3
s-t: Negative Experiences with Blacks	Blacks who had negative experiences with other Blacks which served as motivation to potentially trust a White person	4
s-t: Trust by Proxy	Blacks who believed Whites were potentially trustworthy as a result of other Blacks trusting them	5
S: Reasons for Mistrust	Factors that contribute to the mistrust of Whites by Blacks	10
T: Overt Messages	Explicit messages from family and community about not trusting Whites	5
T: White Voice	A form of code switching that entails changing one's tone or diction in order to mirror that of middle-class Whites	2
T: Past Racist Experiences	Previous encounters with Whites that made it hard to trust Whites now	5
T: Avoidance of Topic	White counselors who avoided the topic of race	2
T: Microaggressions	Experiences with Whites that, although not volatile, left the Black person feeling disrespected	2
T: Being Dismissed	Experiences with Whites in counseling profession who were not taking the feelings or desires of Black participants seriously	3
T: Ill Motives	Questioning the intentions that White persons have for wanting a relationship with Blacks	5
T: Tokenism	Blacks feeling as if they are being used by Whites for their race, for the benefit of the White person	4
T: Politics	Social and professional situations that must be navigated in order to be successful in the department or profession	2
S: Critical Consciousness	Black awareness of systems of oppression where race places them and others in the larger socio-political scene	9

T: Necessity of White	Believing that to be successful in one's education and profession it is necessary to have relationships with Whites	4
T: Internalized Racism	Awareness of insecurities in relation to Whites that are a result of racial oppression	2
T: Isolation	Feelings of being alone as a Black person, particularly when verbalizing their racial experience in a social context	3
T: Questioning of Self	Blacks questioning whether their perception of a present situation as racist is based in reality or pain from past experiences	2
T: Intersectionality	Recognition that race combined with other identities significantly effects ones influence and position in society	4
s-t: SES	Recognition that race and socio-economic identities combined effects a person's influence and position in society	3
s-t: Gender	Recognition that race and gender combined effects a person's influence and position in life.	2
T: White Trust	A concern for White persons being able to trust the Black person	3
T: Power Differential	Recognizing the difference in power that the White mentor had over the Black student or supervisee	4
S: Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring	Unique perceived benefits of having a White mentor	9
T: Networks of Privilege	Whites using their academic status and/or privilege to connect Black mentees with other Whites	5
T: Disconfirm Gross Overgeneralizations	Experience of having this cross-racial trusting relationship dispelled messages of general mistrust of all Whites	4

Chapter Five: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine interracial trust between Blacks and Whites within the counseling profession. A few studies have examined the experiences of Black students and faculty within the counseling profession regarding their marginalization by White colleagues and instructors (Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). Yet, there is an absence of counseling research examining the perceptions of Blacks regarding beneficial cross-racial relationships, specifically with mentors. There are even fewer studies within the counseling profession on the concept of interpersonal trust.

This phenomenological study seeks to contribute to our knowledge on positive, trusting cross-racial mentoring relationships. It was guided by the research question: What are the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have participated in or are currently in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession? Two subquestions that further guided this study were:

- a. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the mentors engendered cross-racial trust in the mentees?
- b. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the protégé enabled their cross-racial trust?

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 Black doctoral students in counselor education programs, inquiring about interpersonal and intrapersonal factors which contributed to their cross-racial trust of White mentors. The research team analyzed the data from these interviews and constructed four superordinate themes that were descriptive of the data: *contributors to trust, reasons for mistrust, critical consciousness, and benefits of cross-racial mentoring.*

Contributors to Trust

The most prominent theme which was constructed as a contributor to trust was the value of the White mentor being real. All participants stated that this was key to their willingness to engage in interracial trust. These Black students spoke of an authenticity that was required from Whites, a willingness on their mentors' part to be vulnerable with the mentee through being transparent. The participants of this study were willing to be vulnerable with Whites who modeled this transparency. Hurley defined trust as "the confident reliance on someone when you are in a position of vulnerability" (2006, p. 56). For the participants of this study, a mutual vulnerability resulted from their mentor's transparency.

This appears to be congruent with Farrell's (2007) study of 65 doctoral mentees in counselor education which noted that most described their mentors as genuine. Although most of Farrell's participants were White, the Black students of this study used similar language. These Black mentees were also in line with Johnson-Baily and Cervero's (2004) assertion that trust is foundational for any mentoring relationship, even more so in cross-racial mentoring relationships. These findings revealed that there were specific attributes that Black participants were looking for in White mentors who they chose to trust.

The Black students in this study believed that an aspect of being real was their mentor's willingness to recognize their Whiteness and the privilege that their race entailed. This is in line with the multicultural competency literature that notes the importance of White counselors acknowledging their ethnic identity and the power it entails in relation to people of color (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis 1992). The participants in the current study also appeared to confirm Tokar and Swanson's (1991) assertion that it is imperative for Whites to be conscious of their race if they desire to serve as mentors for Blacks. Alvarez et al. (2009) argued that White

mentors need to be cognizant of systemic racism. Yet, the Black mentees in the current study would add that race consciousness is not enough, an acknowledgement of the power inherent in White privilege is also needed.

Under the theme seeing is believing, all participants in this study spoke of the importance of their mentors' words lining up with their behavior, which coincides with several studies on what constitutes trust (Chang, Yeh & Yan, 2014; Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). At the same time, when they were asked what their mentors did to instill trust, many spoke more about their mentor's way of being with them than any specific things their mentors did. In other words, under the theme *honoring my experience*, these Black students emphasized the posture of humility that these trusted Whites embodied more than specific things they said. Alvarez et al. (2009) stressed that it is important for White psychology professors to talk about differing cultural values and how they may affect students of color in academia. These results may suggest that the posture of these conversations entail White humility and a process of humble inquiry.

Within the theme, *honoring my experience*, Black protégés voiced the great importance they placed on their White mentor's respect for the Black experience of oppression. As a result of the respect that their White mentor's had for their struggles as persons of color, mentees believed that their White mentor's learned and grew as a result of the cross-racial relationship. As the participants described how their mentors honored their experience, many of their descriptors were congruent with Relational Cultural Theory (RCT).

Relational Cultural therapists have a radical respect for the struggles and resilience of people from marginalized groups. This radical respect entails a deep and abiding respect for the mentee's ability to navigate life despite systemic hindrances to their flourishing. This is a respect

for the client's coping mechanisms and strategies for survival, a respect that is articulated to the client (Jordan 2009).

Persons operating from a RCT lens believe that authenticity is necessary for real engagement in growth fostering relationships. Finally, they believe that the therapist should be affected by the client in deep and beneficial ways as a result of being inspired by the strengths and unique story of the client. These dispositions are congruent with many of the characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of a trustworthy White person, according to the participants in this study. Just as Rogerian theory is foundational for many therapists, RCT may serve as a guidepost to White mentors in the counseling profession to build trusting relationships with Black students.

At the same time, some of these Black students valued their White mentors challenging them to work harder and excel in the profession. These participants interpreted the mentor's challenge as respect for their abilities. These results seem to confirm Eller et al.'s (2014) finding that challenge and support is an identified theme in mentoring relationships across disciplines. Whereas some scholars note the differing cultural expectations that may hinder cross-racial mentoring (Alvarez et al., 2009; Johnson-Baily & Cervero, 2004), the participants of this study also noted the power differential that can further complicate ethnic differences. But these students believed that these challenges could be fruitful for both the Black mentee and White mentor, as it potentially increased the multicultural competency of both parties.

Black students viewed their mentors as advocates or allies for racial justice and this contributed to their ability to trust them. Again, it was not enough for the White supervisor or counselor educator to simply engage in social justice rhetoric. Seeing was believing, advocacy was defined by actions more so than words. These students were looking for Whites of good will and believed that a White person who actively fought for the rights of other marginalized persons

may be an ally. This is congruent with the multicultural and social justice counseling competencies, which calls for advocacy interventions (Comstock et al., 2008; Ratts, Singh, Nassar-McMillan, Butler, & McCullough, 2016).

A noteworthy finding of this study was captured in the subtheme *less rigid boundaries*. Most of the participants spoke about the importance of the Whites they chose to trust being willing to not constrict the relationship to discussions on academic and professional topics. These results align with other studies that have shown that Black students desire that their mentor be interested in areas of their life outside of academics, such as their family (Patton, 2009). The Black mentees in this present study describe the Whites they trusted as those they could depend on for emotional support, and this support required White's to move beyond the "rigid" boundaries of student-teacher or supervisee-supervisor relationships. Though scholars who encourage cross-racial mentoring have noted the need for White faculty to engage in honest talk of racism and oppression, they have not emphasized the need for these mentoring relationships to entail emotional support for students from marginalized ethnicities (Alveraz et al. 2009; Brinson & Kottler, 1993; Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

This may call into question some of the apprehensions concerning dual role relationships for supervisors and counselor educators in the ACA code of ethics. The ACA Code of Ethics (2014) F.3.a. advises that supervisors "consider the risks and benefits of extending the current supervisory relationships...beyond conventional parameters." (p. 13) Section 10 F.10.d and F.10.f. also call counselor educators to engage in thoughtful consideration of boundary extensions while being cognizant of the power differential that exists between students. The theme *less rigid boundaries* entailed the views of participants in this study who stated that they trusted their White mentors because of their willingness to extend themselves in support and

concern for the student beyond what most White supervisors or faculty persons had done previously. In order to honor the experience of the marginalization of Black counseling students, White supervisors and mentees may need to consider providing a more wholistic form of helping students. This would entail recognizing and supporting their emotional needs while graduate students.

This study can help normalize the experience of cross-racial trust for other Black doctoral students within the counseling profession. These participants speak to a number of issues, struggles, and questions that Black doctoral students may have as they navigate their existence in predominately White programs.

Ability to Trust

All participants in this study recognized personal attributes or experiences that enabled them to trust White persons despite their various experiences of racism at the hands of Whites. Not surprisingly, having positive experiences with Whites in their past was an impetus for at least half of the participants to trust a White person while a graduate student. Half of the participants described themselves as generally trusting, which may or may not affect their level of cultural mistrust. The results of this study did not indicate whether those who described themselves as generally trusting were not more likely to report having more positive experiences with Whites than those who did not describe themselves as such.

A few of these students spoke about the courage that cross-racial trust requires. This was congruent with Choi, Moon, and Nae's (2014) study on the relationship between cognitive and affective trust and the cost of receiving feedback from business supervisors in Korea. The results of this Korean study revealed that lower levels of affective trust was associated with a greater fear of critical feedback negatively affecting one's ego or sense of self. For Blacks, the perceived

cost of critical feedback maybe greater in cross-racial relationships, as past wounds due to racism may be reopened (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000). Perhaps this is the reason why most participants in this study spoke about the importance of the affect trust they had for their White mentors.

Some of the Blacks in this study also recognized that trust requires a level of vulnerability that some other Blacks may not be willing to risk, for good reason. The participants who spoke about the need for courage in cross-racial trust also spoke of the insecurities they felt being Black in predominately White educational contexts. They questioned why they felt inferior at times to their White peers when there were no indicators that they were less intelligent or capable. Therefore, attempts at interracial trust was fraught with potential harm to their sense of self. To reach out to a White professor for mentoring opened the possibility of rejection or exposure to racism which may open old wounds, and therefore was a risk that some Blacks may not take.

Yet, one of the most notable findings of this study may be that four participants indicated that they were open to the possibility of cross-racial trust because of negative experiences with other Black persons. In other words, their ability to trust Whites was motivated in part by their fear of encountering Black rejection. Studies that examine interracial mistrust are scarce in the counseling literature but almost half of the participants in this study spoke to negative experiences with Blacks in their past that caused them to be reluctant to reach out to potential Black mentors. Some participants spoke of being rejected by other African-American peers for not being considered Black enough. One participant shared that she seldom felt supported by other Black females. Patton (2009) reported that all of the Black female graduate mentees in her study desired Black mentors. Yet, the findings of this current study should be kept in

consideration, lest we assume that all Black graduate students are looking for Black faculty for mentoring.

Reasons for Mistrust

William Richardson, a Black doctoral sociology student at Northwestern University, spoke to the prevalence of racism in academic fields that espouse values of multicultural sensitivity (Zamudio-Suarez, 2016). Almost all of the participants of this study spoke to the reality of racism within the counseling profession. Despite the rhetoric of social justice and inclusivity, the participants of this study believed racism is still prevalent in counselor education and the counseling profession at large (Bradley & Holcomb-McCoy, 2004; Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012). For this reason, Black graduate students may experience a greater sense of disillusionment and disappointment when encountering White racism in counseling departments and clinical sites.

The Black mentees in this study spoke of feeling isolated from their departments and at times disrespected by White faculty, which aligned with Henfield, Woo, and Washington's (2012) results elucidating Black doctoral experiences within counselor education. Bradley and Holcomb-McCoy (2004) also found that Black faculty also felt unsupported by their White peers. As one looks at the parallel experiences of Black doctoral students and Black faculty, it appears as if these students are experiencing a foretaste of the cross-racial stress they will encounter in their roles as counselor educators. There appears to be great continuity between the experiences of marginalization of Black doctoral students and that of Black faculty within the counseling profession.

As participants of this study spoke of past experiences that fostered cultural mistrust, such as overt and more subtle messages from their home community and racist experiences with

Whites, they noted that their reasons for mistrusting Whites in the counseling profession was warranted. These students spoke of suffering from microaggressions and being dismissed and feeling used as tokens. They believed that many White counselors are hypocritical, that their behaviors did not align with their rhetoric of social justice.

The subtheme of *White voice* maybe particularly salient with the professional counseling context. Some of these participants spoke of observing their family from childhood switching their tone and manner of speaking around Whites, and interpreted this as meaning that one cannot be yourself when with Whites. It was an early lesson in code-switching, which may signal that one is not safe to be fully genuine around Whites (Day-Vines, Patton, & Baytops, 2003).

Critical Consciousness

Black doctoral students within the counseling field may have an increased awareness of issues surrounding oppression, power dynamics, and socio-inequities as a result of their education and research interests. Therefore, their level of critical consciousness maybe increased as a result of their training (Friere, 1970; Sue & Sue, 2015; Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015). These students spoke in terms found in the multicultural literature, reflecting on what they had learned and how this shaped their interpretation of their experience.

For example, two Black female participants brought up the intersectionality of race and gender and how they were cognizant of these power dynamics. Within the responses of these two Black women, we may be seeing the precursors of the discouragement that Black female faculty expressed in Dade, Tartakov, Hargrave, and Leigh's study (2015), which included feelings of being dismissed or ignored by White faculty members. The women in Dade's study also experienced a lack of cultural sensitivity in their departments, and being passed over for opportunities to collaborate in meaningful scholarship work that other White faculty members

were being invited to join. Both Black male and female participants brought up the intersectionality of race and gender in their perceptions of the counseling profession being for White females as did the Black male counselor educators in Brooks and Steen's study (2010).

Three participants spoke about the significance of the intersection between race and socio-economic status (SES). While answering the demographic questionnaire, one male spoke of his SES as being the most significant identity factor for him. A female who grew up middle-class spoke of her suspicion of Whites who are drawn to middle-class Blacks but speak disparagingly about poor Blacks. Finally, a female who grew up working class told the story of not connecting with a potential Black faculty mentor who grew up more financially privileged and did not understand her financial struggles the way her White mentor did who also grew up working class. There is a lack of literature on Black graduate students and faculty within the counseling profession that has taken into consideration the intersection of their race and socio-economic status in their experiences.

Regardless of gender, these Black doctoral students felt as if they were in a precarious position; that if they desired to succeed in the profession they would need to build relationships with White faculty, regardless of whether the Whites available were trustworthy. Under the theme, necessity of White people, some participants shared that from a young age they learned that Whites are the gatekeepers to the professions and one must adapt your voice and mannerisms in order to succeed. The degree to which a Black person feels compelled to codeswitch (Day-Vines, Patton, & Baytops, 2003) may decrease the likelihood of trusting a White counseling profession.

Several of the participants spoke of the power differential that exists between them and their White mentors. As noted above, some students said they wanted White supervisors and

faculty to take the initiative in having conversations about race. It is important to mention that a few mentees stated that they wanted the White person to do so while also being cognizant of the position of vulnerability in which such discussions may place the Black student. Therefore it is not enough to encourage Whites to engage in discussions but to do so with sensitivity and awareness of the precarious position this may place the Black student or supervisee. Day-Vines' et al. (2007) stress that broaching race and ethnicity with clients is a multicultural competency. Although they note the importance of broaching the topic of race, they also state that some clients may not be comfortable speaking with a White counselor on this topic due to "concerns about the power differential between the counselor and the client in which the counselor wields the balance of power" (p. 403-404).

For the primary researcher, one of the more troubling results of this study, though not surprising, was the struggles with internalized racism articulated by two of the participants. These participants were both Black males who the primary researcher viewed as very intelligent and came across as confident throughout most of the interview. But each expressed both through words as well as through their body language the insecurity that can plague Black persons in general, and particularly Black students in predominately White educational settings. W.E.B. Dubois in the *Souls of Black Folk* (2015) wrote that the longest lasting and perhaps most devastating legacy of American slavery was the fear that many Blacks hold secretly that they are not equal to Whites.

Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring

All participants were asked about unique benefits of cross-racial mentoring, or positive results of being mentored by a White person. Nine of the ten participants identified at least one

or two advantages of cross-racial mentoring which generally fell within two themes: networks of privilege and the disconfirmation of gross overgeneralizations.

Half of the participants spoke about believing their White mentors had connections that Black counseling professionals may not. Some participants witnessed what they considered to be a White privilege, having connections with several influential people and research groups within the field. Other mentees said they had not yet benefited from these networks but were hopeful that when it was time for them to graduate their mentors would recommend them to other Whites who could help foster their professional success. Ortiz-Walters and Gilson (2005) noted that mentees from historically marginalized ethnicities generally look for their mentors to provide social support through networking.

The students' hope that Whites would be able to provide more or better connections may relate to what Choi, Moon, and Nae (2014) call cognitive trust, whereas these mentees believed that their mentors had the knowledge and resources to help them succeed. A few of these students stated that White persons may be privy to social connections and knowledge about the counseling profession and academia that faculty of color are not, due to the latter's marginalization. This cognitive trust in Whites may be related to Whaley's (2001b) results that Black patients who were higher in cultural mistrust, also believed that White clinicians were better trained than Blacks. When participants of this study spoke of innate trust for Blacks, they spoke more so in terms of affect trust, believing that other Blacks could more readily and accurately empathize better with their experiences.

Some of the participants also spoke about the significance of having a White mentor which reduced some of their cultural mistrust. They felt that some of the more dichotomous messages they received in childhood were not true, that all Whites due not have ill motives and

some sincerely want to help. These students believed that having a White mentor created a type of corrective emotional experience.

A few expressed a felt need for other Blacks to have such experiences so that they may be encouraged to branch outside of their ethnic enclaves. Perhaps more significantly, these participants said that having a trusted White mentor emboldened them to go places and seek connections to people in other areas of their life. For these students, having a White person they trusted as a mentor opened up doors of possibility outside of the counseling profession as well.

The results of this study confirmed Brinson and Kottler's (1993) assertions that cross-racial mentoring provides psychological, social and political support for graduate students. The participants all spoke of the academic and professional growth, along with an increased professional identity that scholars have noted as benefits of mentoring relationships (Allen et al., 2004; Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Lenz, 2014).

Implications for Counselor Educators and Supervisors

The results of this study suggest several implications for both counselor educators and supervisors. The first is that it is important for White faculty and supervisors to recognize that Black-White student, supervisory, and mentoring relationships call for greater sensitivity and consciousness on behalf of the person in the power position. It is important for Whites to understand and appreciate the histories that Black students in counseling bring with them to the relationship. The power differential between teacher and student or supervisor and supervisee is substantial. When the student is Black and the supervisor or faculty member White, the vulnerability for the student increases.

Much of our multicultural competency training includes the domains of self-awareness, cultural knowledge, and cultural skills (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis 1992), yet some of these

participants spoke of qualities that were hard for them to define. The characteristics of trusted Whites, found under the superordinate theme *being real*, point more to ways of being with a person, rather than overt attempts to solicit trust. Many of the participants said that they could tell that their White mentor cared deeply about both their experience and their professional development. It may not be enough for us to teach self-awareness, cultural knowledge, and skills. There appears to be a need for character development in counselor education that nurtures caring dispositions toward persons from marginalized backgrounds. As Smith et al., (2004) assert, “practicing multiculturalism means internalizing the principles of multicultural competency and acting accordingly.... A book or class cannot provide for multicultural competence because multiculturalism is not just a set of facts, guidelines, or principles. It is a way of life” (p. 15).

Though much of our multicultural training of counselors centers on knowledge of different cultures, the results of this study may indicate that we need to focus more on developing what some scholars have called the multicultural personality (Ramirez, 1991; Poterotto, 2010). The multicultural personality

is emotionally stable; is secure in her/his racial/ethnic (and other) identities; embraces diversity in her/his personal life and makes active attempts to learn about other cultures and interact with culturally different people (e.g., friends, colleagues); has a spiritual essence with some sense of connectedness to all persons; has wide reaching empathic ability in multiple contexts; is self-reflective and cognitively flexible...understand the biases inherent in his/her own worldview and actively learns about alternate worldviews; understands the impact of internalized racism (and homophobia) and/or unearned privilege in her or his personal life; and is a social activist, empowered to speak out against all forms of

social injustice...(Ponterotto et al., 2006, P. 130).

In essence, the counseling profession needs a multicultural education that speaks to a way of being in the world (Smith et al., 2004).

Scholars in fields such as nursing and psychology are developing models of compassion training to help trainees empathize with the struggles of others (Halifax, 2014; Jazaieri et al., 2013). These trainings include techniques such as mindfulness and guided imagery to help learners develop sensitivities toward persons who are hurting. Halifax (2014) has developed a model of compassion cultivation that “draws on neuroscience, social psychology, ethics, and contemplative perspectives” in order to help nurture greater kindness and empathy toward others.

Counselor educators may also seek to expose students to personal narratives of racial struggle through civil rights tours and intentional time spent with other persons of color, listening to their stories of suffering from racism and bigotry. Ponterotto, Utsey, and Pederson (2006) write about the need of creating meaningful intergroup contact in order to disconfirm prejudices. This contact between differing groups must include components of Allport’s (1979) contact hypothesis which calls for equal status between groups, close enough engagement over a long enough period of time to disconfirm preconceived notions, and conditions that necessitate enough interdependence between members to accomplish mutually beneficial goals. These intentional interventions can help reduce prejudice in Whites as well as lower levels of cultural mistrust that may be too high to be beneficial for Blacks.

A second implication of this study is found in the more fluid boundaries that these White mentors maintained with these Black students. The affective trust felt for these mentors was a result of the emotional support and deep empathy that their White mentors maintained. It is imperative that White supervisors and faculty appreciate the added pressure and stress that

racism has on the Black graduate student experience. As White supervisors and counselor educators appreciate this as a reality, they will understand that their role in the student's or supervisee's life may include emotional support. The racial wounds that Blacks have suffered in the past along with the experiences of racism that students face in their departments or counseling sites necessitate the emotional support of a teacher or supervisor who is also a care giver.

Based on the results of this study and others, White supervisors and counselor educators can assume that most Blacks within the profession are likely to feel isolated and marginalized as persons of color (Brooks & Steen, 2010; Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). Racism is not simply a problem outside of our departments; it creates tension and feelings of loneliness for Blacks within the counseling profession. For this reason, White persons of good will can seek to create safe spaces for Black students to talk about their experiences as racial minorities. Participants in this study suggested that Whites can create safe spaces in various ways, such as putting visible artifacts in one's office that shows that you have a concern for racial justice. Another suggestion was to be willing to take the initiative in broaching the subject of race (Day-Vines et al., 2007). A few participants spoke about the importance of their mentors sharing concern about social events in the media such as Blacks being killed by police. Other participants suggested that Whites simply let Black students know that they recognize that racism is still prevalent and that their door is open to talk about the student's experiences within the program or clinical site.

White counselor educators and supervisors can take steps to advocate for Blacks both within the profession of counseling as well as within the larger Black community. Whites can make efforts to be present and active in the Black community, volunteering in public schools,

and building relationships with leaders in the Black community (i.e. principals, teachers, pastors, business owners). White counselor educators can invite Blacks to be involved in their research as well as help to promote the research of Blacks in their academic community. Whites who have social connections can use their privilege, as the participants of this study noted, to help Black leaders build relationships with persons of influence. Bemak and Chung (2008) speak about various ways that counselors can move from the “nice counselor syndrome” to social justice advocacy:

Use strategies that are data driven [in] implementing multicultural/social justice advocacy and organizational change strategies...Have the courage to speak up and speak out as a multicultural/social justice counselor...Address environmental, cultural, social, historical, political, and organizational factors that affect students’ personal, social, and academic development...Develop political and personal partners...(i.e., teachers, principals, other staff, and parents)...Remember that conflict is part of the package. (p. 378-379)

These doctoral students were coming from programs that claim to value diversity and place an emphasis on multicultural competency. Supervisors and counselor educators may need to practice postures such as humble inquiry and others described in RCT in order to discern the level of cultural stress students of color are incurring as a result of White racism in their programs.

Finally, our counseling programs can engage in evaluations of their own department’s cultural competency. Studies such as this one has shown that though cultural competency is a stated value within the profession and is a core component of CACREP educational standards, many Black students and faculty believe that there are a significant number of White supervisors

and faculty who are insensitive and racist. Counseling departments can create feedback loops that encourage recent alumni members to provide feedback on various aspects of their experience within the department. These evaluations could be done in a way that respected the anonymity of the evaluators, as well as provide an opportunity for departments to hear from doctoral graduates, many of which have a level of expertise in multicultural issues.

The CACREP 2016 standards call for an evaluation of counseling programs (CACREP Sec. 4). CACREP standards suggest that data maybe collected from “systematic follow-up studies of graduates” (Sec. 4, p. 17). CACREP committees could choose to examine recent alumni evaluations during CACREP review for accreditation or renewal. Deans may also use these evaluations for annual review of faculty.

The ACA Code of Ethics (2014) call for counselor educators to be competent in the areas they teach (F.7.b.) as well as in the general areas of “ethical, legal, and regulatory aspects of the profession” (p. 14). These standards also call for counselor educators to infuse multicultural issues into all of their courses (F.7.c., F.11.c.). Although F.11.c. calls counselor educators to “infuse multicultural/diversity competency in their training and supervision practices” faculty and supervisors are not explicitly instructed to grow in their own knowledge of such competencies. Participants in this study said that they experienced a number of White faculty and supervisors as multiculturally incompetent.

Sections F.6.c. and F.10.e. make clear that supervisors and counselor educators are not to serve as counselors to students. As a result of this study, White supervisors may consider whether their understanding of conventional supervisory relationships will provide enough support for Black supervisees in light of the prevalence of racist experiences reported by Black graduate students (Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012). The ACA Code of Ethics (2014) call

for supervisors to maintain a professional relationship with supervisees and before “extending conventional supervisory relationships” consider any potential harm that may be inflicted upon supervisees (p. 13). To not extend the academic or supervisory relationship to marginalized students may be experienced as harmful if White counseling professionals are not willing to emotionally support Black students in predominately White contexts.

Limitations

The research team recognized several limitations to this phenomenological study. There is always the potential for researcher bias to influence the study at various points. I tried to ameliorate researcher bias by having a cross-racial research team, doing consensual coding, and having an external auditor. The fact that I, the primary researcher, am a “complete member” of the participant group may have also injected biases into the study (Baker, 2006, p. 178).

Since the data collection was based solely on self-report, the possibility of social desirability should be considered as participants may have answered questions in ways that they believed would be acceptable to the researcher and others involved during the study. There was little triangulation of the data, though it mirrored other studies that examined cross-racial experiences in counselor education (Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005).

Some of the participants’ narratives resonated emotionally with that of the primary researchers, during these points in the interview the researcher did not ask as many probing questions out of concern that he may lead the participants. As a result of a lack of further questions, the participants may not have gone into as much detail in describing some of their experiences. The sequencing of the questions in the interview protocol may have influenced the data collected as the questions at times went from issues related to cross-racial trust to cross-

racial mentoring. For example, there were times when the protocol asked participants to talk about their experiences of trust or mentoring in general and participants continued to focus on cross-racial relationships.

Another limitation to this study was that member checking, though done after the first interview, was not attempted after the follow up interview as none of the participants felt as if they had anything significant to add. The primary researcher used a transcription service for the interviews, which limited his immersion in the data.

Future Research

The results of this study suggest future research that can be conducted in order to better understand trusting relationships within the counseling profession. There is a lack of research on trust in general in the United States. The researcher could find no assessments on interpersonal trust between persons. An instrument on interpersonal trust could be very beneficial as an assessment of trusting relationships between supervisees and supervisors, students and counselor educators, clients and counselors. This instrument could contain at least the two factors of affective trust and cognitive trust, both of which are established in the literature (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang, Yeh & Yang, 2014; Todorov, Baron, & Oosterhof, 2008).

There may also need to be research on the possible correlation between general trust and the level of cross-racial trust toward Whites. This would require assessments that measure both the measure of trust that a person has of people universally and to what degree they generally trust Whites. In addition, since research has shown that mentoring is beneficial to students' academic and professional success, future research may examine whether Blacks with higher levels of general trust or cross-racial trust are more likely to pursue mentoring relationships within predominately White settings. If so, are Blacks more likely to succeed academically or

meet their professional goals if their levels of general and or cross-racial trust are higher than Blacks who are less willing to engage in cross-racial relationships due to lower levels of general and or cross-racial trust?

Future research may also examine how negative experiences with Blacks may affect the racial identity development (RID) of Black persons. Researchers may also examine how a Black person's RID effects their willingness to trust Whites. It may also be worth assessing how a Black person's RID maybe impacted by cross-racial mentoring. At this point, we also do not know how Blacks are effected, in terms of their RID, by the length of the cross-racial mentoring relationship, and how various life stages as well as degree programs (Masters or Doctorate) may affect their experiences. Furthermore, we do not know how the time it takes to develop cross-racial trust for Blacks may be effected by one's stage in life.

Another line of research may examine the experiences of White mentors and any benefits, challenges, and drawbacks they perceive are inherent to cross-racial mentoring relationships. Further, studies have not been done on cross-racial trust of Whites toward Blacks, particularly Whites who have had Black mentors that they trusted.

Under the subtheme *less rigid boundaries* some participants spoke of a cultural difference between Whites and Blacks that contribute to trust or mistrust. Two participants noted that certain understandings of professionalism, particularly those that assume that conversations should be limited to immediate academic or professional concerns, hinder cross-racial trust. Alvarez et al., (2009) asserted that it is important for Whites to appreciate the importance of family for ethnic minorities and be willing to talk about how the mentees role in their family influences their work.

Most of the literature on cultural mistrust assumes it is a result of implicit bias or racism in its various forms (Whaley, 2001a, 2001b, 2012). But these students acknowledged that a difference in culture might hinder cross-racial trust, which implies that Whites of goodwill may unintentionally dissuade Black students from seeking a cross-racial trusting mentor relationship by limiting conversations to only academic or professional topics. Future research may help us understand what cultural differences hinder trust, despite the positive intent of Whites to build positive cross-racial relationships.

Finally, studies may be conducted on other possible benefits of cross-racial trusting relationships that were not examined in this study. In line with Hurd and Zimmerman's (2010, 2014) study on the potential positive mental health outcomes of mentoring, research may examine if Black graduate students who are mentored cross-racially experience better mental health outcomes than Blacks who either do not have mentors or those who are mentored by other Blacks. It may prove beneficial to study cross-racial trust in mentoring relationships in other academic disciplines to ascertain if there are differences in how trust is generated among different fields of study. We do not yet know if the results of this study are unique to the field of counselor education.

Summary

Gasman et al., (2004) stated that few studies have examined "the perspective of graduate students and faculty working in collaboration-across race and status lines" (p. 690). This study examined the perspectives of ten Black doctoral students who spoke about their experiences of trusting a White mentor and the benefits they received as a result.

The results of this study substantiate Boysen's (2010) findings that White implicit racial bias is a reality within counselor education and supervision. Despite experiences of racism

outside and within the counseling profession, Black-White trusting relationships due exist. This study identified several factors that contributed to cross-racial trust, factors that hindered interracial trust, and benefits to cross-racial mentoring.

Participants in this study spoke of the humble posture of their White mentors as enabling Black cross-racial trust. Implications for White counseling educators and supervisors include being intentional and conscientious about their relationships with Black students as well as be willing to emotionally support Black graduate students in view of the prevalence of racism both inside and outside the field. The primary researcher of this study also encourages White faculty and supervisors to be cognizant of their privilege and how they may use their privilege on behalf of students of color through mentoring relationships.

CHAPTER VI

MANUSCRIPT

Cross-Racial Trust Factors: Exploring the Experiences of Blacks

Who Have Had White Mentors in the Counseling Profession

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Manuscript to be submitted to

Journal of Counseling & Development

Abstract

The primary researcher conducted a phenomenological study on cross-racial trust factors between Black doctoral students ($n = 10$) and their White mentors within the counseling profession. Three participants identified having a White professor as a mentor; two participants identified having White supervisors as mentors; five of the participants reported having both faculty members and supervisors as White mentors. Through semi-structured interviews the primary researcher sought to ascertain what factors which engendered cross-racial trust between Black doctoral students and White mentors within the counseling profession. The research team identified four superordinate themes related to cross-racial trust: contributors to trust, reasons for mistrust, critical consciousness, and benefits of cross-racial mentoring. In addition, the research team identified 22 themes and 22 subthemes through consensual coding of the data. The findings of this study may inform culturally responsive practice in mentoring and supervision within counselor education.

Key Words: cross-racial, trust, mentoring, supervision

The counseling profession espouses values of inclusivity and multicultural competence, yet research has repeatedly shown that Blacks suffer from the racism of White counselors and counselor educators (Boysen, 2010; Henfield, Woo, & Washington, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). In a review of several research studies, Boysen (2010) discovered that White counselors have implicit racial bias against Blacks. Numerous additional studies have exposed the various ways that White racism within the profession severely hinders the therapeutic process, including the misdiagnosis and over diagnosis of patients and poor treatment outcomes (Haskins et al., 2013; Hayes, Prosek, & McLeod, 2010; Jordan, Lovett, & Sweeton, 2011; Stambaugh & Ford, 2015).

Yet the problem of White racism is not only found in the therapy office. Scholars have also researched and noted the prevalence of racism within counselor education despite the profession's academic rhetoric concerning social justice and multicultural competency (Alvarez, Blume, Cervantes, & Thomas, 2009; Henfield, Woo, and Washington, 2012, Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005). The culmination of these studies underline a significant incongruence between what the profession champions and what Blacks are experiencing.

Racism in Counselor Education

Baker and Moore's (2015) qualitative study of 19 doctoral students in counselor education examined the experiences of ethnic minority students, 12 of whom were Black. These students voiced their frustrations with having to suppress their ethnic identity as well as the pressures they felt to play the professional game according to White cultural standards.

Brooks and Steen (2010) examined the experiences of 12 Black male faculty members who expressed the stressors they experienced as minority males on campus. These men felt that their White colleagues did not feel the same sense of obligation to serve in marginalized

communities as well as function as role models for underprivileged students. Holcomb-McCoy and Addison-Bradley (2005) found Black counselor educators were pleased with their career choice but perceived several barriers to gaining tenure and professional advancement within their college or university settings. They did not feel included as valuable assets by their White colleagues. Henfield, Woo, and Washington (2012) conducted a phenomenological study of 11 Black doctoral students and found that they felt isolated and disconnected in ways that mirrored Black faculty. The students in this study expressed a desire for mentoring from faculty members.

The American Counseling Association's (ACA) Code of Ethics (2014) stresses values such as multicultural awareness and competency as well as greater ethnic inclusivity. The counseling profession asserts that these values should inform counselor education, research, supervision, and the practice of counseling. The Council for Accreditation of Counseling & Related Education Programs (CACREP) 2016 standards call for counseling departments to seek diversity within both their student bodies as well as faculty. Yet, researchers have found that most counseling departments lack diversity of both faculty and students (Johnson, Bradley, & Knight, 2007).

Though counselor education may lack the diversity in faculty that it espouses to value, there are avenues which may help increase the number of faculty of color, particularly Black faculty. Some scholars have called attention to the need for cross-racial mentoring as one possible avenue of increasing faculty of color (Alvarez, Blume, Cervantes, & Thomas, 2009; Brinson & Kottler, 1983).

Mentoring

Mentoring has been correlated with a number of benefits for novice professionals including increased self-esteem, a greater sense of belonging to the profession and institution,

and an increased likelihood of reaching one's academic and professional goals (Bynum, 2015; Gaddis, 2012; Ghosh & Reio, 2013; Lenz, 2014; Ortiz-Walters & Gilson, 2005). Blackwell (1989) defines mentoring as "a process by which persons of superior rank, special achievements, and prestige instruct, counsel, guide, and facilitate the intellectual and/or career development of persons identified as protégés" (p. 9). Allen et al., (2004), found that mentees were more likely to receive a number of benefits from mentoring including a greater sense of belonging in the profession, were more likely to get promoted, and achieved more salary growth than those who were not mentored.

Brinson and Kottler (1993) asserted that cross-racial mentoring could provide the psychological and social nurturing that students and faculty need in order to advance in the counseling profession. As a result of the lack of faculty of color, although students of color desire mentorship from ethnic minority faculty, there is a need for cross-racial mentoring (Brooks & Steen 2010; Ortiz-Walters & Gibson, 2005; Patton, 2009). Yet, some scholars note that cultural mistrust may hinder the forming of these cross-ethnic relationships (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2004).

Cultural Mistrust & Trust

As a result of the long history of racism in America and its present day realities, many psychologists view cultural mistrust, or the mistrust of Whites by ethnic minorities, as serving a psychological adaptive function in self-protection (Terrell & Terrell, 1981, Bell & Tracey, 2006; Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009; Whaley, 2001a, 2001b, 2012). These scholars note that Blacks rate highest in cultural mistrust of all major ethnic minority groups, which may be a result of the particular history of slavery. Although cultural mistrust serves as a protective factor, Bell and Tracey (2006) found that Blacks with higher levels of cultural mistrust suffered

psychologically. Another result of levels of mistrust being too high may possibly be a lack of desire or motivation to build alliances with Whites of good will who can assist in professional development.

Johnson-Bailey & Cervero (2004) note that cultural mistrust may impede the process of Whites aiding persons of color in their professional development, yet the realities of racism also hinder the forging of these potentially beneficial relationships. While additional studies examining racism and its impact on the professional development of students of color are needed, there is also little extant research on positive cross-racial relationships and trust in the counseling profession. There is also little in the literature on cross-racial trust.

Most studies on trust have been conducted internationally (Chang, Yeh & Yan, 2014; Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). These studies focus on interpersonal trust and have found that trustworthy persons are those who show a consistency in positive behavior, affection, and honesty towards the trustee. This research has also noted intrapersonal factors within the trustee, such as a secure relational past, are also vital to the formation of trust (Choi, Moon, & Nae, 2014; Robbins, 2016). The primary researcher found very little in the counseling literature on trust in general and cross-racial trust in particular.

The goal of this study was to examine cross-racial trust amongst Black mentees and White mentors in the counseling profession. By gleaning what factors contribute to cross-racial trust, the primary researcher hopes to contribute to the counseling profession's body of knowledge pertaining to multicultural competency. The results of this study may encourage Black students to consider seeking this potentially beneficial relationship and also help Whites of good will mentor and aid Black students in their academic and professional goals. Finally, this

study may serve as the bases for other research examining interpersonal trust between dyads comprised of those from marginalized groups and persons of privilege.

Methodology

The primary researcher chose to conduct a phenomenological study to capture the experiences of Black doctoral counseling students who had trusting relationships with White mentors within the profession (Hayes & Singh, 2012). Phenomenological research focuses on the lived experiences of persons, amplifying their voice as it seeks to ascertain the meanings they give to their experiences (Adams & van Manen, 2008). Through a phenomenological lens, this study examined the experience of 10 Black doctoral counseling students who participated in cross-racial trust with White mentors.

This dissertation study was guided by one research question and two subquestions:

What are the lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have participated in or are currently in trusting relationships with White mentors within the counseling profession?

- a. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the mentors engendered cross-racial trust in the mentees?
- b. What characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of the protégé enabled their cross-racial trust?

Researcher Bias

Researcher bias may threaten the validity of one's findings in phenomenological research and therefore it is imperative that the research team bracket their assumptions so that it does not distort the voices of the persons being studied (Gearing 2008). The primary researcher was a Black middle-class male who was a doctoral student in a counselor education department. His ethnicity and status as a doctoral student qualifies him as an insider in relation to his

participants (Tinker & Armstrong, 2008). His research team included both a White female and male doctoral student of counselor education. The primary researcher believed that participants would trust Whites who acknowledged White privilege and the various forms of racism that exists today. Both the White research team members believed Blacks would be more likely to trust Whites who showed a deep concern for their professional development. The research team utilized reflective journaling, consensus coding, and an independent auditor to attempt to reduce researcher bias.

Participants

Ten participants were interviewed for this study, all of which were attending predominately White institutions (PWIs). The doctoral students interviewed were located in: the Mid-Atlantic (n = 5), Southeast (n = 3), Midwest (n = 1), Southwest (n = 1). There were six females and four males with an age range of 26 to 51. Eight of the ten participants identified at least one White professor as a mentor they trusted. Seven of these students identified at least one White supervisor with whom they engaged in cross-racial trusting relationship. Five of the participants identified both White counselor educators and supervisors as mentors that they trusted.

Procedure

The primary researcher used semi-structured interviews focused on the participants' experiences of cross racial trust. To be selected for the study, participants need to be Black doctoral counselor education students who had one or more White mentors within the counseling profession that they trusted. (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang et al., 2014). Participants were found using an informal social network of Black doctoral students and counselor educators.

Potential participants received an introduction letter explaining the study and a demographic questionnaire via email. All participants received the interview questions 48 hours before their interviews in order to provide time to reflect and think about their experience as related to the questions that would be asked (James, 2014). Initial interviews ranged anywhere between 30 to 60 minutes. The interviews were transcribed and given to participants after the initial interview for member checking (Creswell, 2013). A follow up interview was designed to allow participants to add or revise anything that was said in the initial inquiry. Eight of the ten participants participated in follow up interviews, yet most stated they had nothing significant to add or revise.

The research team independently coded each transcript and came together to create a codebook based on consensus amongst team members (Hays & Singh, 2012). The codebook was compiled based on codes and themes discovered by the research team. Textural-structural descriptions from the transcripts were used to illustrate codes and themes found in the data.

Trustworthiness refers to the validity of the study, the accurate reflection of the participants' voices and perspectives (Hunt, 2011). In this study, trustworthiness was defined by these criteria: credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability (Given & Saumure, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The research team used various methods to ensure trustworthiness, including reflective journals, consensus coding, member checking, follow up interviews, and thick descriptions of the research process and participants.

Results

Themes

The research team created four superordinate themes after analyzing the data: *contributors to trust*, *reasons for mistrust*, *critical consciousness*, and *benefits of cross-racial mentoring*.

Superordinate Theme One: Contributors to Trust

All ten of the participants identified factors that assisted their willingness to engage in cross-racial trust with White mentors within the counseling profession. The research team classified three themes under *contributors to trust*: *being real*, *advocates*, and *honoring my experience*. The fourth and final theme, *ability to trust*, denoted intrapersonal characteristics that enabled the Black students to trust.

1.1. Being Real. All ten participants believed that their mentors genuineness and willingness to be forthright about the realities of racism were key to their ability to trust their White mentors. There was an authenticity in these White persons of trust that endeared these White mentors to the mentee. The research team identified five subthemes under *being real*: *transparent*, *difficult conversations*, *shared marginalized identity*, *call me out*, and *pass the test*.

1.1.1. Transparent. Six participants spoke about a level of forthrightness and honesty in their mentors, a quality of transparency that helped to facilitate trust. Simone spoke of transparency as being the key that unlocked the door of cross-racial trust in her experience, “I didn't really realize that the transparency of another person is what was able to make me have a switch of trusting white people.”

For a number of these students, their mentors’ transparency displayed a level of vulnerability appreciated by these participants.

1.1.2. Difficult Conversations. Six participants spoke of the importance of their mentor being willing to talk about difficult topics such as racism and the marginalization of persons of color. Nicole said:

What I've been saying is that they are real individuals and not afraid to have those real discussions, not afraid to have discussions about identity, and my identity, me being black, and also their identity of them being White, and then owning who they are, not being shamed or anything like that. That goes a long way for me.

Kelly noted, "You've got to be willing and able to have those difficult conversations." A little over half of participants felt it was important for Whites to be willing to enter into dialogue concerning racism and its detrimental effects on persons of color.

1.1.3. Shared Marginalized Identity. Two participants spoke about their White mentors of trust sharing personal experiences of marginalization due to aspects of their identity. Simone spoke about a White mentor who grew up as an European immigrant child in the 1950's and 60's and suffered from nationalistic bigotry. Garvey referred to a shared hidden marginalized identity that his White supervisor had which helped create a context for more vulnerable sharing of his experience in a predominately White department.

1.1.4. Call Me Out. Three participants appreciated their mentors displaying confidence in them by encouraging them to do better academic work. These mentors reached out to the students and exhorted them to greater achievement. Nicole shared, "he challenges me. He is not afraid to call me out on my BS." Anthony shared this story:

Kind of pulled me to the side one day after class and was like, "Hey, you got some potential but I noticed that you're not as engaged as you need to be within

the class." It was like, "You're doing your work, but are you really putting forth your full potential?" Which is good. Sometimes you need someone to pull you by your coat tail.

Two of the three participants stated that they received their mentors challenge as an honor, interpreting it as the mentoring believing that they had greater potential than they even realized.

1.1.5. Pass the Test. Two participants shared that they would observe Whites to see how they handled certain situations that may expose how they viewed or related to Blacks. Garvey noted that cross-racial trust, for him, entailed a process over time that allowed him to observe Whites pass or fail “tests” that either gave evidence to their cultural competence or exposed their lack of racial sensitivity.

1.2. Advocates. Seven participants spoke of the need for Whites to be *advocates* to prove trustworthy. These participants trusted Whites who they viewed as “allies” for either the Black student or marginalized people in general. Four subthemes under *advocates* included: *initiate conversations*, *seeing is believing*, *social justice orientation*, and *use your privilege*.

1.2.1. Initiate Conversations. Half of the participants talked about the importance of their mentor’s willingness to initiate conversations on race. One participant said that it is important for Whites to be willing to initiate conversations about the “elephant in the room.” Kelly felt strongly that it is imperative that Whites understand the significance of their “... creating spaces for students or mentee's to talk about whatever is affecting them and not placing the burden on your mentee to bring it up.” Like Kelly, other students spoke of the burden lifted when their mentor was willing to initiate the conversation.

1.2.2. Seeing is Believing. Half of the participants also shared that one of the reasons they trusted their White mentors was because they were able to observe the concern that the

mentor had for marginalized people. These students were not satisfied with rhetoric on inclusivity but sought behavioral congruence with stated values. Kelly said, “They’re not just saying that they’re a safe person but their actions back that up...Don’t just say you’re an ally and that we’re multicultural, like, show me.” Garvey shared that he would observe the office of Whites:

I need visible support. The ways that you can show visible support are even in your office you can have a poster, a quote, at the very least MLK, if not a Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, show me something that I can see that you connect or are willing to connect with black people.

For these participants cross-racial trust entailed actions aligning with professed values of racial inclusivity and social justice.

1.2.3. Social Justice Orientation. For three participants, it was important that their White mentor had an orientation toward social justice in the student’s choice to trust them. Kelly noted:

The main thing that enabled me to trust them ... they had some kind of social justice orientation that was reflected in their research ... Whether or not it’s pertaining to race, even if it’s LGBT, even if it’s undocumented immigrants, whatever it is....

Nicole stated that she is more likely to trust Whites who have a passion for justice for any marginalized group, not simply for Blacks. These participants inferred that a White person’s sensitivity and advocacy for any oppressed group may be a sign that she or he is trustworthy.

1.2.4. Use Your Privilege. Half of the student participants stated that it was important for Whites to not only acknowledge White privilege but to use it on behalf of their students of color.

Chad stated that although it may cost the White professional some esteem amongst their colleagues, they needed to have the courage to use their voice and power on behalf of ethnic minorities.

1.3. Honoring My Experience. A significant theme under *contributors to trust*, was the White trustworthy mentor's honoring the experience of the Black supervisee or counseling student. These mentors held a deep appreciation for the Black struggle and sought to validate the participant's experience. There were five subthemes which included: *humble inquiry*, *mutual growth*, *less rigid boundaries*, *providing space*, and *respect disagreements*.

1.3.1. Humble Inquiry. Four participants noted that their mentor was humble enough to recognize that they were not an expert on their student's experience, despite the mentor's potential expertise in multicultural competency. Kelly shared an emotional story about having a White male supervisor who inquired about the racist and sexist experience Kelly was having with an older White male supervisor at her university:

I remember with one [white male] mentor, I was really upset because I had a really not good experience with a [white male] supervisor. The whole time I had been in this other supervisory relationship, I was feeling as if there were racial and gender dynamics that he was unaware of but I was very aware of. I remember, so crying in my other supervisors office about it, and him bringing that up...I'm about to cry thinking about it, but it's just a very gentle and just a curious way of bringing up those dynamics because I didn't want to have to be the one to say it because sometimes you feel like you're crazy, but he brought it up. Just being pleasantly surprised but grateful when that does happen.

The White persons that these participants found to be trustworthy listened deeply, empathized readily, and asked questions when appropriate in recognition of the struggle of their Black mentees.

1.3.2. Mutual Growth. Three participants shared that cross-racial mentoring can benefit both the Black mentee and the White mentor. They believed that Whites who honored their experience could grow in their own multicultural competency as a result of the cross-racial relationship. Chad stated that:

Just being able to share those conversations, share those experiences and even talking about what it's like for me to walk into a room professionally with a bunch of other white counselors and being the only black male counselor in the room. Those conversations, I think, help build me as a mentee, but also help build my mentor.

These students understood themselves as resources for their mentors in regarding to sharing their lives and experiences as Black students in a White space.

1.3.3 Less Rigid Boundaries. Seven of the ten participants shared that it was important that the White person they choose to trust did not restrict the conversation to matters of academic and professional significance. Simone said, “We would talk about everything really. She wasn't only like a mentor for the profession. She was almost a mentor for life.” Kelly said:

I don't know if this is the culture or maybe the particular program that I'm in or if this is just a culture knack of academia in general, in that it feels as if sometimes professors set these boundaries as, I'm the professor, you are the student, the GTA, the doc student or whatever. In doing that, they set boundaries in what is acceptable to talk about, what are acceptable manners of acting with

you, and I find that to be really limiting, especially with how I relate to people because I don't relate to people, it's probably a cultural thing, but when those boundaries are rigid and when they're set. I have a harder time working within those parameters because I'm just looking around like I don't know what I can talk to you about or can come to you with. If I'm struggling personally, is it okay if I come in crying in your office because if those boundaries are really rigid, I don't feel like I can do that.

These students felt that their mentors having less rigid boundaries allowed for the participants to be more vulnerable about their lived experiences as students of color.

1.3.4. Providing Space. Half of the mentees felt it was important for Whites to create space for Blacks to process their encounters with racism and isolation. Kelly articulated her need for such a space in the midst of the,

current political and social climate that's contributing to my experience as a black student, as a black person in America. I think it's important to even, we don't have to provide space every single time there is a shooting, the police shoot a black man or every single time something happens, but I think that just providing that space for students is really important. It's providing that space for your mentee's to talk about it is really important. I think if there's not, if that space isn't provided or if there seems to be this unawareness of historical but also current social and political context that are contributing to our experiences as black people, I just don't think that I would trust them as much

For these students, their White mentor provided the space for them to express emotions and ask questions that may not be safe to ask other Whites.

1.3.5. Respect My Disagreements. Three participants stated that their cross-racial trust grew as they discovered that they could disagree with their mentors without repercussions.

Harpo wanted Whites to know,

That having a different opinion doesn't mean I'm against you, doesn't mean

I don't like you. It's being willing to stop and just have respect for the fact

that people see something different than you. Somebody can still support you

even when they have a different view than what you have.

These students felt that they may be able to trust a White person who was able to receive a critique or an opposing argument from a Black supervisee or student.

1.4. Ability to Trust. The research team labeled the fourth and last theme under *contributors of trust* as *ability to trust*, which categorized the attributes or experiences of these Black doctoral students that enabled their willingness to risk cross-racial trust. The six subthemes under *ability to trust* include: *past experiences*, *generally trusting*, *courage*, *innate trust of Blacks*, *negative experiences with Blacks*, and *trust by proxy*.

1.4.1. Past Experiences. Half of participants shared differing life experiences and events where White people had proven trustworthy and therefore provided the experiential bases for future cross-racial trust. Kelly noted Whites who married into her family who were sensitive to the myriad ways Blacks experience racism. Darnell was raised in a multiracial church and both experienced and witnessed positive Black-White relationships. Garvey told the story of having White coach who would routinely invited him over for dinner with his family because he knew that Garvey's single mother often worked late into the evening. Jessica noted past White employers and administrative supervisors who treated her well. Simone shared the story of a k-12 teacher who invited students to call him at home if they had questions about homework. She

called him a few times, even interrupting his dinner, and found him eager to help. These relationships helped to provide the experiential and emotional base for the risk of cross-racial trust.

1.4.2. Generally Trusting. Five participants shared that they view themselves as generally trusting, and therefore willing to give all people a chance to prove trustworthy. Simone said:

I think that I'm a trusting person. I'm also a cautious person at times. I think the internal quality I have is that I don't think that everybody is bad. I don't think that you're bad and you have to prove that you're good kind of thing. I think that people are good and I'm going to observe for a little while to see how good you are, if you're a very trustworthy person or if you can't be trusted too much. I think that people are good. I don't hold grudges against people that I don't feel like I can't trust. I don't feel like they're bad people. I think that if someone wants to know about me, I'm open to discussing it.

These students believed their generally trusting nature enabled the possibility for a cross-racial trusting relationship that created the possibility for the mentoring dyad.

Yet, all participants did not describe themselves as generally trusting. Anthony believed himself to be cautious and guarded toward people of all races. He noted that he chooses to observe people over time in order to discern whether they are trustworthy.

1.4.3. Courage. Two participants noted that courage is needed for Blacks to be willing to engage in cross-racial trust. Garvey said:

I know a couple of other students of color that are currently in doc programs and just the sharing of our experiences, it seems like there's a level of courage

that one needs in general to pursue and continue and to persist. To be willing to open up to someone and know that the reaction that you get might not be one that you want or that you even should get...

All ten students in this study spoke to the reality and presence of racism in their lives, and therefore Blacks who attempt a cross-racial trusting relationship are exposing themselves in vulnerable ways.

1.4.4. Innate Trust of Blacks. Not directly related to cross-racial trust, the research team noted that three participants spoke of how much easier it is for them to trust other Blacks and how this even came naturally for some students. Kelly shared:

When I saw this question, I laughed because I think it boils down to white people had to earn my trust. Black people had to earn my distrust. Whereas, there's just this assumption when you see someone who looks like you, that they get your experiences, that they understand and they know about code switching. They know about parents having white voices. That there're just cultural things that you don't have to explain to them and that you just don't even have to, like you can just connect with.

These participants assumed that other Blacks could empathize with their personal experiences of racism in a way that Whites cannot. Yet, there were other Black participants for whom trust of Blacks did not come naturally and, in fact, was more difficult.

1.4.5. Negative Experiences with Blacks. Four participants shared negative experiences in their past with Blacks, some involving peer relationships, others involving professors, supervisors, or former employers, which made them cautious of trusting Blacks and left the door open to Whites as a possible mentor. Jacen shared:

when I think of mentors in the profession, those are the only two I had. I haven't had a good experience with black individuals. I don't even know any... that are far enough ahead of me... With those two I feel less, the best word I can think of is catty. I feel like when I have approached some black females that are in the profession, it has not been approachable, and I'm just like I don't know what's going on here. I have found two [White] people, and I don't know if that is the fact that they're different than me, so maybe they feel less intimidated. I don't know what it is.

Chad shared about growing up as a child and being mocked by his Black peers for not being Black enough due to some of his cultural interests. Chad reflected on how his past experience of rejection influenced his young adulthood:

I guess I just really was unaware of how blind I've become or how fearful I've become of my own race. It was, actually heart wrenching for me to recognize that I'm not comfortable being in a room full of Black people. I don't know if I'm gonna be outed as the Black man that doesn't have a whole lot of experiences with being Greek or going to all the late night parties and things like that. I was always worried about being, even in a professional setting, being outed as, "Oh, well he's black, but he's not really."

All four of these participants shared some reticence in sharing these experiences. These students did not realize they were not alone, that almost half of the participants of this study had similar struggles with intraracial trust.

1.4.6. Trust by Proxy. Half of the participants shared that they would refer to other Black colleagues or students to ascertain whether a person maybe trustworthy. Kelly described her process of asking other Blacks about White persons:

Usually, if I wasn't familiar with someone and I had a friend who was saying,
 "You can trust this person. I've gone and talked to them before. They get it.
 They'll talk to you about it." People kind of backing up what they're saying with
 their actions and having peers saying that this is someone you can go to.

These students trusted the experience of other Blacks in their discerning of which Whites to trust.

2. Superordinate Theme Two: Reasons for Mistrust

Reasons for Mistrust. The research team labeled a second superordinate theme as *reasons for mistrust*. All ten participants spoke about reasons they had for mistrusting Whites. *Reasons for mistrust* encompasses nine themes which describe the various causes for Black mistrust of Whites: *overt messages, White voice, past racist experiences, avoidance of topic, microaggressions, being dismissed, ill motives, tokenism, and politics*.

2.1. Overt Messages. Half of participants shared they heard messages from their family since childhood that Whites are untrustworthy. Chad said, "I was constantly told 'You can't have friends. You can have people around you, but just don't trust the white people that are around you'". Nicole likewise shared that she heard from her parents, "Don't trust them. It was that simple...There was this overarching theme of don't trust white people."

This was not true of all of the participants. Garvey's parents told him when he was a child to trust Whites. His father eventually married a White woman. Yet, Garvey noted that as he grew older, his parents began to inform him of the realities of racism and how to navigate himself in life as a Black male.

Jacen, whose older brother is also a mental health professional, shared with her that he does not give much attention to microaggressions. He also shared with her that he has had no choice but to have White mentors because of the lack of diversity in his academic programs and places of his employment.

2.2. White Voice. Two participants shared an implicit message they received growing up that the research team labeled White voice. Kelly said:

I think I just noticed in people's mannerisms. We used to just call it - my mom and my aunts or uncles - we used to just call it the White voice, but they changed when they were around...professional people who they weren't super comfortable with, I think with people they weren't super comfortable with, their mannerisms, the way they spoke changed.

As children, these participants observed their families codeswitching and understood that it meant that Blacks cannot be themselves around White professionals.

2.3. Past Racist Experiences. Five participants described past racist experiences which hinder their willingness to engage in cross-racial trust. Some students shared stories from childhood, and others more recent occurrences. Harpo spoke about how her experience as a child confirmed her parents' overt message that Whites are untrustworthy:

Certainly, I never went to a white friend's house to spend the night. I did have a friend in the neighborhood that we became friendly in elementary school although she was a grade behind me and we started playing together after school, but one day when I showed up at her house, her parents clearly said I couldn't come in. I'll always remember that. It wasn't something that ended my world because I had already been told but it proved that yes, that can happen.

Garvey shared that he had been pulled over several times as a teenager but he only received one ticket, which he believes spoke to injustice and racism by White male cops. He also told the story of a police officer pulling a gun on him and his friends while he was in his car. He stressed during the interview that these experiences served to buttress the messages he had received from others in the Black community that many Whites are not trustworthy.

2.4. Avoidance of Topic. Two students spoke of mistrusting Whites who avoid the topic of race. Kelly shared, “I would say in regards to people who I have chosen to trust less, there's been less of a willingness...one, either we never have conversations about race or cultural differences.”

Yet, all participants were not eager for Whites in positions of power to quickly engage in topics of race and racism. During the first part of the interview, Jessica said that she did not want a White faculty member or supervisor to bring up uncomfortable topics such as race unless they appreciated the power differential between them.

2.5. Microaggressions. Two participants spoke about the microaggressions they have experienced as hinders to cross-racial trust. Kelly said:

they may... perpetuate microaggressions that just, you know, whether it's something super small, like, calling by the wrong name, the name of another black student in the program or it's just for calling me articulate. It's just one of those things where I'm just looking, it seems small, but I just look at them and I'm like, "You don't get it. It's not my job to educate you." It closes me off to that relationship.

Jacen, who earlier described herself as generally trusting, shared that a White person would need to recognize and acknowledge a microaggression before she could maintain her cross-racial trust.

2.6. Being Dismissed. Three participants spoke about experiences of being dismissed by White counseling professionals. Chad said, “Don't try and tell me it's gonna be okay. Don't try and tell me a story about how you helped a black kid get a scholarship opportunity.” Kelly shared:

Even if I'm the one to bring up those conversations, it's felt as if I've either been shut down or the person on the other side of the table has just been like, "Well, that's the way it is." They haven't been open or receptive to how I'm experiencing things.

These encounters within the profession were hindrances to trusting White faculty and supervisors.

2.7. Ill Motives. Half of the participants stated that they were suspicious of the motives that White counseling professionals had for wanting a relationship. Nicole, said:

All of them probably got some type of ill motive lying underneath somewhere, so even if it hasn't come out yet there's a potential of it, so just always kind of proceed with caution when it comes to that.

At the beginning of the second interview she shared that she felt she was too pessimistic about Whites during the first interview. Yet, she was not alone in her suspicion of Whites. Jacen said:

I definitely am a little hesitant to see what's your true motive. Are you trying to make up for something? Do you see this as an opportunity to fix some wrongdoing you've done in your past? Are you in the savior mode? Are you thinking, "I need to be nice to this person because my ancestors did x, y, z?" I feel like I have to think about all that sometimes with some people. What's your motive? What are you trying to get at?

Some of these students recalled hearing their parents question White motives in wanting to build a professional relationship. This may have informed their suspicion of the intent of White persons who may reach out in an attempt to create a connection.

2.8. Tokenism. Four of the participants spoke of their concern of being used as tokens by Whites. Chad said:

I felt like they had the ulterior motive that my parents talked about. I felt commodified by them, that I was a person that they wanted... They saw me as "[name], the Black male counselor that works with trauma". "[name] the Black male counselor that works with kids." They could get something unique out of me. They wanted me around in order to not just cover the bases on working in that population, but cover the bases of the diversity culture and that was very frustrating for me

Likewise, Nicole shared, "I've noticed professors who will try to use me to get what they need, or to be on a multicultural presentation, and he doesn't do that."

Chad a story of being disappointed with a supervisor who made assumptions about Chad's work based on his race:

An example would be, when I was a group therapist ...I was just leading the group and we had just transitioned from a Black supervisor to a White supervisor and I was constantly being told, "[his name], you gotta really dig in and talk to these clients because you just have something special about you that you can connect to them" and it didn't sit with me the right way because when I observed my own working in the group, I thought that I did not have a great connection with the clients of color. I actually saw them as they were more aggressive towards me.

In a 20 day program, it took them 8 to 12 sessions before they were ready to trust me and so I didn't really understand ...only to recognize once I called it out and said "Are you thinking that they're trusting me because I'm Black and they're Black?" Just kind of getting that look from my mentor of "Oh, yeah. That's not really what I meant to say, but I guess that is what I was saying. I'm sorry." Those experiences really hinder my ability to trust...

2.9. Politics. The research team labeled the final theme under *reasons for mistrust* as *politics*. Two participants spoke about their observing departmental politics and how this was a roadblock to cross-racial trust. Nicole said:

Especially counseling! It surprises the hell out of me quite honestly. You all be doing some crazy stuff! You all counselors, you all should know better. I've seen how the politics work and how they interact with each other, White faculty with other faculty members. Faculty members of color, non-color, all that. Makes me not trust them even more. Makes me even more apprehensive because of all of their clinical drama. It makes me run way from counselor education, to be quite honest. You all are crazy, I don't want to be amongst the crazy. I even have my professors tell me, this is just how it is, and you've got to learn how to play the game. Should it be that way? For a White professor to tell me that makes me not trust you all even more. Makes that trust process even harder, even longer.

Like other participants, Nicole observed Whites in order to discern whether trust was a viable option. Darnell stated that if he saw that Whites could not trust each other in a particular setting then he knew he was not able to trust them.

3. Superordinate Theme Three: Critical Consciousness

Critical Consciousness. The third superordinate theme is entitled *critical consciousness* and captures the Black doctoral students' awareness of socio-political factors related to race and identity within the power structures of academia and the counseling profession. The seven themes that fall under *critical consciousness*: *necessity of White people, internalized racism, isolation, questioning of self, intersectionality, White trust, and power differential*.

3.1. Necessity of White People. Four participants spoke about their understanding from a young age that Blacks would likely need relationships with Whites if they were to succeed academically or professionally. Nicole spoke to her understanding of why relationships with Whites are necessary for success:

Even if you can't trust them, do what you got to do, fake it till you make it, act like you can trust them. Because like I said earlier, you need a White ... You need them. You do. Whether you want to say you do or not ... If you want to be connected and you want to get these, if you want to learn about how to negotiate that salary across a table full of White people, if you want to know all of that, and you want to be at the top of your success and all that, better find you a White mentor. Just flat out.

Therefore, desiring to succeed as a Black person necessitated placing oneself in a precarious position. One must have positive relationships with Whites, though most Whites are not trustworthy.

3.2. Internalized Racism. Two participants shared distressing thoughts about their place in the counseling program that were a result of racism. Chad vulnerably expressed the self-doubt he experiences as a student that he understands is a result of the legacy of Black marginalization:

I really want to know how these power dynamics developed over time and I want to know why, at times, I personally don't feel equal to my White peers, regardless of if we match up completely on ever other level. I'm curious about those things.

Although both of the Black male participants, who shared these insecurities, came across to the primary interviewer as poised and self-confident, they experienced by internalized racism.

3.3. Isolation. Three participants shared that they experienced feelings of isolation either in their masters or doctoral programs. Nicole said, “I'm that one student who brings up race, and who brings up people of color, and anybody who's not white, and our issues in counseling, and none of my cohort does that.” These participants expressed frustration with their fellow students, some persons of color, who were unwilling to share their experience in class.

3.4. Questioning of Self. Two participants said that they periodically questioned their perceptions of racism, whether it had any basis in what actually occurred or simply their own personal issue they were imposing on Whites in the department. Kelly shared, “Then I also look at me, like is this me? Is this a problem that I have, or am I just projecting my past onto them?” Garvey said he was reassured by two Black counselor educators, who were alumni of his master's program and told him, “It's not just you. It's not in your head. You're not wiling out.” Garvey noted that this questioning of one's perspective is an unfortunate burden that many Blacks bear.

3.5. Intersectionality. Four participants noted their intersecting identities and how that effects their experience of cross-racial trust. The research team identified two subthemes under *intersectionality: socio-economic status and gender*.

3.5.1. Socio-Economic Status (SES). Three participants spoke on the intersectionality of race and SES and its bearing on trust. Harpo shared her suspicion of Whites who select their interest in Blacks based on the latter's SES,

I would not trust as much someone who singles out which Black people they think are okay. I guess we've seen it all. We've seen the folks who don't accept poor Blacks like, "Oh my gosh. You were underprivileged, blah, blah, blah. No, not looking for you. I'm looking for the one who comes from the suburbs."

Jessica shared that she felt the intersection of race and SES is not spoken about enough, and told the story of feeling disconnected from a potential Black mentor as a result of this person coming from what she perceived to be an upper-class background, and this person not being able to understand her struggles as a person from a working-class home. Jessica's White mentor came from a working-class home with a single mother as did Jessica.

3.5.2. Gender. Three participants, two female and one male, discussed how gender intersects with race and how this is evident in various positions within the counseling profession. Nicole said,

I think it's important to hear how to play the game from a White person, I think it's necessary, it is crucial to hear, as a Black person, how do you play this game in counselor education, from a White man. Not from a White woman, from a White man. Because counselor education is ruled by White men. Counseling by White women, the counselor education in academia, it's White men. It's just what it is.

Both Nicole and Kelly noted that their mentors were White men and how they were conscious of the vast power differential that existed between them.

3.6. White Trust. Two participants believed that it was important for trust to be mutual between Whites and Blacks. Simone said, “I think with cross-racial trust, I think that it goes both ways as far as trusting one individual or another.” Jessica said that she questioned whether Whites would trust her due to her being Black. These participants recognized that they could not trust Whites who would not trust them.

3.7. Power Differential. The research team labeled the final theme under *critical consciousness* as *power differential*. This theme captured the statements of four participants who spoke to their awareness of the various levels of influence that exists in White-Black, faculty-student, mentor-mentee relationships. Jessica said in appreciation of her White mentor,

If there is a topic regarding race, like something that is little bit more like touch and go, like more sensitive, I always felt like she approached that in a very respectful way. It's not that she brought up uncomfortable topics, or didn't, I just felt like she had a tact about her or a way about her that was very mindful of me being a Black student working underneath her. I just found that to be really respectful and it allowed me to really just be myself and not uncomfortable.

These students were cognizant of their place in the social hierarchy appreciated how their identities as Black students put them in a perilous position in relation to White counselor educators or supervisors.

4. Superordinate Theme Four: Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring

Benefits of Cross-Racial Mentoring. The final superordinate theme *benefits of cross-racial mentoring* was spoken to by nine participants and consisted of two subthemes, *networks of privilege* and *disconfirming gross overgeneralizations* of all Whites as untrustworthy.

4.1. Networks of Privilege. Half of participants spoke to either having White mentors who helped them make important professional connections or how they hoped this would be true in the future once they were ready to look for jobs. Chad said:

I also think about the opportunity of having that person that has this White privilege be able to connect you to these people who maybe would never give you the time of day and have them say, "Hey, this is my mentee. This is my person that I see has a bright future"

These mentors believed that their White mentors may have access to social networks that some Blacks do not.

4.2. Disconfirm Gross Overgeneralizations. Finally, four participants shared that their cross-racial mentoring relationship helped them to trust other Whites by showing them that some Whites are trustworthy despite some of their past experiences and the messages they heard growing up. Nicole said:

I think cross-racial mentorship is really important because it helps people of color. I'll speak for myself. It helps me as a Black woman not to make these gross over-generalizations about White people, about White men in academia, about White counselor educators. Because I just said earlier, they're all crazy. I try very hard to fight that. Not every single one of them are crazy actually, don't think that.

A few of the participants spoke to how the cross-racial trust emboldened them to branch out into new areas professionally and personally as a result of being more willing to build relationships with Whites of good will.

Discussion

Implications for Counselor Educators and Supervisors

This study has implications for both counselor education and supervision, particularly in informing multicultural practice. It is imperative that White counseling professions seek to understand and appreciate the various experiences of Blacks within the profession. Within the current national political climate it is important for White counselor educators and supervisors to recognize their own racial biases and not assume that White racism is relegated to those of a differing political party. The results of this study affirmed that racism is very much a part of the counseling profession, even within the hallowed halls of academia. Second, it is essential that White faculty and supervisors appreciate the power differential that exists between them and their Black supervisees or students. Though this differential exists with all students, the realities of racism amplify this in cross-racial relationships. For this reason, Whites need to be aware that the vulnerability of Black students maybe greater than that for a White student.

Multicultural competency training often includes self-awareness, cultural knowledge, and cultural skills (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis 1992). Yet, some of these participants spoke more to the way their White mentor shared space with them as the impetus for cross-racial trust. Multicultural education within the counseling field may need to focus more on ways of being with others that are supportive and affirming in light of the particular struggles that Blacks go through. These students spoke about the deep care and consideration that they felt from the Whites they found trustworthy. Our multicultural education maybe missing character development that nurtures caring dispositions toward persons from marginalized backgrounds. As Smith, Richards, Granley, and Obiakor (2004) assert, “practicing multiculturalism means internalizing the principles of multicultural competency and acting accordingly.... A book or

class cannot provide for multicultural competence because multiculturalism is not just a set of facts, guidelines, or principles. It is a way of life” (p. 15).

Though much of our multicultural training of counselors centers on knowledge of different cultures, the results of this study may indicate that we need to focus more on developing what some scholars have called the multicultural personality (Ramirez, 1991; Poterotto, 2010). The multicultural personality,

is emotionally stable; is secure in her/his racial/ethnic (and other) identities; embraces diversity in her/his personal life and makes active attempts to learn about other cultures and interact with culturally different people (e.g., friends, colleagues); has a spiritual essence with some sense of connectedness to all persons; has wide reaching empathic ability in multiple contexts; is self-reflective and cognitively flexible...understand the biases inherent in his/her own worldview and actively learns about alternate worldviews; understands the impact of internalized racism (and homophobia) and/or unearned privilege in her or his personal life; and is a social activist, empowered to speak out against all forms of social injustice (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Peterson, 2006, P. 130).

In essence, the counseling profession needs a multicultural education that speaks to a way of being in the world (Smith et al., 2014).

Participants’ commenting on the boundaries placed by White counseling professionals is noteworthy. These Black students engendered trust toward their White mentors because the latter provided space for the mentee to discuss whatever was most salient for them. It will be important for White supervisors and faculty to recognize the emotional support that Black counselors need in order to function well in what is often predominately White space.

It should be noted that these doctoral participants came from counseling programs that claim to value diversity and place an emphasis on multicultural competency. Supervisors and counselor educators may need to practice postures such as humble inquiry in order to discern the level of cultural stress students of color are incurring as a result of White racism in their departments.

Limitations

Despite efforts to conduct a rigorous study, the research team acknowledges several limitations to this phenomenological study. Researcher bias has the potential to influence the study at several stages. In an attempt to ameliorate this bias, the research team kept a reflective journal, used consensus coding, and had an external auditor.

Social desirability was also a potential limitation, as participants' answers to questions may have been influenced by what they felt would be more acceptable in either Black academic circles or the counseling profession. In an effort to not influence participants the primary researcher withheld probing questions when his participants told narratives that were emotionally salient.

The ordering of the questions may have also influenced the data as the questions moved from cross-racial trust to cross-racial mentoring. It should also be noted that the primary researcher used a transcription service, which lessened his immersion in the data. A final limitation to this study was that member checking, though done after the first interview, was not attempted after the follow up interview as participants stated they did not have anything significant to add.

Future Research

This study highlights several possibilities for further research on trust within the counseling profession. As noted above, the counseling literature lacks empirical studies on trust, despite its importance for both the supervisory and therapeutic relationship. There is a scarcity of instruments related to interpersonal trust in the counseling or psychology literature. Creating such an instrument may be beneficial in measuring the strength of dyadic relationships within the counseling profession. An instrument on trust would potentially contain at least the two factors of affective trust and cognitive trust, both of which are established in the literature (Alesina & Ferrara, 2000; Chang, Yeh & Yang, 2014; Todorov, Baron, & Oosterhof, 2008).

More research is also needed on cross-racial mentoring. Studies on how the length of the cross-racial mentoring relationship may affect the mentee and mentor may prove beneficial for our understanding of the benefits and perils of such pairings. Studies may also be conducted on the effects of cross-racial mentoring on the racial identity development of both the mentee as well as the mentor. Research can also be done on any potential correlations between general trust and cross-racial trust. Future studies may also examine the perspectives of the White mentors involved in cross-racial relationships with students or supervisees. In addition, researchers may also examine cross-racial mentoring relationships where the mentor is Black and the mentee is White, examining the benefits and challenges experienced in these dyads.

Research is also needed on boundaries within the counseling profession. Most of the participants of this study believed that their understanding of a growth fostering relationship with their mentor necessitated more informal relationships. It may be beneficial to examine how much of one's perspective of professional boundaries is culturally conditioned. Alvarez et al., (2009) asserted that it is important for Whites to appreciate the importance of family for ethnic

minorities and be willing to talk about how the mentees role in their family influences their work.

Summary

In this study, ten Black doctoral counseling students shared a range of experiences related to cross-racial trust, their interactions with White mentors, and their relationship with a profession that is predominately White. Their lived experiences entailed both racial stress and cross-racial encouragement, cultural isolation within their departments and empathic encouragement from their mentors. The research team identified four superordinate themes related to cross-racial trust in mentoring relationships: *contributors to trust*, *cultural mistrust*, *self-awareness*, and *benefits of cross-racial mentoring*. The researchers also categorized several themes and subthemes that noted both the interpersonal and intrapersonal factors that helped generate cross-racial trust despite the ubiquitous experiences of racism in the participants' lives.

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APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

Pseudonym (please choose a name other than your own): _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

What type of racial/ethnic make-up was your undergraduate institution: _____

for example:

Predominately White (e.g. University of Virginia)

Historically Black (e.g. Howard University)

Minority Serving Institution (e.g. Old Dominion University)

What were your parents' education level?

What best describes the location from which you were raised? (e.g. rural, suburban, urban)

In what region(s) of the United States (or which nation outside of the U.S.) did you grow up?

How would you identify your socio-economic background from childhood through high-school?

☐ poor

☐ lower middle-class/ working class

☐ middle-class

☐ upper-middle class

☐ wealthy

Please indicate how many White mentors you've had in the counseling profession and also how long each of these relationships lasted:

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

First Interview:

1. What messages did you receive from your family, or others in the Black community while growing up, concerning the trust of White persons?
2. Can you please describe experiences in your past that enabled you to trust a White person as a mentor?
3. What did you experience within this/these cross-racial relationship(s) that enabled you to trust this White mentor?
4. Was there anything in particular about this White mentor, for example- what they did or who they were, that enabled you to trust her or him?
5. Can you share the differences between the Whites you chose to trust and those that you trusted less?
6. What quality or characteristic do you have that enabled you to trust a White mentor?
7. Based on your experience, how would you define trust in a cross-racial relationship?
How, if at all, would cross-racial trust be different and how would it be similar for you in a personal relationship as opposed to a professional mentoring relationship?
8. How did your experience of cross-racial trust differ, if at all, from your experience of trusting Blacks?
9. What, if anything, might interfere with your ability to trust a White mentor?
10. How would you define a mentoring relationship?

11. What benefits did you receive from this mentoring relationship? Any benefits unique to cross-racial mentoring? Any surprises or unexpected experiences from the cross-racial relationship?
12. Based on your experience, what can White persons do to foster cross-racial trusting relationships?

Second Interview:

1. [Researcher gives summary of last session] Is there anything from our last session that you would like to add? Thoughts you've had since our last interview?
2. If you were asked for insights or strategies regarding trusting a White mentor by a new Black doctoral student or faculty member, what might you share with them?
3. What was it like for you to participate in the interviews? (Cole, 2010, p. 196)

APPENDIX C

Letter of Invitation

Sample Participant Request

Dear _____,

I am a Doctoral candidate in Counselor Education and Supervision at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, VA. I am conducting a research study on the experience Black doctoral students who have White mentors they trust or have trusted within the counseling profession. If you are willing to participate in this study, I would like to interview you in person or online via AdobeConnect.

In respect of your busy schedule, please permit me to explain how much time we will be expected to meet. The first interview will be approximately 30 to 60 minutes long. I will arrange with you a convenient time and place to conduct the interview in a space that is private and confidential. I am interested in your thoughts and experiences concerning cross-racial trust. After the first interview I would like to do a second interview within a week of the first to ask a few follow up questions. The second interview will be approximately 10 to 20 minutes. If you participate in this study, you may choose to not answer any questions or discontinue the interview at any time. I will take all known reasonable steps to keep private information, such as identifying information, confidential. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications but the researcher will not identify you.

Please let me know if you are willing to participate and the dates and times which you might be available for the interview. If willing to participate, you will be given an informed consent form to sign. I appreciate your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Eric Brown, Ed.S., M.Div (Primary Researcher)

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APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY PROJECT

TITLE: Cross-Racial Trust Factors: An Examination of Blacks Who Have Had White Mentors They Trusted Within the Counseling Profession

INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this form are to give you information that may affect your decision whether to say YES or NO to participation in this research, and to record the consent of those who say YES. This qualitative study's purpose is to better understand the motivations and lived experiences of Black doctoral students who have had White mentors that they trust.

RESEARCHER

Doctoral student in Counseling that is in charge of and conducting research:
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DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the lived experiences of Black doctoral students in the counseling profession who have had White mentors that they trusted in the counseling profession. This is a dissertation study for the PhD program in the Counseling and Human Services department in the College of Education at Old Dominion University.

If you decide to participate, then you will join a study which involves discussing your experience as a Black doctoral student who has or has had a White mentor that you trust. If you say YES, then you will be interviewed twice. The first interview will last between 30 and 60 minutes and the second interview will likely take between 10 and 20 minutes. At least 8 doctoral students will be involved in this research study.

EXCLUSIONARY CRITERIA

You should identify as Black or African American and be a doctoral student in the counseling profession. You should also currently have, or have had in the past, at least one White mentor who you trust or have trusted within the counseling profession. To the best of your knowledge, you should not have any conflict of interests that would keep you from participating in this study.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

RISKS: If you decide to participate in this study, then you may face a risk of discussing potentially uncomfortable topics. The researcher will attempt to reduce these risks by allowing you to choose not to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable answering. As with any research, there is some possibility that you may be subject to risks that have not yet been identified.

BENEFITS: There are no known direct benefits to your engagement in this study.

COSTS AND PAYMENTS

The researchers are unable to give you any payment for participating in this study.

NEW INFORMATION

If the researchers find new information during this study that would reasonably change your decision about participating, then they will give it to you.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers will take reasonable steps to keep private information, such as identifying information, confidential. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications but the researcher will not identify you. Of course, your records may be subpoenaed by court order or inspected by government bodies with oversight authority.

WITHDRAWAL PRIVILEGE

It is OK for you to say NO. Even if you say YES now, you are free to say NO later, and walk away or withdraw from the study at any time. Your decision will not affect your relationship with Old Dominion University or otherwise cause a loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. The researchers reserve the right to withdraw your participation in this study at any time if they observe potential problems with your continued participation.

COMPENSATION FOR ILLNESS AND INJURY

If you say YES, then your consent in this document does not waive any of your legal rights. However, in the event of harm arising from this study, neither Old Dominion University nor the researchers are able to give you any money, insurance coverage, free medical care, or any other compensation for such injury. In the event that you suffer injury as a result of participation in any research project, you may contact Eric Brown at (352) 219-9831 or Dr. Petros Katsioloudis, current Chair of the Darden College of Education Human Subjects Review Committee at pkatsiol@odu.edu.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT

By signing this form, you are saying several things. You are saying that you have read this form or have had it read to you, that you are satisfied that you understand this form, the research study, and its risks and benefits. The researchers should have answered any questions you may have had about the research. If you have any questions later on, then the researchers should be able to answer them.

Eric M. Brown, M.Ed., Ed.S.
Phone: (352) 219-9831
E-mail: ebrow001@odu.edu

And importantly, by signing below, you are telling the researcher YES, that you agree to participate in this study. The researcher should give you a copy of this form for your records.

Participant's Printed Name	
Participant's Signature (if Applicable)	Date

INVESTIGATOR'S STATEMENT

I certify that I have explained to this subject the nature and purpose of this research, including benefits, risks, costs, and any experimental procedures. I have described the rights and protections afforded to human subjects and have done nothing to pressure, coerce, or falsely entice this subject into participating. I am aware of my obligations under state and federal laws, and promise compliance. I have answered the subject's questions and have encouraged him/her to ask additional questions at any time during the course of this study.

Investigator's Printed Name & Signature	Date
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Eric Montrece Brown, Ph.D.

EDUCATION

Doctorate in Counselor Education & Supervision Darden Education Fellow (Dissertation Fellowship) Old Dominion University, Norfolk	May 2017
Educational Specialist, Mental Health Counseling University of Florida, Gainesville	Aug 2009
Masters of Education, Mental Health Counseling University of Florida, Gainesville	Aug 2009
Masters of Divinity Abilene Christian University, TX	May 2002
Bachelor of Science, Psychology Texas A&M University, College Station, TX	Dec 1998

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Program Director/Assistant Professor Wheaton College (Illinois) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead director for Clinical Mental Health Counseling Program • Teach a course load of four classes a year • Program Evaluation; Curriculum Examination; Admissions Enrollment; Faculty Recruitment 	July 2017 - Present
Eastern Virginia Medical School (EVMS)/ EVMS/ Norfolk Sentara Trauma Unit Doctoral Counseling Internship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual, Couples, and Family Counseling related to trauma • Diagnosis, Assessment, Intakes of trauma survivors • Psycho-Education Training of Medical Staff (e.g., counseling skills, multicultural competency) • Counseling Pediatric Resident Physicians • Executive Leadership Coaching • Psycho-Educational and Process Groups (Grief and Loss) 	January 2016- Dec. 2016
Center for Children and Family Services Hampton, VA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trauma informed Counseling/Therapy with Individuals, Couples, and Families in poverty • Intakes and Bio-Psycho-Social Assessments • Orientations (i.e., Trauma informed CBT, EMDR, Interpersonal Process) • Domestic Violence Assessments 	Sept. 2016 - present

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE, CON'T

Hampton Sentara Hospital

Doctoral Counseling Advanced Practicum

March - May 2016

- Counseling in Oncology Units
- Crises Counseling in Emergency Rooms
- Family and Individual Counseling

Supervision of Masters Students

Fall 2015 – Present

- Supervise Masters students in practicum in Mental Health Counseling
- Provide Psycho-educational training for Masters students

Advanced Group Therapy Practicum (Old Dominion University)

Fall 2015 – Spring 2016

- Process Groups with undergraduate students
- Psychoeducational Group Career Development
- T-Group training for Masters level counseling students
- Led interpersonal process group for 2nd year Ph.D. students

Fall 2016

Program Director for CARE Now, Blaire Middle-School, Norfolk, VA

Fall 2015 – May 2016

- Coordinated Character and Resiliency education/training for 6th graders to increase math scores and grades
- Train and supervise 15 undergraduate Human Service interns
- Work with Blair Middle School and ODU administration to coordinate the ongoing success of program
- Data collection and analysis of this 8-year program that has shown to significantly increase math scores of 6th grade students

Research Assistantship

Fall 2014 - Present

- McKinney-Vento (Homeless Children in Public School System) Research partnership with ForKids, ODU, and Norfolk Public School System

Santa Fe College, Gainesville, FL

Jan 2009 – Aug 2013

Counseling Internship

(2009)

- Mental Health Counseling – Assisted students with issues ranging from relationship problems, grief counseling, developmental transitions
- Career Counseling – Counseling students who are undecided about their majors and career trajectories; MBTI, Holland's Career Typology, Strong Interest Inventory
- Workshops – Facilitated workshops for academic achievement, test preparation; set up support networks for academic motivation, multi-cultural understanding and conflict resolution

Meridian Bridge House Gainesville, FL

Jan – May 2008

Substance Addiction Counselor (Practicum)

- Intakes and evaluations with substance addictions and mental health disorders
- Individual therapy for range of mental health and social adjustment issues
- Group therapy addressing motivational issues, relationship conflicts, etc.
- Psycho-Educational Groups/Classes; effects of substance abuse, 12 step process, etc.

Campus Church, Gainesville, FL

June 2002 – July 2013

Campus Minister

- Wrote and taught curriculum for various college and adult classes
- Led and managed pastoral staff consisting of three ministers and two interns
- Led and coordinated small group ministry, consisting of finding volunteers to lead groups of 10 to 15 people in curriculum based on weekly sermons
- Coordinated church-wide events such as service projects geared toward homeless community, low-income housing, and ESL classes for international students
- Formed and led adult and children committees, recruited volunteer lay teachers, found and wrote curriculum to meet the present needs of congregants

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Co-Instructor, Counseling and Human Services Department

Summer 2015 – Present

Old Dominion University

- *COUN 820- Counselor Education Teaching and Practice- Doctoral level course covering concepts of constructivist pedagogy, supervision of human service courses being taught by 1st year PhD students, exploring various teaching methods that maybe used in CACREP Courses*
- *COUN 633- Counseling Therapy and Techniques- entry level Masters course covering basic counseling identity, skills, and various modalities*
- *COUN 650 Theories in Counseling & Psychopathology – Masters level course covering basic theories and the history of theorists and their theoretical development*
- *COUN 685 Diagnosis & Treatment – Masters level online course that focused on training students in Diagnosis based on the DSM-V and Treatment planning.*
- *COUN 644 Group Counseling- Online course, focus on providing basic information and experience in group leadership and interpersonal process*

Co-Instructor, Counseling Department

Spring 2006 – Fall 2007

University of Florida Counselor Education

- *MHS 505 Introduction to Counseling – Supervised and trained four incoming Masters students each semester in basic counseling skills; reviewed and critiqued video tapes of counseling sessions, assisted assimilation into graduate program*
- *MHS 634 Career Development- Masters level course covering theories in career counseling and development as well as training in various personality and career inventories (MBTI, Strong's, Holland's)*
- *SDS 6401 Counseling Skills for Non-Counselors – Worked with non-counseling majors in social and relational skills, counseling skills related to stress, anxiety, grief*

UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor, Human Services Department

Fall 2014 – Summer 2016

- *HMVS 339 Interpersonal Skills – Upper-level course that focuses on communication skills that enhance professional and personal development; a significant online component to this course*
- *HMSV 346 Culture and Diversity- Upper-level course focusing on culture and diversity issues pertaining to the human service field.*
- *HMSV 444 Psycho-Educational Groups- Upper-level course focusing on leading task and psycho educational groups.*

Adjunct Instructor (Santa Fe College)

Fall 2009- Spring 2013

- *SLS 1531 Standards of Academic Progress* – Wrote curriculum centered on motivation, resilience, assessing, and employing internal and external resources for this one section per term course for students on academic probation
- *SLS 1101 College Success* – Best practices for acculturating college students to academic life
- *SLS 1301 Life and Career Development* – Introduction to various vocational and professional fields of work, and context for choosing a major

PUBLICATIONS

Brown, E. M. (2016). Attachment Styles. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Marriage, Family, and Couples Counseling*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Brown, E. M. (2016). Differentiation. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Marriage, Family, and Couples Counseling*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Brown, E. M. (Oct. 2016). Motivational Interviewing. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Marriage, Family, and Couples Counseling*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Williams, C., Garrett, M., & **Brown, E. M.** (2015). First Generation African-American College Students. In K. Fasching-Varner & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.) *The Journey Unraveled: College & Career Readiness of African American Students* (p. 187-206). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington.

Tate, K.A., Torres Rivera, E., **Brown, E.**, Skaistis, L. (2013). The legacy of Liberation Psychology: Exploring the roots of social justice in contemporary counseling. *Interamerican Journal of Psychology. Revista Interamericana de Psicología/Interamerican*, 47, 373-382.

RESEARCH AND MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW OR IN PROGRESS

Submitted (or in preparation for submission) to national/international refereed journals

Brown, E. M., & Grothaus, T. (projected 2017) Cross racial trust Factors: Exploring the experiences of blacks who have had white mentors in the counseling profession. (dissertation) Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA.

Sink, C. A., & **Brown, E. M.** (manuscript in progress). Social and emotional learning and development.

Brown, E. M. & Ramrakhiani, S. (manuscript in progress). Stories of resilience: The academic and career journey of professional counselors who are first-generation college graduates.

Ramrakhiani, S. & **Brown, E. M.** (manuscript in progress). Understanding international students' sense of safety on college campus: Implications for counseling.

Website Contributions

Brown, E.M. (2015, July 30). Contributed audio story by Dr. Judith V. Jordan to Dr. Ed Neukrug's Great Therapists of the Twentieth Century (GTTC) website: Jean Miller Baker. Retrieved July 30, 2015 from <https://silver.odu.edu/psyadm/>

Brown, E.M. (2015, July 30). Contributed to Jean Baker Miller Wiki to Dr. Ed Neukrug's Great Therapists of the Twentieth Century (GTTC) website: Jean Miller Baker. Added to July 31, 2015 from <http://gttc-bakermiller.wikidot.com/>

Brown, E.M. (2015, July 30). Contributed to Viktor Frankl Wiki to Dr. Ed Neukrug's Great Therapists of the Twentieth Century (GTTC) website: Viktor Frankl. Added to July 31, 2015 from <http://gttc-frankl.wikidot.com/>

REFEREED PRESENTATIONS

Brown, E. M., Kalkbrenner, M., Carlisle, K. (2017, March) Cross-Ethnic Trust Factors: Black Counselors with White Mentors. 60-Minute Education Session at the American Counseling Association (ACA) annual conference, San Francisco, CA.

Brown, E. M. (2017, March) Frankl and Yalom's Existential Therapies: Paradigms for Both the Atheist and Religious. 60-Minute Education Session at the American Counseling Association (ACA) annual conference, San Francisco, CA.

Brown, E.M. (2016, June). Positive Counseling for First Generation College Students: Going from What's Wrong to What's Strong. Presentation at the New Jersey State EOFPA Institute Training for Counselors, Rider University, Lawrence Township, NJ.

Brown, E. M., Holland, D., Carlisle, K. (2016, March). Positive Counseling: Going from What's Wrong to What's Strong. 60-Minute Education Session at the American Counseling Association (ACA) annual conference, Montreal, Canada.

Tate, K. A., **Brown, E.M.** (2016, March). Career Exploration: A Career Program for First-Generation, Low-Income College Students. Counselors for Social Justice Featured Poster Presentation Session at the American Counseling Association (ACA) annual conference, Montreal, Canada.

Brown, E. M., Kalkbrenner, M.T. (2015, March). *Infusing social justice in counselor education*. Presentation at the Virginia Association of Counselor Education and Supervision (VACES) annual Graduate Counseling Student Conference, Regent University, Harrisonburg, VA.

Kalkbrenner, M.T., **Brown, E. M.** (2015, March). *Cognitive Information Processing Theory and the integration of career and mental health counseling services on college campuses*. Poster presentation at the Virginia Association of Counselor Education and Supervision (VACES) annual Graduate Counseling Student Conference, Regent University, Harrisonburg, VA.

Brown, E. M., Ramrakhiani, S. (2015, Oct.). Stories of Resilience: First Generation Graduates Tell Their Stories. Poster at American Counseling Education and Supervision Conference (ACES), Philadelphia, PA.

Memberships/Certifications/Trainings

Resident Counselor in State of Virginia

American College Counseling Association Student Member

Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development Student Member

Graduate Student Representative for Virginia ACES (Fall 2016 – Spring 2017)

Nationally Certified Counselor # 628666

Sept 2015
