Exploring the Role of Context on Racially Responsive Supervision: The Racial Identity Social Interaction Model

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Counseling Psychology

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF CONTEXT ON RACIALLY RESPONSIVE SUPERVISION:

THE RACIAL IDENTITY SOCIAL INTERACTION MODEL

Dissertation

by

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Exploring the Role of Context on Racially Responsive Supervision:

The Racial Identity Social Interaction Model

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Abstract

Supervision may be an ideal format for training psychologists to be racially and culturally responsive because supervisors can tailor interventions to fit supervisees' individual developmental needs. Nevertheless, over 30 years ago, counseling psychology researchers began identifying harmful effects of racially and culturally unresponsive supervision from the perspectives of supervisees. Missing from the literature has been empirical evidence from the perspectives of supervisors themselves. Moreover, research has failed to explore the influence of context (i.e., mental health sites) on supervision that addresses race and culture. The present study explored supervisors' perspectives and experiences as they pertained to (a) providing racially and culturally responsive supervision, (b) the racial climate of their mental health work environments, and (c) influences of their institutional racial climates on their supervision practices as they pertained to race and culture. Interviews with psychologists, who identified as Black (n = 4) and White (n = 4), were analyzed using directed content analysis guided by the Racial Identity Social Interaction Model. Core domains and themes from the analysis drew connections between the supervisors' perceptions of the racial climate of their institution and the challenges of supervising on race and culture. Findings from the study highlight the ways in which supervisors in mental health settings attempt to protect their supervisees in environments in which they often feel unprotected. Limitations and implications of the study for supervision theory, research, and practice are discussed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Various professional organizations and practice standards and guidelines have called for mental health professionals to deliver culturally responsive services as a strategy for reducing the racial/cultural disparities in health and mental health services delivery (Helms & Cook, 1999; Korman, 1974; Pederson, Carter, & Ponterotto, 1996; Toa, Owen, Pace & Imel, 2015; Whaley & Davis, 2007). Based on various ethical and social justice principles, the American Psychological Association (APA) cites the importance of psychologists' working effectively with individuals and groups of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (Guidelines on Multicultural, 2003). Missing from these calls has been a recognition of the central role that supervision plays in training counselors and therapists to be racially responsive therapists. *Racially responsive therapy* may be defined as therapists who take into consideration the importance of race, racial identity, and racial dynamics in clients' life, worldview, and mental health (Helms & Cook, 1999). It differs from culturally responsive therapy in that its focus is racial dynamics rather than cultural beliefs, values, or linguistic diversity. Theorists and researchers have described racially and culturally responsive therapy to some extent (Comas-Díaz, 2014; Hays, 2016; Helms & Cook, 1999), but very little theory or research has specified the characteristics of racially and culturally responsive supervision from the perspective of the supervisor.

Furthermore, virtually missing in the supervision literature is attentiveness to the influence of context on racially responsive supervision. *Context* may be defined as the nature of the relationship between supervisors and supervisees. It may also be defined as the environment or climate in which the supervisor conducts supervision. That is, the employment contexts in which supervisors work may influence their conceptualizations of the supervision process.

Supervisors

Supervisors across mental health disciplines (e.g., counseling psychology, clinical psychology, social work, mental health counseling) provide training for counselor trainees during their graduate training and after graduation if the trainee's field requires supervision as a condition for licensure (Bernard & Goodyear, 2014). The supervisors may have had different types of counseling training, but according to Bernard and Goodyear (2009) and Falender and Shafranske (2004), the majority of supervisors have never had formal training in doing therapy supervision. Unlike the professionals who provide therapy and are being supervised, supervisors themselves are unregulated.

Supervisors are not required to have special training, continued professional development, or even register with some larger accreditation organization. Instead, guidelines for supervision and training are folded into the practice standards or the ethical codes of the various mental health disciplines. Therefore, it is challenging to gather data on exactly who works as supervisors in the mental health professions or what they do with respect to race and culture during their supervision.

Moreover, as important as supervisors are to the process of supervision, their perspectives have largely been missing from empirical research, especially with regard to race and culture. Possibly this absence reflects a research approach in which supervisors are evaluated based on the supervisees' perspectives or experiences. Studies have examined supervisees' views of the extent to which their supervisors addressed race and culture in their supervision, both qualitatively and quantitatively (Jernigan, Green, Helms, Perez-Gualdron, & Henze, 2010, Singh & Chun, 2010; Soheilian, Inman, Klinger, Isenberg, & Kulp, 2014). Other scholars have argued that improvement or worsening of the supervisees' clients may be used as a litmus test for

evaluating the supervisors' effectiveness (Freitas, 2002). Yet few studies have incorporated input from supervisors directly regarding their attempts to provide racially responsive supervision or even whether racial responsiveness is an aspect of how they conceptualize supervisee/client dynamics, their own therapy relationships, or the supervision process. Thus, another possible explanation for the absence of supervisor perspectives on racially responsive supervision is that race and culture may be missing in supervisors' practices.

Killian (2001) conceptualizes all psychotherapy supervision as multicultural, given that all supervisors, trainees, and clients are cultural beings whose identities influence their thoughts, feelings and behaviors, but he does not directly address the unique aspects or experiences of race in supervision. Accordingly, although one might assume that "good supervision" would necessarily involve factors that would assure cultural responsiveness, it is not clear what role racial dynamics are supposed to play in good supervision. Existing supervision theory has been criticized for minimizing or disregarding the importance of race and culture, as well as issues related to privilege and oppression (Miville, Rosa, & Constantine, 2005). Moreover, Ancis and Ladany (2001) assert that because traditional supervision theories are based in traditional personality theories, supervision models have tended to ignore or neglect racial and cultural dynamics as important aspects of the supervision relationship.

Race and Racial Identity in the Supervision Process

The majority of the supervision literature focused on culture has used race as a nominal category, or in other words, has studied supervisors and supervisees with respect to their membership in a racial group(s). Missing in these research designs is the extent to which the supervisor's racial identity or self-understanding with respect to race influences the supervision process. Racial identity theory may be useful for describing supervisors' racial responsiveness.

It describes a process by which individuals make meaning of their racial group membership (Helms, 1995). Accordingly individuals undergo a process of psychological development by which they overcome racial bias and move toward achieving a self-affirming and more realistic racial-group or collective identity. Thus, racial identity theory may offer a conceptual framework for examining how supervisors manage race and cultural issues during supervision.

Supervisors essentially determine the topics that can be addressed during supervision and the topics they select and/or their manner of communicating about them may be determined by their racial identity.   Racial identity refers to a cognitive, emotional, and behavioral developmental process by which individuals develop awareness and make meaning not only of their race as members of society, but also the race(s) of the people or systems with which they are interacting (Helms & Cook, 1999). Supervisors' racial identity might shape the extent to which they recognize and explore their supervisees or supervisees' clients' racial/cultural backgrounds or provide feedback that is relevant to the racial aspects of treatment that they supervise. The racial identity developmental process for supervisors presumably requires them to recognize the various ways that societally ordained racial group privilege or oppression interacts with their priorities as supervisors (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Perhaps supervisors with more self-affirming racial identities are able develop racially responsive working alliances with their supervisees, which may result in supervisees feeling inspired, challenged, and understood (Jernigan et al., 2009). Conversely, supervisors with less self-affirming racial identities may take a race-evasive approach, characterized by ignoring or minimizing the role of race and culture in supervision, invalidating, and even perhaps causing psychological harm to their supervisees (Burkard, Knox, Clarke, Phelps & Inman, 2014; Constantine, 2001; Constantine, Juby, & Liang, 2001). Nevertheless, although the racial

identities of supervisors may play a significant role in determining whether supervision is racially responsive, racial identity social interaction theory proposes that the contributions of both the supervisor and supervisees' racial identities determine the quality of the supervisory alliance (Helms & Cook, 1988).

Racial Identity Social Interaction Model in Supervision

Helms (1995) identified three types of supervisory alliances with respect to racial identity that can occur in supervision: (a) progressive relationships, characterized by a supervisor whose racial identity development is more advanced than the supervisee's racial identity development; (b) parallel relationships in which the supervisor's racial identity development parallels the supervisee's development; and (c) regressive relationships, which occur when a supervisor with more psychological power is less self-affirming with respect to racial identity than the supervisee. This latter type of relationship or supervisory working alliance would be characterized by emotional discord and confusion on the part of the supervisee.

The importance of using the social interaction model to analyze the working alliances in supervision was introduced by Cook (1994), who described the types of relationships that may shape how racial issues are addressed or avoided in supervision. Of note, she highlighted that supervisors and supervisees seem to exhibit a variety of racial identity statuses or schemas, depending on the context, the racial stimuli, and prior experiences in the relationship. In addition to explaining how supervision relationships might function, she recommended that the supervision process literature investigate critical incidents in supervision as they relate to racial identity. Cook suggested that the benefits of such analyses would promote better understanding of how racial identity interactions appear in supervision which would potentially improve the supervision process from a theory based perspective.

Ellis (2010) observed that there has been a general lack of supervision literature guided by theoretical conceptualizations. In the culturally responsive or multicultural literature, the social interaction model has been used to study the racial dynamics of supervision both quantitatively and qualitatively (Jernigan et al., 2009; Ladany, Brittan-Powell, & Pannu, 1997). In both studies, the authors found that the social interaction model provided a useful theory for explicating growth promoting and growth inhibiting relationships. However, the proposed study would be the first study to use the Social Interaction Model to study racially responsive supervision from the supervisors' perspectives. Nevertheless, although the supervisors' role in conducting racially responsive supervision is critical, supervisors do not work in a vacuum (Miville et al., 2005). The organizations or contexts in which they conduct supervision may influence their efforts to be racially responsive. Little to no research has been conducted to examine the influence of the supervisors' work context on their provision of racially responsive supervision.

Supervisors' Training Contexts

The culture focused supervision literature has begun to highlight the influential role of context on the supervisor. Specifically, scholars have drawn from multicultural guidelines to argue that supervisors should play a role in addressing organizational change to support culturally-informed institutional policies and practices (Constantine & Sue, 2005; Miville et al., 2005). In their recent review of culturally responsive supervision literature, Inman and Ladany (2014) argued that environmental context has a great influence on supervision that has yet to be explored fully in the literature. In fact, they proposed that an examination of cultural responsiveness in supervision needs to incorporate consideration of the cultural responsiveness of the corresponding supervision environments and institutions. According to them,

environments or contexts may be described as healthy or pathological depending on the extent to which equal quality services are provided across privileged and oppressed racial and ethnic groups and adheres to principles of social justice.

However, so far, no theorists have argued explicitly for a focus on racially responsive organizations. There are many observable factors that might influence the supervisor's perceptions of the racial responsiveness of their mental health training site. Some of them are the racial climate, racial composition and racial identities of coworkers and leadership, types of trainings regarding race and culture, as well as the level to which the agency promotes its staff in becoming skilled at serving racial and ethnic minorities. Helms and Jernigan (2007) introduced the possibility of conceptualizing the organizational climate of an institution using the racial identity Social Interaction Model. They contend that organizations may have racial identity styles or perspectives that interact with the supervisors' racial identity statuses. The institution's types of racial identity interactions may be particularly evident when a racial event evokes discussions or reactions to racism within or outside the institution. However, no research thus far has been conducted to assess supervisors' perceptions of the racial responsiveness of their work environment and the effects of these perceptions on the ways in which the supervisors respond to racial dynamics during the supervision processes.

Purpose of the Study

Supervision is an integral part of training counselors across mental health fields, but very few studies have investigated supervisors' perspectives on whether their supervision is racially responsive. Experts in supervision continue to cite the importance of the cultural responsiveness of supervisors themselves in providing effective supervision with regard to culture, while ignoring or minimizing the need for racial responsiveness. Only recently have scholars begun to

examine the effects of the training contexts on the supervisors' practice of supervision. The Racial Identity Social Interaction Model proposes that the racial identity of the supervisor shapes the kinds of supervisor-supervisee relationships or alliances, which may be progressive (growth-promoting), regressive (growth inhibiting), or parallel (growth stagnating). Also, the model has been used to theorize about the racial identity of organizational climates or training contexts (Helms & Jernigan, 2007). Thus, the model may provide a theoretical framework for examining how or whether racially responsive supervision is supported in either the supervision process or the training environment contexts.

Therefore, the purposes of the present study were to (a) explore supervisors' styles of managing race in the supervisor-supervisee alliances and (b) their perceptions of the effects of their organizations' racial responsiveness on their manner of doing supervision. In the study, I used the Racial Identity Social Interaction model to guide the exploration and analyses of supervisors' interview responses. Specifically, I used a qualitative descriptive methodology, called "Directed Content Analysis," to examine supervisors' perceptions of the interactions between themselves and their supervisees as well as themselves and their work environments. Directed Content Analysis typically is used to validate or extend a theory and has been a useful method for understanding racial dynamics in dyadic supervision (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The present study further examined the extent to which the Social Interaction model fit with supervisors' perspectives on providing racially and culturally responsive supervision in their training contexts. It was intended to contribute to the field's understanding of racial dynamics in supervision that might assist in supporting supervisors and lead to the improvement of racially responsive supervision in the field. Finally, the study potentially helps to

contextualize supervisors' experiences and highlight systemic issues related to supervision and

training of counselors.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Supervisors are a major factor in training therapists to be racially responsive and/or multiculturally competent practitioners. Yet for the most part, in the multicultural literature, the supervisor's capacity to train such practitioners has been evaluated from studies of supervisees' behaviors or their perspectives (Burkard et al., 2006; Cook, & Helms, 1988; Constantine, & Sue, 2007; Jernigan et al., 2009; Lubbers, 2013; Soheilian et al., 2014). Studies have yet to explore the perspectives or behaviors of supervisors with regard to supervision on race and culture. Furthermore, virtually missing from the multicultural supervision literature has been any focus on the supervisors' racial and/or cultural attributes and the employment contexts in which they work as factors that influence supervisors' conceptualizations of the racial/cultural dynamics of the supervision process. Moreover, there has been a lack of theoretical frameworks for examining how supervisors engage in the supervision process with respect to race and culture. Some research has suggested that racial identity theory and the social interaction model might be useful for examining the process as it relates to both supervisees and supervisors, but they have not been used to study supervisors to date.

Therefore, the present review will examine literature pertaining to theory and research that focuses on: (a) supervisors' and supervisees' race and racial identity development as factors to consider in race/culture focused supervision; (b) social interaction theory as a framework for examining supervision alliances in racially responsive supervision relationships; and (c) the influence of training contexts' racial and cultural responsiveness on supervisors' conceptualization of the supervision process.

Race and Racial Identity of Supervisors

Racially responsive supervision has been studied by either matching supervisors and supervisees according to (a) the sociorace or (b) the psychorace of supervisors and supervisees. *Sociorace* refers to the physical or phenotypic identification of one's racial and ethnic group, whereas *psychorace* refers to one's internal experience of race such as racial attitudes and racial identity (Helms & Richardson, 1997). These two perspectives on race have used different approaches with respect to studying racially responsive supervision.

Supervisors' and Supervisees' Sociorace

Racial categories often have been used in the supervision studies that focused on the effects of sociorace on the supervision process. By treating race as a static characteristic of supervisor and supervisees, these studies have either obfuscated the differing effects of race on the supervision process or have treated it as a transference issue of supervisees. Initially, these studies highlighted supervisees' different racial and cultural experiences in supervision, especially for the purpose of illustrating problematic cross-racial dyads (Cook & Helms, 1998; Killian, 2001; Nilsson & Duan, 2007; Vander Kolk, 1974).

Vander Kolk (1974) used an experimental design to examine supervisees' expectations of potential supervisors and personality/value measures (Edwards Personal Preference Schedule and the Allport-Vernon-Linzey Study of Values; Vander Kolk, 1974). Black ($n = 9$) and White ($n = 41$) students were assigned to one of two groups based on their expectations about whether a future potential supervisor would be more or less facilitative. He found no significant differences between Black students' and White students' scores on the personality/value measures. However, he did find that Black students in comparison to their White peers expected that their White supervisors would lack empathy, respect, and congruence.

Since there were no significant differences between Black and White students'
personality characteristics and values dimensions in Vander Kolk's (1974) study, the findings
seem to indicate that anticipated difficulties in cross-racial supervisory alliances had little to do
with a personality or value match in cross-racial supervision prior to supervision, but might have
been more attributable to visible racial differences, particularly from the perspectives of students
of Color. Thus, the significance of students' sociorace in supervision suggested more research
needed to be conducted to understand problems in cross-racial supervision.

In order to more closely examine the problems in cross-racial supervision, Helms and
Cook (1982) analyzed a group of predominantly White supervisors' annual evaluations of
therapists in training. They found that supervisors reported that their supervisees of Color were
less receptive to constructive criticism and less self-reflective than White supervisees. In
addition, the supervisors evaluated supervisees of Color as having more difficulty attending
appointments and arriving on time than White supervisees. Helms and Cook hypothesized that
problems in cross-racial supervision, especially with White supervisors and supervisees of Color
dyads, were a result of the manners in which supervisors interacted with their supervisees, which
affected the supervisory alliance.

In order to further explore dimensions of the supervisory alliance in cross-racial
supervision, Cook and Helms (1998) surveyed supervisees (n= 225) who identified as Black (n=
128), Latino (n= 51), Asian (n= 33), and Native American (n= 8) to determine their satisfaction
with White supervisors. They factor analyzed data from two measures, Barrett-Lennard's (1962)
Relationship Inventory (BLRI) and Worthington and Roehlke's (1979) measures of satisfaction.
They found that supervisees' responses could be classified as perceptions involving: (a)

supervisor liking, (b) emotional discomfort, (c) conditional interest, (d) conditional liking, and (e) unconditional liking.

Regardless of racial group membership, if supervisees in the Cook and Helms's (1998) study felt liked by their supervisor, they were more satisfied with supervision. Black, Hispanic, and Native Americans perceived their supervisors liked them less than Asian Americans did. In their conclusions, Cook and Helms noted that findings from the factor analysis characterized a core set of cross-racial supervision dimensions, "but not very strongly" (p. 272). They acknowledged limitations of the measures' focus on supervisees' perceptions of supervisor attitudes, rather than identification of problematic supervisor behaviors. However, they did not consider the possible importance of racial identity in the supervision process. Overall, the findings supported the relevance of further examining supervisors' attitudes and behaviors, as well as the supervisor-supervisee alliance in cross-racial supervision dyads.

More recently, one study illustrates difficulties of cross-racial relationships for both supervisors and supervisees in person of Color and White dyads. Burkard et al. (2014) examined supervisors' experiences of providing difficult feedback regarding multicultural issues in cross-racial/ethnic supervision. The participants in the study were White supervisors ($n= 9$) and supervisors of Color ($n= 8$), who provided cross-racial supervision. That is, White supervisors supervised supervisees of Color and supervisors of Color supervised White supervisees. Transcriptions of recorded interviews were analyzed using Consensual Qualitative Analysis, a method whereby all decisions regarding organizing, coding, and cross-analyzing data into domains are made in consensus by a research team.

Domains were developed for three points in time: pre-feedback conditions, feedback event, and post-feedback conditions. Overall, Burkard et al. (2014) found that White supervisors

and supervisors of Color shared similar processes and goals for providing feedback. Yet, there were marked differences in the content of feedback, reasons for providing feedback, and the effect of the event on the relationship and process. For example, White supervisors' feedback content was focused on counseling skill behaviors such as the supervisee providing too much advice or not listening carefully or empathically to their client. White supervisors admitted concern that their feedback was culturally insensitive and imposed their own values on their supervisees of Color, which Burkard et al. (2014) theorized was a possible reflection of supervisors' lack of experience and training on providing cross-racial feedback. On the other hand, supervisors of Color provided feedback to White supervisees concerning their lack of cultural sensitivity to their clients.   Consequently, White supervisors working with supervisees of Color reported a positive outcome on the supervisory relationship following the feedback, whereas supervisors of Color reported a worsening of the relationship. Thus, Burkard et al.'s study highlights the difficulty for people of Color in cross-racial supervision, regardless of their position (i.e., working as supervisee or supervisor).

In sum, studies on cross-racial supervision in White-person of Color dyads have described what might be considered challenges to developing a strong supervisory alliance. Alternatively, scholars from these studies hypothesized about the possible benefit of matching supervisors and supervisees by race and avoiding cross-racial supervision dyads. However, racial-matching studies in supervision have indicated problems with same-race supervision dyads as well.

Race/Culture Matching in Supervision

Helms (1982) hypothesized that perhaps racially homogeneous supervision dyads would be less conflictual than cross-racial dyads. Thus, one might assume that racial/cultural matching

in supervision would yield higher quality and positive evaluations of the supervision relationship. Studies have examined the extent to which similarity in racial/cultural membership of client-therapist (i.e., race/culture matching) affects the quality of therapy relationships (Cheon, Blumer, Shih, Murphy, & Sato, 2009; Gatmon et al., 2001). Contrary to expectations, racial/cultural matching did not actually predict the quality of the therapeutic working alliances. Other studies have also highlighted the limitations of racial/cultural matching in supervision relationships (Bhat & Davis, 2007; Constantine, Warren, & Miville, 2005; Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991; Ladany, Brittan-Powell, & Pannu, 1997.

Bhat and Davis (2007) found no difference between supervisees' ratings of the supervisory working alliance and supervisees' perceptions of cultural responsiveness in racially matched dyads. However, they also asked supervisees to rate their supervisors' racial identities, and found that perceived racial identity development was more predictive of cultural responsiveness than simply identifying with or appearing to be a person of Color. Furthermore, studies in supervision have found that racial identity measured with Helms's racial identity scales (Person of Color Racial Identity Scale (Helms, 1995) and White Racial Identity Scale (Helms, 1995), as opposed to socioracial categories, was more explanatory for supervision outcomes (Bernard & Goodyear, 2004; Constantine et al., 2005; Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Helms & Cook, 1999; Ladany et al. 1997; Leong & Wagner, 1994). Consequently psychoracial perspectives and racial identity, rather than socioracial categories alone, should be included in investigations in order understand the effects of race more thoroughly.

Supervisors' and Supervisees' Psychorace

Racial attitudes and racial identity in part make up a persons' psychorace. In contrast to sociorace, psychorace is the individuals' internal experience of their race rather than how society

perceives them based on their appearance. Racial identity describes a developmental process in which a person may recognize and challenge internalized messages about race in our society to advance a more self-affirming, complex, and integrated racial identity. Racial identity development for a White person is different from racial identity for a person of Color based on their positions of privilege and oppression in our society. Two studies illustrate the importance of examining psychoracial factors rather than socioracial matching of supervisors and supervisors, in order to understand racially responsive supervision (Constantine, Warren, & Miville, 2005; Ladany et al., 1997).

Constantine et al. (2005) asked 50 dyads of White supervisors and White supervisees to complete the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS, Helms, 1995). In addition, supervisees from the dyads completed a Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory (CCCI-R; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Hernandez, 1991) and a case conceptualization of the etiology of an African American female client's problem. In general, supervisors' and supervisees' higher developmental levels of racial identity were related to significantly more advanced scores of supervisees' etiology and treatment of the African American female client. In other words, White supervisees with more advanced racial identities and corresponding supervisors with higher racial identities wrote more racially responsive case conceptualizations of the African American female client.

Thus, one value of Constantine et al.'s (2005) study is that psychorace was examined in an all-White supervisee-supervisor group with respect to supervisees' development of racially responsive skills. Studying psychoracial processes, rather than sociorace, may potentially provide a more nuanced understanding of race in supervision than socioracial perspectives.

Racial identity has been most frequently investigated as a psychoracial factor that influences the supervision process.

Racial identity has increasingly demonstrated higher predictive power than sociorace in studies of the development of the supervisees' racial responsiveness as well as the quality of the supervisory relationship. Ladany et al. (1997) were particularly interested in understanding how racial identity affected the working alliance in supervision. Their study consisted of supervisees (n= 105) who responded to (a) a racial identity attitude scale, (b) a survey by which they rated their supervisors' racial identity, (c) a working alliance inventory, and (d) a demographic questionnaire. The racial composition of participants was primarily White (70% White, 11% African American, 5% Asian American, 11% Latino, 1% Native American, 1% Pacific Islander). The reported racial makeup of supervisors was also mostly White (76% White, 20% African American, 2% Latino, 1% Asian, and 1% Middle Eastern).

Overall, Ladany et al. (1997) found that supervisee and supervisor sociorace match or mismatch was not a significant predictor of working alliance. Instead, they found that racial identity interactions between the supervisee and supervisor were more predictive of a strong supervisory working alliance. Ladany et al.'s empirical findings on racial identity in supervision indicate that the supervision working alliance with respect to race and culture is a more complex issue than whether or not a match exists between socioracial groups. In their conclusions, Ladany et al. provided support for examining racial identity as well as for using the racial identity social interaction model as a theoretical framework for obtaining a clearer understanding of racially and culturally responsive supervision.

Racial Identity Interactions in Supervision

The Social Interaction Model (SIM), developed by Helms (Helms, 1984; 1990; Helms &
Cook, 1999), integrates power dynamics psychology and racial identity theory to help frame
interpersonal racial dynamics. Psychological power is defined by the extent to which individuals
feel they can influence the objectives and tasks of a particular context (Raven, 1992). Relational
contexts, such as supervision, are evaluative and hierarchical by nature and consequently the
person(s) in the most powerful position in the relationship typically wields the most power
(Bernard & Goodyear, 2014). Supervisors' unacknowledged power may be involved in
developing a supervision working alliance, and may control the extent to which race and culture
are addressed during supervision. Little is known about processes such as strategies,
interventions, and behaviors that supervisors engage in to influence the development of the
supervision alliance with respect to race and culture (Friedlander, Shafranske, & Ofek, 2012).

The social interaction model provides a useful frame for organizing supervisors' practices
related to the quality of racially and culturally responsive working alliance, but, with few
exceptions, these practices have been interpreted through the experiences of supervisees. The
social interaction model posits that there are four major types of possible relationships or
alliances in dyadic supervision: regressive, parallel, progressive, and crossed. The following
section will explore factors relevant to the racial identity social interaction model in supervision
with respect to these types of relationships.

Regressive Relationships

In racial identity regressive supervision relationships, the supervisors' racial identity is
relatively less advanced or self-affirming with respect to their supervisor (Helms & Cook, 1999).
Theoretically, the resulting outcomes associated would include relationships that are growth-

inhibiting for the supervisees and may result in their feeling confusion, invalidation, and emotionally harmed. Historically speaking, early literature on difficult and harmful cross-culture supervision contributed little to defining racially responsive supervision. Unfortunately, studies have demonstrated multiple ways in which supervisees have experienced racially unresponsive and multiculturally incompetent supervision (Cook & Helms, 1988; Miville et al., 2005).

Ladany et al. (1997), as previously discussed, were interested in understanding how racial identity interaction relationships affected the quality of the supervision relationships.   In order to simplify the number of potential racial identity interactions, they grouped participants' racial identity into two groups: Phase I and Phase II. Phase I included the lower level racial identity statuses for both White and people of Color participants. Phase II included the second half of the racial identity status, which accounted for the more cognitively complex strategies for understanding and dealing with race. As they initially hypothesized, they found that supervisees in regressive relationships (i.e., supervisee-Phase II/supervisor-Phase I) reported the poorest supervisory working alliances when compared to trainees in progressive or parallel relationships. In other words, regressive relationships demonstrated the weakest emotional bond. Ladany et al. recommended that researchers examine the relational processes involved, such as supervisor behavior, as well as the potential outcomes of regressive relationships.

One common type of behaviors that might indicate a regressive relationship involves the supervisor ignoring the race and culture of clients and supervisees. Burkard et al. (2006) interviewed doctoral clinical and counseling psychology students who had experienced cross-racial supervision (students of Color, n = 13; White students, n = 13). The researchers used Consensual Qualitative Research methods to analyze the data, finding that when supervisors ignored or dismissed race as an important factor to consider in a client's life, the supervisees

reported negative supervisory experiences regardless of whether they identified as White or as a person of Color.

However, the researchers highlighted the substantially different effects on supervisees of Color than on White supervisees when some version of race-evasion occurred. Supervisees of Color reported their White supervisors would verbally dismiss cultural concerns or issues related to their client cases. For example, one supervisee of Color reported that her or his White supervisor said, "we don't know if race is a factor, and probably will not know, so why don't you not worry about that and focus on treating the client?" (p. 295; Burkard et al., 2006). On the other hand, two of the White students described the difficulty of initiating racial discussions in supervision with regard to a client of Color with their supervisor of Color. Of note, in contrast to White supervisees, supervisees of Color reported more culturally unresponsive events and vulnerability in supervision, and they felt that there were no redeeming qualities in their supervision following the event. Furthermore, supervisees of Color described more intense, internal effects, such as feeling offended, scared, distressed, and uncomfortable.

The costs of regressive relationships have been particularly evident for supervisees of Color, whether or not the supervisor was White. Lubbers (2013) conducted a Consensual Qualitative Research study focusing on experiences of relationship ruptures in multicultural supervision. Ruptures were defined as supervision events where race and culture were being discussed and the supervisee experienced a negative change in the relationship. A typical rupture reported was related to negative, dismissive, and disparaging supervisor responses, including making insensitive remarks about supervisees' racial/cultural background. As result, supervisees reported the supervision relationship suffered, especially from the view of the supervisee who again reported decreased trust in their supervisor.

In addition, Jernigan et al. (2009) interviewed supervisees (n= 15) of Color working with supervisors of Color. The data were analyzed using Directed Content Analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) guided by Helms's People of Color Racial Identity Theory (Helms, 1990) and the Racial Identity Social Interaction Model (SIM) (Helms, 1990) as theoretical frameworks. The participants described their dissatisfaction in the supervision relationship when they were responsible for bringing up race or the supervisor ignored salient issues related to race. In addition, supervisees' reported their supervisor expected them to "open up" and teach others about their race, which resulted in confusion, disappointment, and decreased engagement in the supervision process.

Constantine and Sue (2007) interviewed Black supervisees (n= 10) on their experiences of working with White supervisors. Using interpretive phenomenological analysis to understand kinds of microaggressions supervisees' experienced, they identified seven different microaggression themes: (a) invalidating racial–cultural issues, (b) making stereotypic assumptions about Black clients, (c) making stereotypic assumptions about Black supervisees, (d) reluctance to give performance feedback for fear of being viewed as racist, (e) focusing primarily on clinical weaknesses, (f) blaming clients of Color for problems stemming from oppression, and (g) offering culturally insensitive treatment recommendations. In addition, the supervisees described how these exchanges would evoke painful emotional reactions including shock, anger and disappointment in their exposure to their supervisors' detrimental and stereotypical beliefs about Black people.

Parallel Relationships

Supervisors and supervisees with similar racial identities form working alliances that in the social interaction model are described as parallel racial identity relationships. As such, the

supervision does not add to or contribute to the supervisees' growth in racial identity. Few studies have focused on the factors involved specifically in parallel relationships. However, the construct introduced by Ellis et al. (2014) of "inadequate supervision" may be relevant to this kind of relationship because it may describe a relationship that does not foster growth in racial identity.

Ellis et al. (2014) defined *harmful supervision* as inappropriate behavior with and without intention to harm, neglect or violate ethical standards for care (Ellis et al., 2014; Dye & Borders, 1990; Ladany, Lehrman-Waterman, Molinaro, & Wolgast, 1999). On the other hand, *inadequate supervision* occurs when the supervisor cannot provide sufficient supervision, regardless of intentions. Inadequate supervision presumably does not actually traumatize or harm supervisees and may include the following supervisor behaviors: (a) disinterest, (b) lack of feedback, (c) inattentiveness to supervisees' difficulties, (d) inconsistent focus on developmental growth, or (e) failure to listen or remain open to supervisees' opinions or feedback. Again, each of these behaviors pertains to supporting, or failing to support, the development of supervisees' racial identity. In addition, there is a major cost to the supervisor working alliance when supervisors say racist or biased comments to their supervisee or about the supervisees' clients, especially when the supervisee is of Color.

Ladany et al.'s (1997) study on racial identity in supervision provides an important frame for understanding nuances of parallel relationships. As discussed in previous sections, Ladany et al. examined how supervisees' perceived racial identity relationships influenced their perceived working alliance. They organized parallel relationships into two categories: "parallel-high" and "parallel-low". Parallel-high relationships described supervision relationships where both supervisor and supervisee shared similarly high racial identity schemas. In contrast, supervisors

and supervisees who shared low racial identity schemas characterized parallel-low relationships. The researchers initially hypothesized that supervisees, who reported being in parallel-high and parallel-low supervision relationships, would report strong supervision alliances. Instead they found that supervisees in parallel-low interactions reported weaker supervision alliances than parallel-high interactions. Also, they found that parallel-high interactions were the strongest predictors of perceived agreement on the goals and tasks of supervision as well as emotional bonds, which supported their hypothesis.

Ladany et al. (1997) interpreted their positive results as indicative of supervisory relationships that reflected shared values and consequent mutual liking, where supervisors welcomed conversations regarding race and culture. Moreover, they interpreted results involving progressive interactions as possibly being due to the "holding nature" (Jarmon, 1990) of the progressive relationship, wherein a supervisor's capacity to communicate acceptance and empathy contributes positively to a stronger working alliance.

As previously described, Constantine et al. (2005) examined relationships among White supervisees and their corresponding White supervisors using the racial identity social interaction model. Similar to Ladany et al., they also found different outcomes associated with parallel-high and parallel-low relationships with supervisors. For example, supervisees in progressive and parallel high relationships reported significantly higher self-assessed multicultural competency and higher scores in their case conceptualization of an African American female client than their peers in parallel low and regressive relationships. Taken together, findings from Ladany et al. and Constantine et al. highlight an important distinction between parallel-high and parallel-low relationships. Specifically, it is critical to evaluate which kind of relationship a supervisor is

providing since parallel-high relationships and progressive relationships may share similar outcomes and processes.

Progressive Relationships

As discussed previously, progressive relationships are characterized by supervisors with more advanced racial identities than their supervisees. Accordingly, progressive relationships should be a growth-promoting opportunity for supervisees' racial identity development as well as their racially responsive therapy skills. Supervisees in progressive relationships have described their supervisors as "challenging", "enlightening," "encouraging," and receptive to their needs (Jernigan et al., 2009). As such, the supervisor's development in awareness and skills are central aspects of a racially progressive relationship. Supervisors who provide progressive relationships will: (a) welcome supervisee exploration of personal racial and cultural experiences, beliefs, and values; (b) disclose their own racial and cultural perspectives; (c) be aware of the influence of sociopolitical racial and cultural contexts of all participants in the supervision relationship (e.g., supervisee, client, and supervisor); and (d) facilitate processing racial and cultural dynamics that occur in supervision that may influence the supervision alliance (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Although there is little empirical evidence pointing to how racial identity predicts specific supervision behaviors, essential skills have been posited as central to a progressive relationship and contribute to a positive racial and cultural supervision working alliance. Assessment skills, in particular, reportedly play a critical role in a strong racial and cultural supervision working alliance. Assessment with regard to race and culture involves the capacity to comprehensively assess the racial identity of supervisees and clients as well as identify cultural and racial issues relevant to the supervision process (Allen, 2007; Falender & Shafranske, 2004; Helms & Cook, 2001, Jernigan et al., 2009; Miville, Rosa, & Constantine, 2005, Pedersen, 1997).

Although assessment of relevant racial and cultural identities and issues are commonly referred to in the literature, little has been done to study the extent to which supervisors actually conduct assessments or develop assessment skills based on recommendations in the literature (Allen, 2007; Helms & Cook, 1999). However, scholars do recommend that supervisors' assessment of their supervisees' racial identity ought to be integrated into a conceptualization of their supervisees' strengths and areas for growth (Miville et al., 2005). In addition, the assessment should include a consideration of the quality of the supervision working alliance with respect to discussion and analysis of pertinent racial and cultural issues.

The development of a positive racially and culturally responsive working alliance is associated with progressive relationships. The working alliance, in this respect, will include the skills of integrating race and culture into supervision relationships (Inman & Ladany, 2014). As discussed earlier, much of the literature on culturally un-responsive supervision identified a common theme of supervisors' neglecting to bring race and culture into supervision altogether. However, supervision literature describes important information about supervisors' providing what is described as a "permissive context" (Helms & Cook, 1999). A permissive supervision context goes against the ways in which race is often avoided in interactions. The supervisor can communicate a racially permissive context by directly asking supervisees about their own experiences, beliefs, and values regarding racial and cultural issues (Soheilian, Inman, Klinger, Isenberg, & Kulp, (2014).

Sohelien et al. surveyed psychology trainees (n =102) about their perception of working with multiculturally competent supervisors using an open ended online questionnaire. Data were analyzed using a discovery-oriented approach (Yeh & Inman, 2007), which involved developing mutually exclusive categories based on supervisees' identification of an event during which they

perceived their supervisors to be culturally competent. Supervisees reported multiculturally competent supervision involved supervisors who frequently educated and facilitated discussions about race and culture. In addition, the supervisors were perceived as supporting increased awareness in the supervisees with regard to racial and cultural identities as well as analysis of cultural issues relevant to the clients with whom they were working.

Another critical component of progressive relationships involves the supervisor providing supportive, affirming, and empathic responses to difficult emotions related to race, culture, power, and privilege (Constantine & Ladany, 2001; Inman & Ladany, 2014; Soheilian et al., 2014). Finally, the supervisor in a progressive relationship may be able to deconstruct and analyze supervisees' experiences, keeping in mind their developmental stages as well as identifying barriers toward supervisees' progress (Harrell, 2015; Porter, 1994). When exposed to progressive relationships, supervisees describe them as "inspiring" and "engaging", and themselves as feeling understood and as though their particular needs were being met (Jernigan et al., 2009).

One process identified in racially responsive supervision has involved supervisors' providing feedback to promote the racial identity growth of supervisees. Supervisors' providing feedback regarding the racially responsive development of their supervisees has been described in a number of ways. For example, Burkard at al. (2014) described this behavior as "providing difficult feedback." Similarly, Lubbers (2013) described such behavior as resulting in ruptures from the perspective of supervisees. However, when supervisees reported that their emotional reactions to the feedback was addressed or processed, they felt positive changes to their growth occurred as well as an overall improved quality of the supervision relationship (Lubbers, 2013).

Crossed Relationships

A small subsection of conceptual literature addresses supervisors' experiences of providing progressive relationships that resulted in unsatisfactory and difficult supervision relationships. Helms (1990) called these interactions "crossed relationships," which involve a supervisor having a higher or lower level of racial identity development than the supervisee. What defines these relationships as crossed is the relative distance between the racial identity of the supervisor and supervisee is far too great. Consequently, the working alliance suffers so much so that development is difficult to foster. This relationship is marked by overall distress and confusion for both supervisor and supervisee.

As already described, Burkard et al. (2014) found that supervisors of Color working with White supervisees reported generally negative consequences to providing feedback when compared to White supervisees working with supervisees of Color. Although no measures of racial identity were used in the study, one possible explanation for these findings is that the supervisors of Color were potentially in crossed relationships. Crossed relationships lead to supervisors and supervisees feeling dissatisfied, insecure, and eventually disengaged in the process, which was evident in Burkard et al.'s (2014) findings for supervisors of Color in their study.

Summary

In sum, the racial identity social interaction model provides a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding the complex dynamics in racially and culturally responsive and unresponsive supervision. Empirical research findings have identified behaviors associated with regressive or parallel-low relationships such as ignoring issues of race and culture or expressing biased or racist perspectives. Conversely, progressive and parallel-high relationships have been

characterized by supervisors who are capable of assessing their supervisees' strengths, needs and areas of growth with regard to racial identity, provide a validating and nonjudgmental style to facilitate processing of difficult emotions, and provide feedback to support the development of their supervisee.

The literature on racially responsive supervision primarily has focused on the authority of the supervisor to affect the supervision process. However, other significant factors may play a powerful role in guiding racially responsive supervision processes and alliances, such as the effects of the training or employment contexts in which supervision occurs.

Racially and Culturally Responsive Training Environments

Inman and Ladany (2015) proposed that the environmental context has been an unexamined factor that likely has a great influence on the nature of supervision. They recommended contextualizing supervision within a broader ecosystemic framework, which would allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of supervision processes. However, to date there are no published studies examining how organizational culture or climate influences the supervisory process or exploring supervisors' perspectives on the cultural responsiveness of their training site. Nevertheless, it is important to examine the available literature on racially responsive mental health care settings to identify factors that might be relevant to the supervision process despite its limitations.

Racially and Culturally Responsive (RCR) Mental Healthcare

One commonly utilized approach to evaluating the cultural responsiveness of mental health systems is to solely examine an individual provider's capacity to engage in appropriate behaviors. Yet scholars have identified several limitations to evaluating systems in this manner. Self-reports of cultural responsiveness instruments have been critiqued because of their

susceptibility to issues of social desirability. In other words, practitioners might overestimate the cultural responsiveness of their treatment so that they will not be evaluated negatively (Armstrong, 2008; Chao, Wei, Good, & Flores, 2011; Dickson & Jepsen, 2007; Kumas-Tan, Beagan, Loppie, MacLeod, & Frank, 2007; Owen, Leach, Wampold, & Rodolfa, 2010). However, other scholars have pointed out the limitations of viewing cultural competence of organizations based only on the individual practitioners (Sue, 2001). Therefore, it is important to explore all organization characteristics, individual and systemic, that may support or inhibit racially and culturally responsive care and supervision.

Contextual Factors Influencing Supervision

Supervision typically occurs within a counseling training agency or institution (Bernard & Goodyear, 2009). Across disciplines, these organizations range from settings with a very small staff (e.g., supervisor and supervisee) to national organizations, such as the Veterans Administration Hospital system where mental health professionals work within an interdisciplinary team including psychiatrists, nurse practitioners, social workers and behavioral coaches (Bernard & Goodyear, 2009). However, it is not clear to what extent training sites focus on requiring their supervisors to provide racially responsive supervision.

Constantine and Gloria (1999) surveyed pre-doctoral psychology interns (*n*= 297) about their training context with regard to multicultural issues. Students reported that their internship sites varied in the extent to which they felt they were being trained with respect to race and culture specifically. Students at college counseling centers reported there was more training emphasis placed on issues of diversity than students in hospitals and community counseling centers. There was also a significant correlation between the number of staff and faculty of Color

at internship sites and the overall emphasis placed on the types of issues of diversity that students thought were important.

Supervisors within training systems typically hold various responsibilities outside of supervision, such as administrative tasks, didactic teaching, group supervision, clinical research, diagnostic/psychological/neuropsychological assessment, therapy, and case management (Bernard & Goodyear, 2009). Thus, there are numerous organizational factors that might influence supervision practice. Such organizational factors may be divided into two general categories: organizational culture and organizational climate.

Organizational culture

Organizational culture refers to behaviors, norms, and expectations of a workplace (Glisson & James, 2002 & Glisson & Williams, 2015). There are a variety of norms and practices that may reflect organizational culture pertinent to mental healthcare. For example, a system may demonstrate respect for linguistic diversity as reflected in health education materials available in the languages of the clients served. Also, a diverse racial makeup of staff and staff members' relative positions within the organizational hierarchy that are not determined by race can be critical, especially in examining a systems' hiring practices.

Aspects of organizational culture that may contribute to racial/cultural responsiveness may include regular trainings on cultural responsiveness. Specific to mental health care in team meetings, the extent to which discussion of race and culture occurs may reflect organizational culture around discussing or avoiding relevant racial and cultural issues. Finally, another example of organizational culture behaviors related to racial/cultural responsiveness would include regular evaluation of the organization's racial responsiveness (Anderson, Scrimshaw, Fullilove, Fielding, & Normand, 2003; Block, 2016).

In their various roles, supervisors may be influenced by all of the organizations' practices, which may be implemented through their training of staff and/or interns. In addition, organizational culture with regard to race may become apparent in response to national and local events that prompt discussions or evasions about racial and ethnic discrimination. As a result, supervisor practices may involve reflecting with supervisees about trainings or events occurring in the agency with regard to race and culture. Organizational culture has been found to influence organizational climate, work attitudes, and employee behaviors (Aarons & Sawitzky, 2006; Glisson & James, 2002). In the case of supervision, an organization's evaluation procedures that include providing feedback to the supervisor about racial/cultural responsiveness may affect the attitudes, whether positive or negative of supervisees and supervisors.

Organizational Climate

Organizational climate reflects the employees' perceptions of and emotional responses to the characteristics of the work environment and their respective responsibilities, whereas organizational culture refers to what occurs (e.g., policies and practices) in an environment. Organizational climate may refer to the ways supervisors think and feel about their workplace and tasks, in this case, particularly with regard to racial responsiveness.

There is a paucity of literature examining effects of organizational climate in mental healthcare systems. However, Green, Albanese, Shapiro, and Aarons (2014) examined the extent to which mental health clinicians' and case managers' ($n = 322$) burnout was related to organizational climate. Participants were primarily masters level clinicians (57%) and worked in a variety of settings, which included outpatient, day treatment, case management, and wraparound services. Organizational climate was measured from subscales of the Organizational Social Context Scale (OSC; Glisson, Schoenwalk et al. 2008). In addition, they responded to the

Multifactor Leadership Questionnairre-5 (MLQ-5x; Bass & Avolio, 1995), where they were asked about their immediate supervisors' behaviors.

Overall, Green et al. (2014) found that clarity in their role, cooperative climates, and greater levels of reported transformational supervisor behaviors were correlated with higher levels of personal accomplishment. *Transformational supervisor behaviors* referred to the extent to which supervisees felt they respected, trusted, felt pride in, were inspired by and/or attributed their growth to their supervisor. Overall, role conflict and role overload indicated a stressful work climate and emotional exhaustion. The main predictor for providers' depersonalization (i.e., cynicism, decreased levels of compassion toward clients) was their perception that they were overloaded with work. These findings may be significant for providers within systems attempting to provide racially and culturally responsive care. It would be critical to understand how supervisors' perceptions of role conflict, role overload, or experience of depersonalization influences their racially and culturally responsive supervision.

Climate Models with Respect to Racial Identity

Helms (Helms, 2015; Helms & Jernigan, 2007) expanded the Racial Identity Social Interaction Model to include the organizational climate of an institution. Accordingly, a mental health institution's organizational culture and racial climate may reflect a particular racial identity development in its policies and practices. With respect to racial identity, Helms described three types of racial identity environments that may be useful for understanding the racial climate of an organization in which mental health supervision occurs. They are: (a) assimilation, (b) multicultural and (c) integrative awareness.

Assimilation Environments. Assimilation environments may communicate messages that dominant racial groups are in power and those outside of the dominant group should

conform. The goals of the agency may include ignoring or eliminating racial and cultural differences. In such environments, one might expect supervisors at advanced levels of racial identity development to experience their organizational climate as regressive. On the other hand, less developed supervisors would experience it as parallel.

Multicultural Environment. A multicultural environment is one that values between-group difference, harmony, and allows for the expression of a diverse range of cultural values or practice. However, it is an environment where people spend most of their time with members of their own racial or cultural group. Thus, depending on the racial identity of the supervisor, a multicultural environment may be regressive, parallel, or progressive.

Integrative awareness. Finally, integrative awareness environments are workplaces where members of racial groups take initiative and make efforts to learn the racial group's experiences other than their own. Efforts are made in integrative awareness environments for members to assess and facilitate the racial/cultural inclusivity of the organization's practices and policies and the members accept accountability for addressing inequity in the organization. Finally, supervisors in these environments may hypothetically experience progressive or crossed relationships.

Since very few studies have examined how organizational variables, such as organizational culture and climate, would affect supervisors, it may be difficult to presume how it may affect racially and culturally responsive supervision. However, based on the findings from Green et al. (2014), organizational climate includes racial climate, which may in fact be an influential factor in how supervisors perform their work.

Statement of the Problem

In mental health supervision, there has been a longstanding problem in which supervisees

have not been provided support to develop their racial or cultural responsiveness. Although researchers identified this problem almost 30 years ago (Helms & Cook, 1988), culturally un-responsive supervision continues to be pervasive based on supervisee reports, particularly supervisees of Color. One limitation of the current state of racially and culturally responsive supervision literature has been the largely absent perspectives of supervisors. Given that supervision has been seen as an educational intervention to develop therapists, it is sensible that supervisees have been evaluated for their growth as a result of the intervention. Yet, racially responsive supervision research thus far has relied on the perspectives of the supervisees, individuals who are naturally early in their development, to make inferences about supervisor behavior and impact (Soheilian et al., 2014). Thus, it is necessary for supervision research designs to seek a more balanced view in which experiences both from the supervisee and supervisor are considered.

The present study first aimed to explore the experience of supervisors working with supervisees with regard to race and culture. Although the literature may reflect an imbalance in perspectives between supervisors and supervisees, supervisees' experiences of supervision with regard to race and culture have revealed important findings. Early studies of supervisees of Color identified notable problems in how White supervisors handled race in supervision (Cook & Helms, 1988; Nilsson & Duan; 2007; Vander Kolk; 1974), but these studies used socioracial categories to define race. Further examination of cross-racial supervision between White supervisors and supervisees of Color indicated conflicting results, where socioracial group inconsistently demonstrated significance in relation to perceived supervision working alliances and reported positive experiences in supervision (Cheon et. al, 2009; Gatmon et al., 2001). When racial identity was integrated into supervision studies, racial identity mattered more than

race, statistically speaking (Bhat & Davis, 2007; Ladany et al., 1997).

Furthermore, the racial identity social interaction model provided an effective model for understanding the complex dynamics occurring in supervision relationships for supervisees using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Ladany, Brittan-Powell, & Pannu, 1997; Jernigan et al., 2010). Given the utility of this model in supervision research, the social interaction model was used to organize the literature based on the types of supervision relationships (i.e., regressive, parallel, progressive, and crossed) that seemingly had been described before without benefit of a theoretical framework. Overall, examining racially and culturally responsive supervision through the lenses of the racial identity social interaction model highlighted key attitudes and behaviors that supervisors may engage in depending on the type of relationship they have with their supervisee. Furthermore, broadening the social interaction model to consider organizational culture and racial identity organizational climate helps to contextualize the supervisors within the multiple roles and responsibilities of their jobs.

Figure 1 (see below) is a visual model that illustrates the purpose of the study. The innermost circle of the figure represents the clients to whom the supervisee is providing therapy. The second circle from the center represents the supervisee and the third circle represents the supervisor. Finally, the outermost circle represents the institutions in which supervision occurred. The concentric circles within one another represent the relative power differentials within those relationships. Different types of relationships may occur between members across the circles depicted in the figure. In the present study, interview questions were designed to elicit information about relationships between supervisor and supervisee (line B) and the institution and the supervisor (line A) with respect to race and culture specifically. Thus, the figure depicts the aim of the present study to understand the extent to which the supervisors'

perceived relationships with their institutions influence the relationships between the supervisors

and, and, in turn, the supervisors' perceived relationships with their supervisees.

Figure 1: Study Model
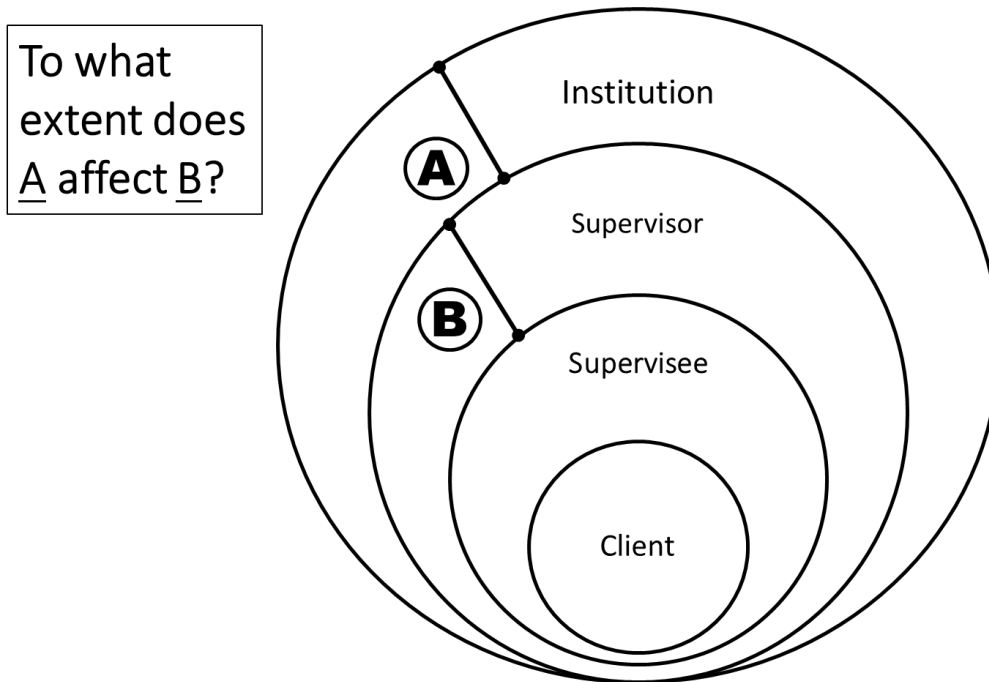
The research questions of the present study are: (1) How do supervisors provide supervision on

race and culture? (2) How do supervisors perceive the racial climate of their institution? (3) To

what extent to supervisors feel their racial climate influences their supervision with regard to

race and culture?

Research Design

Qualitative design was deemed the most appropriate approach to address the objectives of

the present study. Generally, there has been a paucity of empirical literature focused on

supervisors' perspectives in general; thus, the use of a qualitative method allowed for flexibility

in capturing supervisors' unique racial experiences and perspectives. Moreover, although the

environment has been identified as an important factor in the theoretical literature, no studies

thus far have explored the supervisors' perceptions of the effects of organizational culture and/or racial climate on the supervision process.

The supervision literature thus far has relied both on qualitative and quantitative methods for understanding the processes and outcomes related to racially and culturally responsive supervision. Quantitative and qualitative research designs that have examined racial identity in supervision—as opposed to socioracial group membership—have (a) offered more consistent findings, (b) resulted in more explanatory relationships, and (c) better addressed the complex interpersonal dynamics that occur in supervision relationships (Ancis & Ladany, 2001; Constantine, Warren, & Miville, 2005; Ladany et al., 1997; Jernigan et al., 2009). Therefore, it has been imperative to have a theoretical framework for examining factors related to racially and culturally responsive supervision.

Lack of a theoretical framework means that neither bad nor good supervision practices can be located in a meaningful framework. For example, one major issue with growth-inhibiting or harmful supervision has been supervisors' race-evasive and power-evasive behaviors. Interpersonal behaviors that do occur as opposed to behaviors that do not occur can be challenging to capture without a theoretical framework that incorporates the psychological experiences of living and interacting with power, privilege, and oppression. Qualitative methodologies have been especially useful for studying power dynamics in interpersonal relations. For example, studies on microaggressions have drawn from qualitative methods guided by theoretical frameworks, such as Descriptive Content Analysis, to identify and describe indirect or covert communications about the superiority of dominant White, male, or heterosexual group membership (Nadal et al., 2011; Wong et al., 2016).

Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to learn from supervisors regarding their experiences providing supervision with regard to race and culture, particularly examining the types of relationships that might arise according to social interaction model. In addition, the study sought to situate the supervisors within their employment contexts in their mental health training organizations. Scholars have cited the importance of understanding how environments can influence the work of supervisors; but to date no studies have explored this idea (Inman & Ladany, 2015; Miville et al., 2005).

Empirical evidence has supported relationships between organizational culture and organizational climate and mental healthcare workers' productivity, satisfaction with their work and commitment to their organizations (Cooke & Szumal, 2000; Glisson & James, 2002; Helms & Jernigan, 2007; James et al., 1978; James & Sells, 1981). The social interaction model has proved to be a useful conceptual frame for exploring the kinds of racial identity relationships supervisor have with their environment and how those relationships may affect supervision processes.

Directed Content Analysis

Directed Content Analysis (DCA), the methodology selected for analysis of the data collected in the present study, is used to "validate or extend a theoretical framework." In their review of three types of qualitative content analysis methods, Heish and Shannon (2005) argued that existing theories may benefit from further description and existing theory and research may help guide research questions and analysis. In the case of the present study, prior research has quantitatively and qualitatively demonstrated the utility of the social interaction model for understanding racially and culturally responsive supervision. The use of DCA facilitates the

analysis to be guided by relevant variables that have been identified in prior research, such as characteristics of progressive, regressive, and parallel relationships.   Pertinent to the present study, research has yet to demonstrate how the social interaction model may work from the perspective of the supervisors with respect to supervision or in relation to the supervisors' mental health organization.

Chapter 3

Methods

Participants

Of the supervisors ($n = 8$) who participated in the study, half identified as Black/African American ($n = 4$) and half identified as White ($n = 4$). Half of the supervisors also identified as women ($n = 4$) and the other half identified as male ($n = 4$). A little over half of the participants held a Counseling Psychology degree ($n = 6$), and two participants had Clinical Psychology degrees. All of the supervisors were licensed psychologists, who had supervised an average of 10 years (median = 7 years). The average age of supervisors was 42 years. Most supervisors ($n = 6$) stated that they had not received coursework or training specific to supervision in their graduate training. A little over half of the supervisors ($n = 5$) received multicultural or diversity coursework or didactics throughout graduate training. On average, participants had supervised 23 students in individual and group formats since obtaining their license. Participants worked in a variety of mental health settings. Four participants provided supervision in college counseling centers ($n = 4$), whereas the other participants supervised in the following settings: an in-patient hospital ($n = 1$), community mental health center ($n = 2$), and schools ($n = 1$). A small number of participants had worked as faculty members in university settings in addition to providing supervision ($n = 2$).

Interview Process

The purpose of the interviews was to collect qualitative data from supervisors about their experiences of providing supervision on race and culture within their mental health institutions. Thus, the interview questions were focused on exploring: (a) the experiences of the supervisor in providing supervision on race and culture, (b) their perceptions of the racial climate in their

mental health institution, and (c) the extent to which they perceived the institution effected on their supervision practice. SIM guided the development of interview questions, which drew from key concepts related to growth promoting, growth stagnating, and growth inhibiting relationships in supervision and within mental health institutions.

Before asking the open-ended interview questions, the primary investigator (PI) reviewed the participants' answers to the demographic form, which included information about locations of supervision sites, years of supervisory experience, and their types of training (Appendix A). The PI conducted and audio recorded the interviews. The length of the interviews ranged from 45-90 minutes. All of the interviews were transcribed by the PI and a research assistant (RA) from audio files and crosschecked for errors by each of them.

Examples of interview questions were: (a*)* Tell me about a time when an issue related to race and culture came up in supervision. How did you feel? What did you do? (b) How did your organization deal with race and culture? How did your organization respond when racism occurs either within the organization or in the media? (c) How does your organization support your approach to doing supervision? See Appendix B for the full set of interview questions.

 Procedures

The primary investigator (PI) obtained approval from Boston College's Internal Review Board (IRB) prior to seeking participants. All researchers involved in collecting data or transcribing interviews (i.e., the PI, RA, and research advisor) met IRB criteria for compliance by HIPAA (Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act) and for conducting research with human subjects. The PI solicited participants by sending out emails including study announcements to the following American Psychological Association listserves: Division 17, Society of Counseling Psychology; Division 45, Society for the Psychology Study of Culture,

Ethnicity and Race; Division 29, Society for the Advancement of Psychotherapy). In addition, following the completion of interviews, some participants shared the study announcement with their colleagues.

Individuals responded to study announcements by email to express their interest in participating in the study. Interviews were scheduled over email and conducted by phone (n = 6), skype (n = 1), or in person (n = 1). The participants received a brief demographic questionnaire prior to starting the interview. The PI requested written consent from participants and reviewed the consent document with each participant verbally prior to starting the interviews See Appendix C for Consent Form.

Directed Content Methodology

Qualitative methods were used to study the experiences of supervisors providing supervision on race and culture within their mental health institutions. The design of the present study was guided by Directed Content Analysis in order to: (a) learn from supervisors' experiences in their own words and (b) draw from SIM as a theoretical framework for understanding racial dynamics both in supervision relationships and within institutions. Directed Content Analysis, as discussed before, is a qualitative methodology that is used to validate or extend a theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2004). Methods for maintaining standards of quality for the study are integrated throughout the following sections including: (a) evaluating saturation, (b) checking credibility and trustworthiness, and (c) reflexivity.

With regard to confidentiality, transcribed interviews, audio-recordings, scanned consent forms, and demographic data were stored in a secure Boston College server. All participants were assigned ID numbers; only these ID numbers, were associated with their audio-taped and transcribed responses. For the purpose of reporting data, participants were given ID labels (e.g.,

Participant 1, see *Results*). The only individuals with access to the data were the primary

investigator, her research advisor, and a research assistant. All information collected in

interviews was kept confidential. In order to add a further layer of confidentiality, the research

team decided against creating pseudonyms and a table with each participant's demographic

information.

   Saturation. Saturation is a tool used in qualitative methods to guide researchers in

measuring the sufficient numbers of participants in a sample (O'Reilly & Parker, 2012). Prior to

data collection, the research team agreed that we would use data saturation, instead of other

forms of saturation (e.g., theoretical saturation) to determine whether more participants were

needed. *Data saturation* is reached when additional collected data fail to produce new categories

(Bowen, 2008). Data saturation has been critiqued for lacking systematization (O'Reilly &

Parker, 2012). Thus, under the advisement of one of the PI's dissertation committee members, a

three phase structure was implemented to examine data saturation. The first phase occurred after

transcription of the interviews were complete. Brief narratives of each interview were written up,

which broadly identified key concepts related to supervising on race and culture in mental health

institutions. Following the completion of each new interview, new narratives were written and

were compared with those summarized in prior narratives.

   The second phase of evaluating saturation occurred during the interviewing process. The

PI kept notes during and following interviews to identify key concepts emerging that were

relevant to the research questions. The PI consulted with her research advisor throughout the

interview process to discuss, identify, and compare experiences and perspectives of the

supervisors. The third phase of examining data saturation occurred in the coding process. As new

data were coded and analyzed, the researchers did not find new emerging domains or themes, thus the PI and RA felt that saturation was reached.

Subjectivity and Reflexivity

DCA was particularly appropriate for the purposes of the present study because, like other qualitative methods, it is based on a constructionist ontological approach that recognizes that researcher(s) (i.e., PI) and participants (i.e., supervisors) will mutually influence each other in the process of data collection and analysis (Creswell et al., 2007). A constructionist perspective on studying supervisor racial dynamics allows for acknowledgment that researcher(s) and participants co-construct the knowledge gained from the research. Thus, the researcher's positionality and racial identity development are relevant to the findings. This epistemological approach recognizes the role of the researchers' experience as an important aspect of the results that are found. Specific to this study, the researchers used tools to remain reflexive (e.g., journaling, discussions, and eliciting feedback) in order to make analysis decisions as well as to bracket their biases to the best of their ability.

The research team consisted of three individuals, all of whom identify as cis-female. The primary investigator identifies as a White heterosexual cis-female. She grew up on a ranch in the rural Southwest with a White mother who was a Japanese interpreter. She is presently in her last year of formal coursework and will begin her predoctoral internship during the 2017-2018 academic year. The primary investigator studied White racial identity and cultural responsiveness of counselors for 6 years in the Institute of the Promotion for the Study of Race and Culture amongst a team of primarily women of Color. It was an interesting juxtaposition and sometimes uncomfortable to interview and analyze data from supervisors and training directors while undergoing the application process for APPIC Internship. The process elicited a

variety of reactions; particularly due to the power dynamics involved with interviewing supervisors at APA approved internships as well as being asked about her research in APPIC internship interviews. The primary investigator, as a White woman herself, had a reaction to interviewing some of the White participants who had offered regressive relationships for their supervisees. The emotions associated with this reaction included embarrassment, frustration, and sadness for the effects of White racial identity development. These emotions were addressed and processed through discussion with my co-researcher and Advisor. Specifically, through racially progressive supervision from my Advisor, I was reminded of my own racial identity development process as a White woman, which helped me to reflect on my reaction to the participants' experiences and perspectives.

The research assistant identifies as a Latina, heterosexual, cis-female. She grew up in suburban New Jersey in a low-income home with a Puerto Rican mother and an Ecuadorian immigrant father. She has worked as a research assistant for the Institute for the Study and Promotion since the beginning of her Masters program in October 2015. Throughout the analysis process, she was receiving supervision at her internship in a Mental Health Counseling Program.

Reflexivity is an approach of systematically focusing on the construction of knowledge by consistent self-reflection throughout each step of the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A reflexive practice was built into the analysis process by journaling about and documenting coding and grouping decisions. Throughout the design, collection, and analysis process of the study the research team members had numerous conversations exploring how identities and experiences might have been influencing the data analysis process. Having worked in a variety of training sites as mental health professionals, both research team members had

prior experiences observing and taking part in racial dynamics within an organization. Furthermore, the PI and research assistant acknowledged the ways in which prior experiences may have shaped their expectations that mental health institutions and supervisors would be racial identity growth inhibiting to supervisees and clients. We talked about these biases with each other and consulted with the research supervisor in order to ensure our prior experiences were not shaping the data collection and analysis processes.

The RA and PI wrote journals throughout the study in order to reflect on their thoughts and reactions. They were particularly motivated to debrief with each other when supervisors shared experiences that the researchers perceived as either emotionally charged or especially unjust. They discussed reactions with one another and reflect upon how emotional responses and prior experiences might have been shifting focus away from the supervisors' words and experiences. After the research assistant and PI made analysis decisions and processed emotional reactions, the PI sought feedback and suggestions from her research supervisor.

Data Analysis

Directed Content Analysis (DCA) was used to examine the various dimensions of facilitating racially responsive supervision within an organizational context. In preparation for conducting the DCA, the PI created a codebook which included a set of coding categories and codes prior to collecting data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Once the codebook was developed, initial coding categories were used to code the data (i.e., interview transcripts). However, new categories were created if data could not be coded by the initial coding categories. For the present study, coding categories were developed on the basis of key concepts of the Social Interaction Model as well as prior research findings from studies that addressed aspects of race

and culture in supervision. Examples of the pre-set codes and brief code definitions are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2:

Examples of Pre-Set Codes with Definitions

Code	Definition
Assessment of supervisee development	Collecting information and measuring supervisees' relative development on knowledge, skills and self-awareness related race and culture
Permissive environment	Introducing conversation on race/culture in supervision
Positive regard	Demonstrated warmth and empathy towards supervisee
Educating/Teaching on race	Teaching supervisees about concepts related to race/racial identity/culture
Encouraging self-reflection on race countertransference	Asking questions, eliciting self-examination of supervisees' thoughts and feelings on their own and others' racial/cultural identity
Ignoring issues of race and culture	Avoidance of supervisor or supervisee discussing race and culture in supervision
Saying racist comments	Verbalizing racially biased thoughts or feelings

Before coding the transcribed data, the PI and RA read through the transcribed interview several times in order to gain a holistic sense of the data and immerse ourselves in the data, a process known as prolonged engagement (Morrow, 2005; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2002).

Prolonged engagement refers to a method that supports the credibility of qualitative research wherein the researcher sits with the data for a sufficient amount of time in order to soak in the "culture" of the phenomena of interest (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302). The PI chunked all of the interview data by reviewing the transcript and creating new paragraphs when the interviewee shifted to a different topic.

The chunked data were coded using HyperResearch (2017), a qualitative coding software system, which allows the researcher to select text and apply as many codes to the selected text as appropriate. HyperResearch allows for a codebook to be easily maintained and organized since the codebook and interview text sit side-by-side on the screen. Hence, the codebook and all code definitions are readily viewable during the coding process. In order to remain close to the data and avoid forcing the data to fit the pre-set codes based on SIM, the PI and RA added new codes when necessary. When the PI and RA added new codes they also wrote brief descriptive definitions for each new code.

The PI coded the first interview and then consulted with her research advisor to elicit feedback. Then, she trained the RA to code the data by co-coding a portion of an interview together. Following the initial training, the PI and RA coded a second interview separately. The PI compared the separately coded interviews. The research assistant and primary investigator had coded the data very similarly (i.e., over 80% of the chunked data were coded the same). For, the cases where they coded data differently, the research assistant tended to use more descriptive codes, whereas the PI tended to use more interpretive codes. In the cases where they differed in their coding, they agreed to adjust coding to prioritize remaining close to participants' words rather than interpreting meaning.

The next stage of analysis involved grouping codes that were qualitatively similar or easily grouped based on their relationship to one another. Codes were organized into the following code types: (a) demographics, (b) emotions, (c) supervisor philosophy, (d) supervisor behavior, (e) system and social justice. The final analysis stage involved returning to the original research questions. The original questions were: (a) How do supervisors provide supervision on race and culture? (b) How do supervisors perceive the racial climate of their institution? (c) To what extent to supervisors feel their racial climate influences their supervision with regard to race and culture? Specifically, the PI examined the codes with a focus on examining the codes for evidence of growth promoting, homeostatic, stagnating, or regressive relationships in the supervision dyads as well as between the supervisors and their institutions. Some of the data was viewed from examining codes from a single specific event (e.g., such as a supervision meeting), and some of the data was examined as an ongoing over time (e.g., such as course of a training year). The PI met regularly with her dissertation advisor and research assistant to discuss fitting data into the codes and seeking connections among the core domains and sub-themes.

Chapter 4

Results

As summarized in Table 4, DCA of the data resulted in three core domains: (a) supervisor philosophy and practice with regard to race and culture, (b) perceptions of the environment with regard to race and culture, and (c) environmental influences on supervision with regard to race and culture. See Table 4 for the summary of findings.

Table 4
Summary of Core Domains and Themes

Domain	Subtheme	Description
Supervisor Philosophy and Practice with Regard to Race and Culture	Dialogue on Racial and Cultural Identity	Supervisor facilitated conversations on racial and cultural identities, use of self-disclosure/modeling
	Developmental Assessment and Teaching	Practice of assessing development of supervisee, teaching on race and culture tailored to supervisees' development
	Identifying Strengths and Positive Reinforcement	Strengths-based approach to supervising on race and culture, overall positive regard and mutual positive reinforcement
	Supervision Relationship and Addressing Power Dynamics	Supervisor beliefs on the importance of the supervision relationship, as well as discussions about power dynamics, navigating multiple roles, and managing boundaries

Table 4: (continued)
Summary of Core Domains and Themes

Domain	Subtheme	Description
Supervisor Perceptions of the Environment	Inconsistent Environments	Environments where supervisors had ambivalent thoughts and feelings with regard to the racial responsiveness of their system
	Unprotective Environments	Environments where supervisors felt efforts to provide racially responsive supervision may not be reinforced, nor protected.
	Punitive Environments	Environments where supervisors felt they would be or had been punished if they promoted racial justice or provided racial responsive supervision
Environmental Influences on Racially Responsive Supervision	Advocacy	Supervisors felt their system protected them in the effort to provide racially responsive supervision
	Isolation & Disengagement	Supervisors felt isolated in their system in efforts to provide racially responsive supervision
	Inhibition	Supervisors felt their systems' blocked or inhibited racial responsive supervision

Domain I: Supervision Philosophy and Practice with Regard to Race and Culture

Although supervisors' experiences, demographics, and training varied, they reported several commonalities in their approaches to supervision. For the most part, supervisors described traditional individual or one-on-one supervision that occurred weekly for a year. However, a few supervisors also discussed supervision that occurred in group settings or while co-leading group therapy alongside a supervisee. All supervisors noted navigating multiple relationships with their supervisees in the training setting. For example, some supervisors worked with supervisees in individual and group supervisions or didactic trainings, whereas

others supervised clinical work in addition to acting as their primary academic advisor in the doctoral program.

Of note, all of the supervisors expressed their general commitment to supervision and their appreciation for the practice and research of supervision, as well as the rewarding aspects of supervision that focused specifically on race and culture. Their responses regarding supervision philosophy and practice with respect to race and culture were revealed in the three following themes: (a) dialogues on racial and cultural identity, (b) developmental assessment and teaching, and (c) supervision relationship and addressing power dynamics with regard to race and culture.

Dialogues on Racial and Cultural Identity

Over half of the supervisors ($n = 6$) emphasized the importance of starting explicit discussions early in the relationship between the supervisor and supervisee about social identities, such as race, gender, and sexual orientation. One supervisor noted:

> We have a multicultural supervision approach here. We try to have very
>
> intentional dialogues from the beginning with our supervisee and talk a little bit
>
> about our different cultural identities. (Participant 3)

Supervisors modeled participation in these conversations through disclosing their identities and sharing examples of how their identities shape their work as psychologists, as well as their general worldview. A few supervisors addressed racial or cultural differences between their supervisees and clients by asking their supervisee(s) to share their thoughts and feelings about how differences might influence their work together:

> We start with sharing a little bit about ourselves and our backgrounds so that
>
> there's a context of understanding, both in regards to our dynamics--the
>
> supervisory dynamics--but then also their bringing up different clients that they're

working with and maybe some intersecting identities coming into [the work].

(Participant 1)

Most supervisors (n=6) emphasized their commitment to supporting racial and cultural identity development, as one supervisor of Color said, "That's one of the things that I stress with supervisees is that you are all multicultural beings. It helps us understand our lenses or how we make meaning of the world." (Participant 5)

For the most part, most of the supervisors addressed supervisees' racial or cultural countertransference towards their clients, but only a few supervisors discussed their experience of addressing racial or cultural differences within the supervisory relationship. For example, one supervisor stated:

I think having that open discussion with trainees is really important. I tell them

all the time it's like, "Yeah, I'm this person and *this [Black]*. You're different in

that [White]. We have to figure it out as we go along. (Participant 2)

Supervisors did not uniformly integrate issues of race and culture into their supervision practice. Although most of the supervisors (*n* = 6) in this study conducted dialogues on race and culture in supervision, the other supervisors acknowledged their prior limitations in bringing up race and culture:

I don't remember explicit conversation about our differences and my particular

privilege compared to my supervisee. I think that that was something that maybe

came later in development for me. (Participant 7)

Developmental Assessment and Education

All of the supervisors described the importance of approaching their supervision from a developmental stance, which involved conducting either informal or formal assessment of the

supervisee's developmental needs as a new therapist. A few of the supervisors mentioned their intentional actions to conceptualize the supervisees' strengths and limitations in order to identify and approach developmental needs on race and culture. For example, one supervisor explained approaching the assessment from a developmental stance, "I'm thinking, "Where is this person developmentally?" (Participant 3)

Supervisors described how the developmental assessment process occurs very early in the supervisory relationship. In fact, several of the supervisors identified the internship application processes as playing a crucial role in hiring supervisees that are aware of the importance of racial and cultural identity in therapy and have begun to reflect on their own identities. A supervisor stated, "The supervisee that enters the center will understand the socio-emotional factors and context of where they live. So, they generally do come in at a good level of understanding." (Participant 5)

In addition, supervisors talked about the process of educating supervisees to view their clients' problems from a contextualized lens. In other words, the supervisor described the process of teaching supervisees to incorporate issues of race and culture into case conceptualization and treatment planning. For example, one supervisor of Color described his/her experience of working with a White supervisee who was providing therapy to a family who expressed racism towards a neighbor. The supervisor said,

> The supervisee didn't know what to do with it. They had a kind of feeling but they
> didn't feel like it was related to treatment goal[s]. The supervisee said, "Do I
> address it? Is this a social justice issue or do I address it from mental health?"
> (Participant 5)

The supervisor went on to explain his/her approach:

What I asked the supervisee to do is look into themselves about why this became

an adjunct question. You know, given that what we learn in psychotherapy

training is that when somebody brings something into the room in therapy, it's all

a part of the therapy. So why is this something that is separate or adjunct or not a

part of the goal? I kind of challenge them with that question. And then the second

part is, when you feel like you don't know what to do, be curious, and ask

questions. (Participant 5)

In particular, most of the Supervisors of Color ($n = 3$) in the study discussed their

approaches to educating their supervisees on factors related to race and culture relevant to the

therapy.

Regardless of the intern's identity, I always challenge them based on cultural

appropriateness and going there in session. Gender, socioeconomic status,

whatever it is. You know, what are you doing with that? I worked to push them

to think about all of the things that people bring in that are different from you.

(Participant 8)

Assessing Strengths and Positive Reinforcement

Supervisors described approaching the supervisory relationship in a variety of ways. A

common theme was how supervisors valued practicing a strength-based approach to supervising

about race and culture. Several of the supervisors ($n = 5$) shared their experience of being

supervised as trainees themselves from a corrective or critical model. For example, one

supervisor reflected on her/his experience of training:

The classic supervision where I started was essentially a criticism-oriented model. You go in present your tape or whatever it was and someone would say, "No, you're not doing it right. How do you do it better?" (Participant 4)

In their recognition and acknowledgement of the supervisees' performance anxiety, supervisors intentionally incorporated time and effort to articulate and discuss supervisees' achievements and growth. For example, one supervisor shared how she might ask a supervisee to reflect on her or his strengths by saying:

Let's look at the tape. Show me something you want feedback on or show me something you did really, really well." That's one thing that I think my supervisors forgot to do. I think it's very important in supervision for people to identify "wow, you did this really, really well." Not it always focusing on ways to change and be better, also identify "you did this really great. Please continue to do that. (Participant 2)

For the most part, supervisors described positive reactions from supervisees in response to the supervisor's encouragement of their racial and cultural responsiveness as therapists. For example, one supervisor of Color talked about receiving an email from a prior intern:

We have definitely maintained contact and he emails me now and then, "You know, I really thank you for pushing me, particularly as a White male, middle class. I am now working with clients who are like *this* and I have to keep asking myself, you know, does that make sense for how they live, not necessarily for how *I* live?" (Participant 2)

Supervision Relationship and Addressing Power Dynamics

Most of the supervisors emphasized the importance of establishing a collaborative relationship with their supervisee.   The collaborative behaviors of supervisors included supervisors eliciting feedback, goals, and interests from supervisees. Supervisors referred to the power differential between themselves and their supervisees, speaking in reference to their responsibility for facilitating growth and providing evaluations of supervisees' performance. Yet, there was a range in the extent to which collaborative approaches were emphasized amongst supervisors. Some supervisors emphasized more egalitarian approaches, specifically describing their intentions to mitigate power differentials within the supervisory relationship. Supervisors also described valuing the practice of transparency in their supervision work, primarily by describing expectations for performance in the supervisees' internship placement. With regard to supervisor-supervisee power differentials, supervisors reflected on navigating balance between egalitarian relationships in this context without ignoring their roles and responsibilities as evaluators and gatekeepers. For example, one supervisor reflected on her or his frustration towards a prior supervisor:

> I remember what it felt like, even when one of those supervisors downplayed the power she had in the relationship. She would feel like she had the power, but she would kind of downplay it. Not necessarily relinquish it completely, but it was kind of this weird downplaying that would happen. (Participant 1)

Finally, supervisors differed in how central they felt the supervisee-supervisor relationship was in the process of supervision on race and culture. Although all of the supervisors described an effort to have positive and supportive relationships with their supervisees, some of the supervisors emphasized the importance of relying on the supervision

relationship as a way to promote racial identity development for both the supervisee and supervisor.

> I try to not embody the task or case management-type supervision. It's really important for where a supervisee is at in a given week, but I try not to have that be every week because that then renders the supervisory relationship as an untapped resource for the persons' professional development. (Participant 1)

In the context of discussing the process of supervising on race and culture, a supervisor of Color emphasized the role of the supervision relationship:

> I continue to learn the importance of the relationship itself. The relationship is the basis for the therapeutic change. When I'm able to establish a therapeutic relationship with my supervisee, that person feels safe and more open to learning, to looking at, to be honest about their shortcomings or their growing edges. (Participant 6)

> One supervisor remarked on the nature of the supervision relationship, identifying all the responsibilities involved:

> These kinds of relationships can be very intense and intensive and time-demanding. I never realized that as much as now…I have a life to live besides being a supervisor. There's a protecting yourself to some degree that's involved in self-care. The balance between all these things between self and other, time distributions and ...it's much more a part of my awareness now than they were when I started. (Participant 4)

Supervisors also talked about navigating the supervision relationship without treating it as therapy for the supervisee focused on their experiences related to race and culture, despite the

similar dynamics that arise. One supervisor reported navigating the line between supervision and therapy when their supervisee of Color disclosed personal experiences of racism.

> I'm not there to therapize, but I am there to talk about how that impacts the
>
> clinical work and how do we then take care of ourselves so we can then take care
>
> of others. (Participant 1)

One supervisor noted how their supervisors in training "sent me off to get my own therapy" in order to address the hopelessness and guilt she/he was feeling around clients' experiencing oppression. The participant noted her/his appreciation for their supervisors' recommendation to seek the support of therapy.

Domain II: Supervisor Perceptions of Environment

Supervisors made statements about the ways they felt their environments or the institutions in which they provided supervision generally responded to or handled racial and cultural issues. The supervisors mentioned a variety of factors that shaped their perceptions of the racial and cultural responsiveness of their institutions. These factors included (a) policy and practices, (b) cultural norms, (c) expectations communicated from leadership, and (d) availability of time or resources to work on projects related to promoting racial and cultural responsiveness of the institution. The institutions described by the supervisors were thematically divided into three types of racial and cultural climates: (a) Inconsistent, (b) Unprotective, and (c) Punitive.

Inconsistent Institutional Climates

Supervisors who worked in inconsistent environments described simultaneous efforts that did and did not support racial and cultural responsiveness. When one supervisor was asked how her or his institution dealt with race and culture, she/he responded, after a long pause, "unevenly." (Participant 7) The supervisor reported that a major value of her/his institution was

to alleviate clients' difficult feelings and life experiences that resulted from marginalization and oppression. Yet, in contrast to institutional policies, non-supervisory staff always avoided explicitly talking about specific types of marginalization that occurred, such as racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, and so forth.

> It was not explicit with respect to how your privilege and your conscious or unconscious superiority influences the therapeutic process...That was missing for me. And it was missing institutionally. (Participant 7)

Thus, Inconsistent Climates were marked by institutional practices or policies that appeared as though they were attempting to address racial or cultural injustice. Yet, upon further reflection, supervisors highlighted areas in which the same institution enacted other policies and practices that seemed to counteract progress in addressing racial or cultural responsiveness.

For example, a supervisor described how after a racist event associated with the institution was reported in the news, resources were provided to bolster the overall racial and cultural responsiveness of the institution. The resources included adding "new structures for dealing with diversity." These diversity structures included hiring new administrators, offering new trainings on race and culture, and providing financial resources for groups promoting education on race and culture. The supervisor discussed her/his reactions to the added resources following the event:

> It feels like important change is happening but it also feels like, I don't know, it's a kind of 'shell game.' Like, it looks like we are being totally inclusive but I'm not sure how much things have changed. And based on what I hear from some of the people of Color, it seems like things are still problematic. (Participant 1)

The supervisor shared her/his belief that the institution's response to bolstering resources may have been a "shell game" or a facade that was demonstrating false commitment to promoting racial justice. The supervisor talked about how mandatory training was implemented within the institution, but wondered why the administrator of diversity training left the position after one year. The supervisor remarked, "The person who was the head of [the mandatory training] left. She was here to get it started and then decided to leave. She said it was to be closer to her family, but I always wonder...she's a woman of Color." (Participant 1) The supervisor elaborated more on her/his institution's efforts to add resources:

Some really great things *have* happened. And I would like more. There seems to be some wicked cool people put in wicked cool places. Particularly with what seems to be unprecedented numbers of Black or African identified people in positions in administration here that are doing work that is focused on inclusion. So, that seems to be a good shift. Hopefully, that's not just a tokenizing shift, "Look! We have Black people! Let's say we're good!" Hopefully, it's an effort of really drawing on their work and experience to enact a more safe climate.

(Participant 1)

Supervisors shared a variety of feelings associated with Inconsistent climates, but a common thread among their emotional reactions to their systems was ambivalence. On one hand, they acknowledged ways in which their institution attempted to promote racial and cultural responsiveness through hiring diversity educators and generally more people of Color. Yet, on the other hand, they also expressed doubt in the institutions' motivation for change, level of commitment, or the extent to which positive outcomes would be associated with added resources, trainings, and positions. Similarly, another supervisor described her/his concern about

the institution's commitment to being racially and culturally responsive: "Institutionally, it's hard for me to really know how much of it is like rhetoric and how much attention is really being paid." (Participant 3)

After expressing areas in which institutions could do better, supervisors explained how current limitations of their mental health institutions were contextualized within larger, racially unjust systems (e.g., universities, national health care policy, predominantly White communities). Supervisors also contextualized their current institutional limitations in racial and cultural responsiveness by comparing them with historical problems in the systems and the relative changes that have occurred over time: "Historically, the people that played a large role in starting the institution were very racist; we have a strong racist history." (Participant 3)

Unprotective Institutional Climates

Supervisors described their perceptions of working environments where race and culture were communicated as important to consider in the context of providing mental health care, but they also noted limitations of the system in appropriately approaching and addressing situations when racism occurred. For example, a supervisor worked as a multicultural supervision consultant to a training site located in a rural and predominantly White populated town. She/he highlighted areas in which the institution struggled to meet the needs of a supervisee of Color. The White supervisor described the challenges of the supervisee within the institution,

> "In the midst of her adjustment to moving to the town, the African American
> woman was trained in a large city and decided she wanted to find out what it was
> like to work in a small town. Part of her adjustment was culture shock."
> (Participant 4)

Acting as a consultant to the training site, the supervisor described how the supervisee faced racism in her daily life (e.g., while shopping at the grocery store), as well as in her therapy sessions with clients. The consulting supervisor described how the site and the supervisee's primary supervisor would ignore or downplay her increase in experiences of everyday racism for the supervisee in a group supervision format:

> The original supervisor, you would have thought it would have been very easy
>
> because the supervisor actually grew up in a foreign country. And you think,
>
> "Well here's someone who really should know about cultural transition" and did
>
> to some degree, but not the way she [the supervisee] needed. (Participant 4)

In this example, the supervisor highlighted the positive intentions of the institution where she/he was providing the consultation work. She/he remarked on lessons learned about providing consultation for the institution, "What we found out is we needed to be a liaison or conduit or ally for our supervisees with their agencies more than we had before." The supervisor providing the consultation to the institution emphasized the institution's responsibility for addressing oppression:

> From a position of power as a supervisor you have some responsibility to not just
>
> to see that the supervisee is doing what they are supposed to be doing. Not only is
>
> it the site's responsibility to support the supervisee in a traditional supervision
>
> relationship, but the whole environment of the agency is important if you are
>
> going to attend to racism, sexism, ageism and all the other 'isms' that are
>
> rampant. (Participant 4)

Other supervisors also remarked on problems with institutions failing to protect employees from racism or cultural prejudice. A supervisor of Color working as an administrator

in a community health center talked about the difficulty appropriately responding to a staff

member who was making racist comments. The senior staff's initial response was to ignore the

issue:

> Like a lot of racist stuff that gets enacted, the first inclination was to keep it silent,
>
> brush it under the rug. And when people got aware of that and it was continued to
>
> be brushed under the rug, not talking. It became more and more feelings of [the
>
> institution] as being unsafe. So, that actually kind of exploded last year where
>
> there were a lot of different events that it almost looked like it privileged the
>
> person who was accused of saying the racist statements, which, has a very bad
>
> look. (Participant 5)

The supervisor described how a major cause of being unable to address racism appropriately was

the lack of clarity around policies regarding discrimination and harassment. "We needed to have

more structures. We had a discrimination and harassment policy but nobody knew where it was.

And we didn't have a process that we could really rely on." She/he discussed the effects of being

unable to stop racist remarks from being made in the institution as follows:

> It's been real epic in creating a lot of distrust in our leadership. A lot of people
>
> were feeling unsafe because the [institution] promotes culturally responsive care
>
> and diversity and should be really [able to] talk about it...that action [ignoring], it
>
> wasn't settling well. (Participant 5)

In addition, the supervisor said that, even though there were trainings available that promoted

culturally responsive care, those responsible for enacting racism were never in attendance. Thus,

opportunities to address the staff members' racial prejudices were foreclosed. "So, how do you

confront that? How do you address that? It really became the challenge." (Participant 5)

A supervisor of Color training students in another predominantly White setting discussed the ongoing difficulties of being unable to protect her or his supervisees from racism in their trainings.

> We have very few visible students of Color in our classes. Maybe one. I mean when I see a student of Color in my class, I'm like "Oh wow." It's a surprise…. So, I say this to preface that the individuals that they are working with, their on-site supervisors, are also represented of the space, area, and region we are working in. Our students of Color who are in our program, and I can say this from direct experience of painfully observing and painfully advocating, our students of Color experience microaggressive experiences not only in my department where I work, but also in my sites they are placed or they find themselves placed. And it's painful and citing that and educating about that...it has been a salmon story, swimming upstream. It's been difficult. So, it's a very hard question. Yeah. This is, this is hard, very, very difficult even to talk about. (Participant 8)

The supervisor talked about positive change with respect to addressing overt forms of racism, such as stopping people from using racial epithets. She/he shared her or his appreciation for new policy requiring that all students receive training about disability and bullying, "but in terms of race and culture and LGBTQ issues, [sighs] we have a long way to go."

> I'm talking about the microaggressions, subtle, covert, systemic issues and policies and practices that impact not just the clients the students serve but also the students' themselves. That's much, much, much more difficult. And our students differences themselves I don't think are always valued. Not just in the

department, but also when they are on site. So it's very difficult. That's a really

difficult and painful question to answer. (Participant 8)

Punitive Climate

Supervisors also described climates where advocating for racial or cultural

responsiveness or racial justice would lead to aggressive acts toward them as advocates. These

acts of aggression would include high-cost consequences, such as scapegoating and warnings of

disciplinary actions, or termination from employment. A White supervisor described her/his

intentions to continue engaging in anti-racist activism in the institution despite the advice from

her or his colleagues:

Ostensibly, people are trying to give me sound mentorship around needing to not

say things. "Don't' say things about social justice. Don't try to push that." Like,

subtle messages and also not subtle by people of Color and women telling me to

downplay certain things. I don't know if that's because they've experienced

backlash as result of it and they're trying to prevent me from experiencing

backlash or if they're trying to tell me I need to do things in this way in order to

get tenure, which is a real thing. (Participant 1)

The supervisor reported that her or his colleagues in the same institution seemed to be stifled in

their career paths. She/he further described the possibility that she or he might "be able to get

away with more" due to her or his racial privilege as a White person. The supervisor also noted

how the system labels people of Color as "being difficult."

[The institution] blames people for just being difficult. It's kind of what happens

here in the system with people of Color. I think that is what's happened to my

colleague. She's been ascribed as a 'difficult person'. And that's why she's not

getting bumped up, which is problematic. (Participant 1)

Another example of a Punitive Climate involved a supervisor of Color who was

supervising a supervisee of Color. The supervisee reported feeling very frustrated with the lack

of racial and cultural responsiveness in his training site and his work in a team led by a White

male psychiatrist. The supervisor stated:

> He [the supervisee] had a very difficult time relating to some of the staff on the
>
> unit in the hospital where I worked. He felt that in the multidisciplinary meetings
>
> that his voice was not welcome and he was not being heard. It made him really,
>
> really upset. (Participant 6)

The supervisor described a situation that unfolded when the supervisee shared his feelings with

another staff member outside of work.

> He vented some of his frustration and some of his anger especially towards a
>
> psychiatrist who was basically running the treatment team. And, that coworker
>
> brought back the whole story to the team and told the psychiatrist. Rather than
>
> trying to understand that the supervisee was venting, the psychiatrist said he felt
>
> unsafe having a supervisee on the unit, having expressed that anger towards him. I
>
> thought that it was a difficult situation that was mishandled because when the
>
> psychiatrist said he felt unsafe, I thought that was really over overblown. If I was
>
> aware of the context in which the supervisee expressed his frustration, I would be
>
> able to speak to the supervisee individually in terms of professional issues. For
>
> example, socializing with a coworker outside of work and talking about work,

whereas our supervision would be more appropriate places to have those

conversations. (Participant 6)

In an effort to maintain the supervisee's training placement, the supervisor worked with the

supervisee to frame an apology to the psychiatrist.

His placement was in jeopardy. It was frustrating to see that there was no

reflection on the part of the psychiatrist. What about his leadership style could

have triggered the feelings and anxiety? Even though he was the one with the

most power on the team he came across as being victimized. That's the way he

portrayed his feelings. (Participant 6)

The supervisor explained that a part of the psychiatrist's response may have been related to the

environment of working in an inpatient psychiatric unit where "safety is an ongoing issue."

You walk up to the unit and at any point you could be assaulted by the patient so

it's that kind of atmosphere where there is already more hyper-vigilance. When

you fear that a supervisee is expressing their anger, he could have easily been

triggered and he had worked on the locked unit for a long time. I think there were

a couple of cases in which he was assaulted. (Participant 6)

In a different mental health treatment setting, another supervisor of Color described

her/his experiences in a Punitive Climate.   The supervisor worked alongside a supervisee in a

co-therapy group setting at a college counseling center. The supervisor attempted to express her

or his concerns about the supervisee's racial and cultural responsiveness in a staff meeting with

the supervisee's primary supervisor. She said:

Her primary supervisor was like, "I don't see any of that. She's wonderful, she's

great!" And so I started to find it interesting that everyone is picking up on this

except her primary supervisor who was a White male. We started to push him and ask him about cultural things. At one point he said, "You know, you guys think there is culture in everything and I'm getting tired of people pushing Diversity stuff down my throat!" and we were like, "Whoa" So, yeah, you love her and she's comfortable with you and so that was also happening where she was running to him and complaining. People were pushing her on certain things culturally, and then he comes into the meeting and says, "You know, she's so great. I think she would feel comfortable here if people would stop pushing her. And other interns have more movement to make than her." It was interesting for a lot of reasons. (Participant 2)

The supervisor described often feeling "ashamed for bringing up culture things." She/he worked alongside a few colleagues to advocate for change in the racial climate and racial and cultural responsiveness of the institution. She/he reported that following positive changes in the work environment (e.g., increased trainings, transparency from leadership, and increased interpersonal dialogues about race and culture), she noticed, "we swung back."

Diversity meetings started getting pushed back and those meetings started getting cancelled. Things were allowed to happen and not [be] addressed in order to maintain the culture. (Participant 2)

The supervisor described how her or his experience at her institution worsened as he/she continued to advocate for promoting racial and cultural responsiveness:

The next year I had moved into a coordinators' position and so the director and I were meeting one-on-one and it really felt like I was getting bullied a lot of the time. I really thought it was because I can do nothing else but live authentically.

"The pieces that you hired me with are the same pieces I am bringing to work." I

think in some ways, either that upset her that I was doing that or it hurt her that I

could do it and she couldn't or wouldn't and so then I was being mistreated

because of it. Yeah, it got to the point that it was really bad and so, yeah, it just

was not good. "Ultimately" the director said describing the power roles, "If we

think about the typical power and privilege in this country in terms of race and

culture, we do think of White, in terms of gender, we think of cis-Gender men."

And those are the things that she had taken on. It very much let me know she was

communicating, "Ultimately, I am the power here" and I can't compete with that.

(Participant 2)

The supervisor decided to leave her position following these conversations with her director of

the institution. She described her felt experience of retribution following her decision to leave,

It was not good at all. Like, even when I left, you know, she and I didn't meet

before I left. She sent me an email. "You know maybe its best that you take time

to make sure you are leaving your clients, you are wrapped up and you get your

office packed up, so no needing to come to staff meetings until you leave. I'll just

let the staff know" It was like any last way to dismiss my humanness. You know,

staff came by to say goodbye and offer to help me pack, those types of things. I

think people knew what was going on but it was very interesting to say the least.

Literally people came in and immediately closed the door and they were like,

"What is going on?! Are you okay?" (Participant 2)

Environmental Influences on Racially Responsive Supervision

Supervisors identified a number of ways they felt their supervision, specifically with regard to race and culture, was influenced by their context. Supervisors spoke about their experiences providing supervision when issues of race and culture came up with their supervisee. The issue may have been personal to the supervisee, related to a client issue, or in response to a race-related event that occurred in the institution. The supervisors, for the most part, did not highlight areas in which racially responsive supervision was bolstered by their institution. Supervisors described the consequences of feeling isolated in their efforts to provide racially responsive supervision. On the more extreme end, supervisors illustrated the ways in which the institution inhibited or counteracted their efforts to support supervisees in developing their racial and cultural responsiveness.

Protection

Overall, supervisors largely focused on the ways in which their institutions or racial climates were unsupportive of supervision that promoted racial and cultural responsiveness. The one exception was that many supervisors described the importance of leadership's progressive attitudes regarding race and culture in mental health and psychology training. It was particularly significant when those in leadership roles understood the importance of promoting supervisees' racial identity development. Supervisors described some members of leadership in the institution as being protective for taking risks to promote racial identity development and/or racial justice, whereas others were not.

> It's difficult being one of the few faculties [sic] of Color in my program. My Dean gets me. My Dean is incredibly supportive. She's got my back and I feel it. It's fantastic. But, in my department, particularly my Chair, not so much. Not so much, that's an understatement. (Participant 8)

In another example of protective leadership, a supervisor described her or his appreciation for leadership,

> It does help for us that our VP of student life was a previous director at the
> Counseling Center and a psychologist and is a woman of Color; and so I think she
> cares deeply from multiple perspectives of her own life about those issues. And
> then [she] infuses that in the whole student life department and has made [issues
> of race and culture] a priority, so that helps to feel like there is some partnership
> and it's not just the center. (Participant 3)

Supervisors also reported appreciating those in leadership roles in the institution who were open-minded and non-defensive towards their work to promote the racial and cultural responsiveness of their supervisees. In the example of the supervisor providing consultation to an institution, she/he noted how instrumental the leadership was in addressing problematic supervision with regard to race and culture.

> There are many layers and layers of how to negotiate our communication with her
> in a way that is respectful to everybody involved. Now, she's wonderful because
> she's very open to things but that doesn't mean that when you're intervening with
> someone that they're not going to become defensive. (Participant 4)

Isolation and Disengagement

The experience of isolation and coping with isolation was an overarching theme of supervisors working to provide racially and culturally responsive supervision. Supervisors described the necessity to develop their own structure towards addressing racial responsiveness in supervision. Some supervisors appreciated being left alone by their larger institutions so that they could continue to promote racial justice in all aspects of their work as in the following

statement: "my university doesn't know anything about the support group I run." (Participant 1) Supervisors described their process of implementing programming and training themselves in their institutions. Thus, supervisors felt responsible themselves for upholding racially responsive supervision.

One issue related to supervision that arose was a struggle to advocate for supervisees of Color while also maintaining the supervisee's privacy, or in other words, confidentiality. This was particularly the case for White supervisors who shared their experiences of working with supervisees of Color. Supervisors shared their wish to protect the information supervisees shared in confidence and to maintain trust, yet felt they may have benefited from consultation from other staff in their institution. For example, when talking about the challenge of seeking support and consultation after supervisee self-disclosure about personal experiences of racism one supervisor stated:

> I want to find this balance too, which is hard of being protective of my
>
> supervisees' privacy. Supervision isn't confidential but I kind of only want to
>
> share the things that are needed. Some of the things that she shared, I don't know
>
> how much she shared outside of that space. I think that's always something I try
>
> to figure out. (Participant 3)

Another supervisor shared her/his experience of seeking feedback and support following a supervisee personal disclosure. The supervision relationship began early on with an introductory conversation regarding salient multicultural identities, where the supervisee and supervisor discussed their racial identity. Weeks later, her/his supervisee disclosed a death of a family member due to police violence. The supervisor reflected:

I felt overwhelming sadness, immediately and anger...I mean it's a surprise that someone I know that I'm sitting with in the room. That it is that close. It's kinda akin when we know a survivor of sexual violence, as if it's not happening to everybody all the time. So there was that: surprise, anger, and sadness. That came up as she disclosed it. And then, I think probably related to White guilt and White shame, like an immediate hypervigilance and stereotype threat started to emerge. Like, how am I going to enact exactly the stereotype of someone that harms. So very, White centered focused thinking also came up in the moment. Also being aware that she wasn't asking me to take care of her. And she wasn't asking to process it. She was letting me know something that was salient to her racial identity development. And so, I didn't go into like internalizing shit, but I did acknowledge the big deal of her. I was like, "Wow, that is a lot for you to share with me, us knowing each other for such a little amount of time. I feel really honored by you disclosing this to me." Which is true. "And I hope that felt like it was what you wanted to share with me and not what you had to share in the moment. That's my hope." So that's kind of the menagerie of reactions and ways that I think I responded. Um some of them felt good. I liked the way that I responded and some of them I don't like, which I think are based on gender socialization and White socialization. (Participant 1)

The same supervisor reflected on how she/he coped with these emotions by organizing efforts to provide further support for people of Color in the institution as well facilitating her friend's White racial identity development.

It wasn't really support for me necessarily but I posted some stuff on Facebook

and then I had a conversation with someone who is like family to me, a White-

identified cis-woman. She asked me questions about it and I was able to unpack it

and she was interacting with it, which although I wasn't getting direct support,

hearing a layperson talking through it and seemingly understanding and getting

nondefense was something that was supportive. (Participant 1)

Upon further reflection, the supervisor identified how she/he may have been remiss in seeking

support for her own feelings.

I can't remember if I dialogued about it specifically with anybody about like my

reaction and what my needs were, which is probably partially problematic. But, I

think some of it was I'm impacted by racism, but I'm still White and receive

benefit from it so I can deal with my own shit and move forward if that makes

sense. (Participant 1)

The supervisor remembered telling herself/himself, "You're fine. Do your job! Move forward."

She/he elaborated on this "bootstrapping" mentality:

I think there is a bit of an internalization for me that in order to not fall into White

fragility and White guilt/shame, but which is the place that I'm at in my racial

development; and I find I get really irritated really easily when I see myself in

others. So then I move to a place of ignore that and move forward. It's not your

feeling…just get it together and do things. And that doesn't always serve

everybody. (Participant 1)

One supervisor talked about how her/his felt sense of isolation affected her/his ability to

be engaged in supervision. The supervisor, also a multicultural trainer at the institution, was

attempting to address a racist act that occurred. The supervisor sought out support from a peer, who recommended a specific intervention.

> There was one clinician here that I went to, a person of Color, who had been there
>
> longer than me[sic]. She suggested an intervention to the individual accused [of
>
> using racist language]. I followed her advice and reached out to the individual to
>
> intervene. [She/he] blasted me and it was very upsetting. And when that
>
> happened, the clinician disappeared somewhat. So, that was the hardest. That hit
>
> me the hardest…It was tough. It kind of felt like in some ways, it challenged the
>
> relationships I've had for a long time. I felt alone a lot because people were
>
> looking to me and I had no place to go. (Participant 5)

The supervisor described how she/he thought the racial dynamics in the institution affected her/his supervision:

> Somebody actually challenged me on this. I was not totally there. There was a lot
>
> of supervisees that were talking about it, but I was not...in dealing with the
>
> complexities of what was happening at the center. One supervisee particularly
>
> saying, "it didn't feel like you were here fully, you were kind of pulled in different
>
> directions." They were asking me to set some boundaries. I was kind of
>
> challenged by that. You know, I told them, I said, "You're right, but it felt like the
>
> house was burning and I couldn't be here fully and I apologize for that."…It was
>
> impacting [sic] me emotionally. I was having trouble sleeping. I was upset a lot. I
>
> wasn't as emotionally present as I could have been. (Participant 5)

Direct Inhibition

Supervisors described how they felt their institutions' culture and climate may have acted as barriers to providing racially and culturally responsive supervision. Limited time and resources were cited by most supervisors as inhibitors to their offering trainings and appropriately focusing supervision with regard to race and culture. One White supervisor explained how her/his institution rarely focused training on multicultural issues:

It's really interesting in terms of omission. The first kind of defensive responses I have to your question is, "Well, we had so much we had to train because we were constantly training early career clinicians. And you know, they would stay for a few years and move on because we couldn't pay. But even as I hear myself I think, "Why wouldn't that be part of the same institutional training?" So it's an institutional problem. (Participant 7)

A few supervisors described their experiences of environmental factors that directly inhibited their attempts to provide culturally and racially responsive supervision. As discussed above, a supervisor of Color described her/his experience when a supervisee expressed frustration about working in a locked inpatient unit and consequently the lead psychiatrist said he felt unsafe working with the supervisee. The supervisor worked with the supervisee to frame an apology to the psychiatrist. The supervisor reflected:

I have thought a lot about it and felt that all of the consequences fell on him [the supervisee] and I think the message that he ultimately got was that he needed to behave himself, tow the line, and finish up his training. I think it could have been a better learning experience for him in terms of how he talked about race and culture and how he could have integrated it into his own work. (Participant 6)

Supervisors of Color, in general, reported beliefs that their institutions inhibited their attempts to provide racially responsive supervision. Two supervisors of Color stated that they had unintentionally acquired a reputation for only caring about race or being too aggressive about promoting racial justice:

> But let me tell you this, I am heavily criticized for, "Dr. [redacted] is always
>
> talking about race and race!" I get that a lot, it's difficult. It's difficult being one
>
> of the few faculty members of Color. (Participant 8)

The supervisors described receiving pushback from supervisees regarding addressing racial and cultural biases with supervisees:

> It was almost like I was picking on them. [Supervisees would say] "Oh, I've
>
> heard before that I do *this* really well." And I'm like, "And you maybe have. Now
>
> I'm telling you that I think you can use some more work." And so it was a lot of
>
> defensiveness. (Participant 2)

Both female supervisors of Color experienced female White supervisees' complaining about them to other senior supervisors or their bosses. The supervisees complained about being pushed too hard to recognize their privilege or power or they expressed feeling that "the mean Black supervisor" disliked them. In part, the supervisees received validation from senior staff or leadership regarding their complaints, which in turn invalided the work the supervisor was doing to promote the supervisees' racial and cultural responsiveness. For example, one supervisor described her experience managing a student complaining about her to the Chair of her department. In the end, the Dean of the program defended the supervisor to her Chair. However, the supervisor felt that the supervisee walked away feeling that the Chair had validated

her complaints.   Thus, the consequences of the situation contradicted the program's messages of upholding the importance of educating supervisees about race and culture.

The female supervisors of Color perceived their systems as directly inhibiting growth in racial and culturally responsive supervision by graduating or passing students who demonstrated significant attitudinal limitations in addressing multicultural issues.

In my graduate program, our department would have not graduated you if they thought you were coming out racist or sexist or homophobic. My department, when we see students [with issues in working with clients who have different social identities than themselves], we might bring them up in staff meeting. But, lo and behold, I've seen our department graduate students that I would not refer to a person of Color or an LGBTQ client. I mean that's a painful thing to say. But you know some of our students...arguments in staff meetings go like this, "We can't mandate love, we can't mandate people how to feel." or "They got a 3.5 in all the other classes. They're so close to graduation." It's very interesting. Sometimes their foot is at the door of graduating. They waited to take the race class and gender course and this stuff is coming out now? I don't think this is the first time that that stuff has been seen or noted because it's so blatant. I think that what some of our students learn is what they need to say to graduate. When you heard pain earlier, that's the pain. That's the pain. That is the source of my pain.

(Participant 8)

Another supervisor noted that it seemed people in their institutions would find ways to justify the lack of racial and cultural responsiveness of trainees:

"Well, I spoke to her and she's planning on opening a private practice in a really

upscale neighborhood and just kinda stay there forever; so we don't have to worry

about them being her clients." But I don't have that written down, I don't know

that. I don't know who she's gonna see and so she won't do any damage. I don't

know that she won't be even reaffirming a bunch of unhealthy things because we

haven't said they aren't helpful. I'm just not okay with that. "Oh don't worry, I

plan on only practicing here." That's not what that certificate says when I signed

it. "Oh, well she's really great unless you ask her to work with this group or that

group." No, it says I think you're doing a great job. (Participant 2)

Summary

DCA guided by the SIM revealed three core domains and ten themes of the interviews.

Supervisors in the study discussed their practices and philosophies when providing supervision

on race and culture to supervisees. Four themes found on supervisors practices and perspectives

on providing race included: (1) facilitating a dialogue on race and culture early in the

relationship, (2) assessing the supervisees developmental level with regard to racial and cultural

identity and applying developmentally appropriate interventions (i.e. exploration of bias,

educating on diversity), (3) working with the supervisee with a strengths-based approach and

providing positive reinforcement, and (4) addressing power dynamics in the supervisory

relationship. Supervisors primarily found the racial climate and institutional culture of their

mental health institution to be lacking. Supervisors described the racial climate of their

institution to be: (1) inconsistent, (2) unprotective, or (3) punitive. Finally, supervisors discussed

the ways in which their experiences within the racial climate of their institution to influence their

supervision practice on race and culture. Supervisors felt that there were systemic forces that:

(1) protected their racially responsive supervision through advocacy, (2) isolated them from their peers and consequently led to disengagement in the supervision relationship, and (3) punished them for attempting to provide racially responsive supervision to their supervisees.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to explore the experience of providing clinical supervision on race and culture from supervisors' perspectives specifically, given that previous research on these topics had focused almost exclusively on supervisees' experiences (Burkard et al., 2006; Cook, & Helms, 1988; Constantine, & Sue, 2007; Jernigan et al., 2009; Lubbers, 2013; Soheilian et al., 2014). A main goal was to examine the supervisors' experiences of and perspectives on practicing in their mental health settings because the literature thus far has focused primarily on locating racially responsive supervision within the individual supervisor (Inman & Ladany, 2015). Thus, as shown in Figure 1, racial and cultural dynamics between the supervisor and the supervisor's work site and between the supervisor and the supervisee were the primary focus of the study. However, it is likely that these racial and cultural dynamics can also influence the supervisee and client. The primary research questions addressed in the present study were: (a) How do supervisors provide supervision on race and culture? (b) How do supervisors perceive the racial climate of their institution? (c) To what extent do supervisors feel that their racial climate influences their supervision with regard to race and culture?

In order to answer the research questions, I interviewed self-identified Black/African American and White supervisors. They had worked as supervisors for a broad range of years in different types of mental health settings and they had various backgrounds in training as psychologists. The Social Interaction Model (Helms & Cook, 1999) was the conceptual model used to structure the research questions and interpretation of results. The use of Directed Content Analysis, allowed the findings to be interpreted through the lens of the racial identity social interaction model. The analysis of the interviews revealed three core domains related to

providing racially and culturally responsive supervision: (a) supervisor philosophy and practices

with regard to race and culture, (b) organizational culture and climate, and (c) perceived effects

of the organizational climate and culture on providing racially responsive supervision. Within

each core domain and theme, there was evidence for growth promoting, stagnating, and

inhibiting dynamics between: (a) the supervisor and their institution and (b) the supervisee and

supervisor.

In the following sections, I will identify and illustrate features of regressive, progressive,

parallel and crossed relationships across the two contexts: (a) supervisor-institution and (b)

supervisor-supervisee. Next, I will explore two themes (i.e., advocacy and interpersonal

dynamics related to privilege) revealed through the DCA that have not been specified before in

the SIM literature, Finally, I discuss theoretical and practical implications, as well as

methodological limitations.

Supervisor-Institution Relationships

The SIM allowed for examining relationship dynamics in supervision and the

corresponding training sites, specifically in relation to power dynamics. Use of the SIM offered

the opportunity to view the relationships potentially as progressive (growth promoting), parallel

(growth stagnating), regressive (growth inhibiting), and crossed (growth inhibiting) with respect

to racial identity development or, in this context, racial responsiveness (Helms, 1995; Helms &

Cook).

Although supervisors worked in different settings (i.e., college counseling centers,

inpatient psychiatric units, and community mental health), they shared several common

experiences related to system dynamics. Supervisors described work settings with racial and

cultural diversity among the staff with respect to racial and ethnic group demographics, as well

as in leadership positions. However, despite the diverse workforce, most supervisors identified multiple problems in their institutions' racial and cultural climates.

Regressive Relationships

For the most part, supervisors described negative perceptions of their organizational climate and culture with respect to race. Based on the analysis, supervisors perceived the racial climates of their institutions to be (a) inconsistent, (b) unprotective, or (c) punitive (Core domain II). Thus, it is apparent that supervisors were in regressive relationships with their institutions related to racial identity, meaning that they held more advanced racial identities than were present in their institutions' racial climates. Supervisors in regressive relationships with their institutions described experiences of feeling a lack of trust in their leadership, fear of punishment, disappointment, hopelessness, cynical views about change, and isolation. The emotional experiences of supervisors in regressive institutions parallel findings of supervisees' in regressive relationships with their supervisors (Helms & Cook, 1988; Jernigan et al., 2009)

Parallel Relationships

Some supervisors also appeared to have parallel relationships with their institutions. In other words, the institutions' racial culture and climate mirrored their own perspectives on commitment to promoting racial justice for clients and the importance of training supervisees to be racially responsive. In addition, their institutions' policies and practices did not promote the racial identity growth of the supervisor. Evidence for parallel relationships with institutions was reflected in supervisors' ambivalence about the extent to which the institution was racially responsive. In some cases, supervisors would highlight their institutions' limitations in racial and cultural responsiveness, but immediately contradict their statements by sharing their appreciation of relative historical growth or by excusing the limitations because of competing

demands. Indeed, they described institutional cultures and climates that were inconsistent in their approaches to racial and cultural responsiveness, or as one supervisor stated, his system handled race "unevenly."

Progressive Relationships

Although most supervisors described multiple regressive dynamics in their institution with regard to race and culture, there was one key feature where supervisors felt they were in a supportive environment for racial identity development. In other words, a progressive dynamic for supervisors within their institutions was related to their perceptions of being protected through the advocacy of people in power. Supervisors felt their bosses "had their back" and would advocate for them in their efforts to provide racially responsive supervision. It should be noted that supervisors in these settings were implying a level of risk involved with committing to racially responsive supervision; consequently in these cases, the supervisors had mixed (regressive and progressive) relationships with their institutions.

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Supervisor-Supervisee Relationship

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Supervisors reported several behaviors related to race and culture in the supervision relationship. Regardless of supervisees' and supervisors' specific racial identity or racial group membership, their behaviors may be interpreted according to the SIM relationship dynamics. Some of these types of relationships were evident in "Domain I: Supervisor Philosophy and Practice with Regard to Race and Culture" and "Domain III: Environmental Influence on Racially Responsive Supervision." The following section will identify the SIM dynamics involved with racially progressive, regressive, and crossed relationships in the supervisor-supervisee relationship.

Progressive Relationships

Many of the supervisors specified their efforts to promote racial justice and facilitate racial identity development. Progressive supervision relationships (i.e., growth promoting) were characterized by a variety of behaviors and philosophies. Specifically, the findings indicated four main aspects of progressive relationships: (a) developmentally-based assessment and teaching, (b) racial and cultural identity dialogues, and (c) the supervision relationship.

Developmentally Based Assessment. One characteristic of progressive supervision relationships described in the present study was supervisors' practice of assessing their supervisees' overall development as a therapist, including their racial and cultural responsiveness. Several supervisors described the importance of assessing the supervisee in order to make developmentally appropriate interventions. In accordance with other supervision literature, the results suggest that assessment of racial or cultural identity development was an important aspect of racially responsive supervision (Allen, 2007; Falender & Shafranske, 2004; Helms & Cook, 2001; Jernigan et al., 2009; Miville, Rosa, & Constantine, 2005, Pedersen, 1997).

Furthermore, supervisors in the current study did not merely assess supervisees, but also created conceptualizations of their supervisees based on their strengths and growing edges with regard to race and culture. The developmental assessments in this study informed the types of supervisor interventions that supervisors used which included education and exploration. Other studies have found results consistent with the present study's findings that the supervisors intervened by challenging cognitive distortions related to race or privilege, teaching their students about oppression, and/or asking supervisees to explore their emotional responses to difference (Harrell, 2015; Inman & Ladany, 2014; Jernigan et al., 2009; Porter, 1994)

Racial/Cultural Dialogues. Congruent with other supervision literature, supervisors were intentional about creating a permissive context for supervisees to discuss race and culture (Helms & Cook, 1999). *Permissive context* refers to the practice of supervisors' establishing the importance of race and culture in therapy through starting and facilitating open-ended conversations about race and culture early in the relationship. In the present study, supervisors discussed the importance of facilitating dialogues about racial and cultural dialogues at the beginning of the relationship. All but one supervisor articulated their experiences of establishing a permissive context in supervision with respect to race and culture (Domain I: Theme 1). In addition, the one supervisor, who did not bring up race in supervision, commented, "If I had the skills then that I have now, I would have certainly talked more openly about race."

A recent study supports the importance of discussing multicultural identities in supervision. Phillips, Parent, Dozier, and Jackson (2016) surveyed 132 doctoral practicum trainees and found significant positive relationships between the perceived depth of discussion of multicultural identities (gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation) and supervisory working alliance.

Supervision Relationship. Finally, supervisors cited the importance of "tapping into" the supervisory relationship in order to help support racial and cultural identity development. "Tapping into" the relationship referred to relying on the relationship as a tool for growth in racial responsive development. An aspect related to a strong supervisory alliance on race and culture was providing positive reinforcement and helping supervisees identify strengths. Supervisors reported that a part of their role in racially responsive supervision was to help develop their supervisees' confidence and efficacy to openly discuss and ask questions about race and culture.

Regressive Relationships

According to the social interaction model, a weak emotional bond characterizes regressive relationships. Overall, supervisors did not share experiences of providing what has been described as regressive relationships with their supervisees, although they did describe their own past experiences of being supervisees in regressive relationships. Naturally, supervisors may not have wanted to disclose regressive relationships that they have provided for their supervisees, if they were aware of them. There were three types of regressive dynamics found in the analysis: (a) avoiding race and culture, (b) lack of assessment of racial identity and teaching on race, (c) and supervision disengagement.

Avoiding Race and Culture. The negative effects of supervisors' avoiding race and culture, specifically with supervisees of Color, have been reported in the supervision literature (Burkard et al., 2006; Jernigan et al., 2009; Lubbers, 2013). However, it is possible that some supervisors are not aware of the impact on their supervisees of avoiding race and culture. For example, as already stated, one supervisor did disclose his/her regret for not being able to provide a permissive context in a past supervision relationship. He/she wondered aloud if failing to establish a permissive context may have limited the development of a strong supervision alliance.

Racial Identity Development. As described previously, one feature of a progressive relationship was a developmentally-based assessment and intervention to support the supervisee's racial identity development. Supervisors of Color in this study assessed and intervened with all their supervisees regardless of racial membership. In contrast, White supervisors described assessing and intervening with White supervisees, but not supervisees of Color in order to promote racial and cultural responsiveness. To some extent, these findings are

consistent with the literature on problems in supervision on race (Burkard et al, 2014). In order to promote supervisees' growth, supervisors must be able to assess supervisees' growth edges and help promote change with regard to race and culture. Yet, it seems that White supervisors were more limited in providing effective assessment and interventions for supervisees of Color than White supervisees. Perhaps they erroneously assumed that supervisees of Color did not require such strategies because the supervisees were people of Color (Jernigan et al., 2009)

Supervisor Disengagement. In addition, there was some evidence of regressive relationships in the present study, based on supervisors' empathic disengagement from their supervisee. Two kinds of disengagement were revealed in the analysis. First, White supervisors described empathic disengagement from supervisees of Color who disclosed their experiences of racial trauma and/or racial harassment, either in or out of their work setting. The White supervisors' reflections focused on their own White racial identity growth, rather than the experience and growth of the supervisees of Color.

Another example of empathic disengagement occurred when supervisors of Color felt pressure from their institutions to "tow the line", maintain status quo, and ignore issues related to race and culture or racism with their supervisees. In these cases, supervisors of Color reported how they "weren't totally there" for their supervisees because they were coping with the regressive relationship with their institution. In both cases, White supervisors and supervisors of Color noticed that they missed the opportunity to seek support from others as they would normally if race or culture were not involved.

Crossed Relationships

One important race-gender identity intersection that was revealed was specific to female supervisors of Colors. They described their experiences in progressive crossed relationships

with both White supervisees and supervisees of Color. Recall that crossed relationships are characterized by a supervisor with a more advanced, self-affirming racial identity than the supervisee (Helms, 1995). However, when the distance between the supervisees' and supervisors' racial identity development is too great, it may cause major barriers that prevent the formation of beneficial supervision alliances.

Progressive crossed relationships indicate that the person with more power (e.g., the supervisor) is more advanced than the person with less power (e.g., supervisee). Several qualities of crossed relationships identified in prior research were evident in the experiences the supervisors described in the present study. Supervisors described engaging in many behaviors characteristic of progressive relationships, especially positive reinforcement and dialoguing about racial and cultural identities. However, teaching interventions tended to go awry and supervisors reported feeling confusion, frustration with miscommunications, and general emotional turmoil.

Analogous types of experiences are described as crossed supervision relationships in the supervision literature (Burkard 2014; Helms,1990). It is possible that the supervisor may have misunderstood or failed to accurately assess the racial identity development stage of their supervisees in these cases and the overall relationship suffered. Despite the difficulty and demands of being in a crossed relationship, supervisors shared their empathy for and efforts to conceptualize their struggling students. In fact, the most difficult aspect of being in crossed relationships was directly related to the supervisors' perceptions of their institutional culture and climate—perhaps because they were in the less powerful position in such situations.

Expanding the SIM to Include Institutional Dynamics

Two themes were revealed in analysis that have not yet been identified in the SIM literature related to supervision: (a) the progressive nature of advocacy and (b) privilege dynamics.

The Progressive Nature of Advocacy

Advocacy was an important feature of progressive supervision in the present study, an aspect that researchers have not yet explored in the supervision literature. In addition, the SIM does not explicitly mention advocacy. Scholars have developed models to train psychologists to act as agents of change and to support their clients to more effectively navigate systemic oppression (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Fouad et al., 2006; Goodman et al., 2004; Ivey & Collins, 2003; Vera & Speight, 2003). Yet, the current study highlighted the role that advocacy plays in providing racially responsive supervision, particularly in Domain III.

In response to a regressive relationship with their institution, supervisors reported that advocacy on behalf of their supervisees in their mental health institutions was an important aspect of their work of supporting supervisees' development. Supervisors advocated for their supervisees in a variety of ways. Their advocacy activities included (a) providing additional multicultural trainings for all supervisees and staff, (b) facilitating support groups in response to racial trauma, (c) consulting with other supervisors to enhance other supervisors' racial responsiveness in supervision, and (d) addressing regressive interactions or racial harassment by staff members. Perhaps advocacy may have been overlooked in the supervision literature because it primarily occurred outside of the supervision session. In addition, the literature has thus far largely focused on the experiences of supervisees rather than the experiences of

supervisors. The imbalance in power may be too great for supervisees to advocate for themselves with anyone in the training site other than their supervisor.

Privilege Dynamics

The SIM helps to guide interpretation of relational dynamics with respect to racial identity in the supervision relationship, regardless of racial group membership of either the supervisor or supervisee. However, when the supervision relationship was contextualized within an institution, White privilege dynamics become more apparent. Although they faced different challenges and held different levels of power, the people of Color in the present study experienced multiple types of regressive relationships within their ecosystems. Some of the supervisors of Color experienced regressive relationships with their environment and were also in crossed progressive relationships with their supervisees. Consequently, their institutions would undermine the supervisors' power in the presence of resistant supervisees.

Supervisors, who for the most part offered progressive relationships with supervisees of Color, were put in difficult positions in regressive institutions when their supervisees advocated for racial justice. For example, one supervisor felt she/he was required to participate in the institutional punishment of a supervisee, but in hindsight felt as though the action was not racially responsive.   Either way, the power of supervisors of Color was stripped from them in ways that White supervisors did not experience. Based on the findings, and the support of the literature, supervisors and supervisees of Color are especially vulnerable to negative experiences in mental healthcare training sites when they or their training focus on race and culture (Burkard, 2014; Helms & Cook, 1982; Vander Kolk, 1974). Moreover, female supervisors of Color in the study were the most susceptible to being punished by their institutions for promoting racially

responsive supervision, by public embarrassment or isolation, threats of job loss, or threats of not being promoted.

Supervisees of Color faced similar barriers to supervisors of Color; although they may have been able to engage in progressive relationships with their supervisors, they may have been in regressive relationships with their institutions. For example, supervisees of Color who worked in primarily White geographic areas faced regular racial microaggressions in their professional and personal day-to-day experiences. Furthermore, the supervisors and sites struggled to appropriately support the supervisee of Color in these settings, often outsourcing support from people outside of the system.

White supervisors, in contrast, remained protected even in the case where they were advocating for racial justice. White supervisors acknowledge their relative privilege in promoting education and awareness of issues related to race and culture, inferring, "I may be able to get away with speaking up more on racism because I'm White." However, the mechanisms and interpersonal dynamics that protect White people in regressive systems are unclear.

Domain III focuses on supervisors' perceptions of how their systems' racial climate influences their supervision practice. Chronic or acute isolation functioned as a mechanism in regressive environments to reinforce psychological disengagement for supervisors. For supervisors of Color, isolation and disengagement and inhibition were described as deeply emotionally painful. On the other hand, there was evidence in the present study that White supervisors were more emotional distanced from their supervisees of Color. White women in particular described strong feelings in reaction to learning about intense and chronic racism directed toward their supervisees of Color. However, the emotional responses were a reaction to

the reality of their supervisees' experiences of race rather than attunement or empathy with the supervisee.

Perhaps emotional distancing functions as protective for White people not only within supervision but also protective when functioning in a regressive system. If White supervisors remain attuned to their White experience of shame, they may focus too much on the experience of the oppressors' perspective. White supervisors may be blocked from accessing supervisees' of Color experience. Thus, their bias toward the oppressors' viewpoint may serve them personally when functioning in a system. How would their functioning in the institution be affected if they were to truly emotionally empathize with their experiences? What privileges might they risk giving up?

Methodological Limitations

I chose a qualitative design for studying supervisors' experiences of providing supervision in their work context because of the limited empirical literature available on this subject. Nevertheless, the qualitative design limits the extent to which the obtained results can be generalized to the experiences of other supervisors. In addition, selection bias may have influenced the findings given that these supervisors volunteered to share their experiences of talking about race and culture in supervision. For example, supervisors interested in participating in the present study may have experienced particularly regressive relationships within their institutions. Thus, the results may have been biased based on supervisors who had particularly difficult experiences within their institutions. In addition, many of the supervisors had a relatively high level of commitment to the training of race and culture, which may not be representative of supervisors' philosophy.

Another possible limitation of this study is related to sample heterogeneity, especially with regard to race. It is possible that there would have been fewer or perhaps richer sub-themes if the sample had been limited to only Black or White supervisors. Yet, even if the racial self-identification of supervisors had been controlled, it would have been difficult to control for the variability in racial group memberships of supervisees, colleagues, and leadership staff. In addition, perhaps findings might have been different if I had focused on specific types of mental health institutions, such as college counseling centers or community mental health agencies. Nevertheless, the opportunity to self-disclose about their own supervision practices as they relate to race and culture did not generate an abundance of volunteers. Therefore, the research team and committee decided not to use racial group membership or types of training institutions as exclusion criteria in order to obtain as many participants as possible.

Implications for Theory and Research

Based on the findings of this study, this section identifies further areas of research needed to more fully understand racially responsive supervision. Specifically, the following research areas are recommended: (a) racial climate effects on supervision, (b) system dynamics that inhibit change in racial climate, and (c) understanding how empathy among White supervisors is hindered by White privilege dynamics.

Racial Climate Effects. Inman and Ladany (2014) called for further research on the role of the environment in culturally responsive supervision. Based on the results of this study, the local institutional context of supervision seems to be a key factor in racial responsive supervision. There is a paucity of research available on the organizational culture and climate for mental healthcare institutions generally. In fact, research on the experiences of mental health care workers has tended to focus on the effects of working with clients without examining the

role of the institutions' culture and climate (Fried & Fisher, 2016). Thus, research should draw from relevant variables identified in higher education literature regarding institutional change related to racial justice such as leadership styles, turnover, and evaluation (Adserias, Charleston, & Jackson, 2017).

For the most part, supervisors felt isolated in their endeavors to provide racially responsive supervision. Supervisors were responsible for developing their own structures and supports such as peer networks, especially their own family and friends, in order to navigate system barriers. Thus, more qualitative and quantitative literature is necessary for understanding the effects of institutional culture and climate on supervision. Furthermore, it seems important to understand the ways in which systems resist or reject change and the role that interpersonal dynamics play to thwart racial justice.

Finally, further research is needed to understand the interpersonal dynamics involving White supervisors and the challenge to empathize with people of Color. This problem goes beyond supervisors into the entire mental health institution and indeed in all interactions in life. In a field where the importance for empathy may seem obvious, it remains unclear why supervisors are limited in their racial and cultural empathy, despite all their conscious best efforts. Qualitative and quantitative research is needed to learn more about this problem and how best to address and support White mental health professionals to be racially responsive. Furthermore, more needs to be understood what systemic factors inhibit empathic processes for White supervisors.

Implications for Practice

Despite the previously discussed limitations, the present study may have some practical implications for racially and culturally responsive supervision in mental health training sites.

Mental Health Training Sites

Training sites provide the context in which psychologists in training receive their practical experience and expertise in providing mental health services. Thus, training sites are taxed with the responsibility of promoting and evaluating racial and cultural responsiveness of future psychologists. The findings of this study highlight the central role institutions play in supporting, stagnating, or punishing racial identity growth-promoting relationships in supervision. The majority of the supervisors felt the most significant barriers to racial responsive supervision existed outside of the supervision room. Supervisors advocating for racial justice may have been better prepared for resistance in racial identity growth on the part of their supervisees than they were for managing interference from their institution.

The consequences to the individual supervisor and supervisee of being in several regressive and crossed relationships seem to be multiplicatively negative, both professionally and personally to future psychologists of Color as they were often in situations where they are invalidated or punished for promoting education and awareness around race. It is no wonder that institutions struggle to maintain racial diversity in mental health settings.

From an organizational psychology standpoint, it is unclear how to understand and evaluate the racial culture and climate of a mental health institution. Thus, it may be helpful for administrators and consultants to begin exploring and evaluating the racial identity of their mental health setting. Following Helms's (2003) model of racial climate, leadership can ask their employees to share their perspectives on the extent to which their institution fits into the following environments: assimilation, multicultural or integrative awareness.

Supervisors in this study described assimilation and multicultural environments. Assimilation environments in these findings did not welcome conversations about race or

culture, prohibited efforts to address racial harassment or racism, and punished those who advocated for institutional change in racial culture and climate. In contrast, supervisors in multicultural environments felt that racial and cultural diversity was talked about in a way that demonstrated appreciation for difference. However, the multicultural environment struggled to acknowledge power dynamics occurring as result of White privilege and racial oppression. The costs of supervising in a multicultural environment found in this study highlighted institutions' limitations to equally supporting supervisees regardless of racial group membership (i.e. adequately meet the needs of students of Color, establish contingencies for White supervisees unwilling to examine privilege and oppression).

It may be argued that all employees working in a health-care system would benefit from education about relevant interpersonal and racial dynamics related to institutional climate. Concepts from the social interaction model would be highly relevant for those in leadership positions in order to analyze and assess the appropriate intervention of a problematic issue related to race and culture. For example, it may be essential to examine cases where individuals are isolated, scapegoated, or ascribed as "difficult" in order to determine if regressive relationships are involved. In addition, interventions to address racial injustice can draw from Helms' SIM and racial climate models in order to promote growth and healing of those involved.

Supervisors

Consistent with existing literature, all of the supervisors faced a variety of tasks and roles within their institution that required them to balance dual relationships with their supervisees (Bernard & Goodyear, 2009). Many of the supervisors who participated in the present study also provided multicultural training for the entire mental health institution, and sometimes even more broadly in the larger institution (i.e., university or hospital). Balancing the demands of multiple

roles in clinical settings has been associated with negative work climate experiences and burnout (Green et al., 2014).

Based on APA ethical codes, supervisors are challenged to promote the racial and cultural responsiveness of their supervisees, even when their institutions are not on the same page. Accordingly, supervisors may be in need of structural and emotional support. To echo prior research, supervisors require training that integrates racial and cultural responsiveness with supervision theory and practice (Guidelines on Multicultural, 2003). Supervisors would also benefit from learning more about SIM relationships and ways to identify the kinds of supervision relationships they provide. In addition to assessing their relationship with their supervisee, it seems equally important that supervisors understand their own relationship with the racial climate of the environment. Determining whether supervisors are in progressive, parallel, regressive and crossed relationships with their institution may help guide decisions in their supervision relationship as well as navigating their system.

In addition to assessment skills, supervisors may also benefit from training on intervening appropriately with their supervisees based on the nature of their relationship. For example, if supervisors are able to identify their own limitations in racial responsiveness and are providing parallel or regressive relationships, they might: (a) seek consultation from their peers with whom they feel they are progressive relationships, (b) examine their own racial and cultural biases and privileges, or if appropriate, (c) request feedback from the supervisee.

In order to intervene within the institution, supervisors would benefit from training and supervision regarding institutional advocacy. Given the findings of the present study, advocacy on behalf of the supervisee is an important part of racially responsive supervision. The following are examples of institutional advocacy for supervisors: interpersonal advocacy with staff,

promoting policy and practice change of selecting and training supervisees, and establishing an imbedded and sustainable support system for supervisees or supervisors of Color. Advocacy was an unexpected yet important part of racially responsive supervision and progressive relationships. Thus, it may be important to focus research on advocacy in supervision, such as identifying advocacy behaviors, examining advocacy training, and exploring overall supervisor attitudes on advocacy.

Based on the emotionally intensive and time-intensive nature of supervision relationships, it is apparent that supervisors may need to seek emotional support for their work with supervisees on race and culture. The supervisors in the present study were faced with multiple challenges and multiple roles in their efforts to provide racially responsive supervision. The supervisors relied primarily on their family members to cope with difficult emotions that arose in supervising related to race and culture, or when faced with racism themselves. The present study suggests that, depending on the institution, supervisors may feel isolated because of busy schedules and their supervision hours may not even count toward their expected direct-contact hours working with clients. Furthermore, their institutions may not demonstrate respect for racially responsiveness supervision. Self-care for supervisors who are committed to their own racial identity is critical and valid, regardless of their racial group membership. Supervisors should be taught to identify effective self-care behaviors in racial justice advocacy work and they should be encouraged to draw from those resources whenever they are helpful.

Of note, despite the numerous problems supervisors cited in their attempts to provide racially and culturally responsive supervision in their context, each expressed their overall appreciation for providing supervision. The supervisors in the study expressed their gratitude for

their positive supervisors' role models and also described the rewarding feelings associated with

observing and facilitating growth in their supervisees.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire:		
Date of Birth:		
Highest Degree Obtained:	Ph.D. – Clinical Psychology Ph.D. – Counseling Psychology Psy.D. – Clinical Psychology Ed.D. – Counseling or Clinical Psychology University: _____	
Race/ethnicity: **(You can choose more than one):**	African American/Black Asian/Asian American Brazilian Hispanic/Latino/a Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Native American/Alaskan Native	Middle Eastern White/European Multi-racial Other(specify):_____
Gender **(You can choose more than one):**	Female Male Transgender Genderqueer/gender nonconforming Other (specify): _____	
Sexual orientation **(You can choose more than one):**	Heterosexual/straight Gay Lesbian Bisexual Queer Other (specify): _____	
Languages spoken:	Specify: _____	

Appendix A (continued)

<u>Training & Experience</u>
1. Years of experience in the field of mental health since highest degree: _____

2. Years of **supervision** experience in the field of mental health since highest degree: _____

3. Number of students supervised since highest degree: _____

4. Number of students of Color supervised since highest degree: _____

5. Did you have course work in supervision while in your graduate program?

   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

6. Did you have coursework in race/racial identity in your graduate program?

   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

<u>Organizational culture and climate:</u>
1. What type of mental health training institution do you work in? _____

2. Does your agency provide trainings on supervision?   Yes ☐   No ☐

   How often (per Academic Year)?

3. Does your agency provide trainings on race?   Yes   No

   How often (per Academic Year)?   ☐   ☐

4. What other mental health institutions or employment settings have you worked in or are currently working in since earning highest degree?

   _____

Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. How do you tend to structure your supervision?
2. How is your supervision style similar or different to those who supervised you in your training?
3. What are some of the things you have learned by supervising students over the years?
4. What kind of change did you witness in your supervisees over the year?
    a. What kind change do you notice in your supervisees with regard to race and culture?
5. Tell me about a time when an issue related to race and culture came up in supervision
    a. How did you feel? What did you do? How did you react?
    b. How did your supervisee react?
6. How was it to talk about race in supervision?
    a. What was difficult? What do you think was beneficial to the student?
    b. What tended to work in talking about race and culture with your supervisee?
7. How does your organization deal with race and culture?
    a. What do you think your organization does well?
    b. What do you think your organization could do better?
2. How does your organization respond when racism occurs (either within the organization or reported on in the media)?
    a. Tell me about a time when your organization responded or did not respond to an event related to race or racism
        i. How did you feel? What did you do? How did you react?
        ii. Did you discuss your reactions with anyone else? With whom?
        iii. Did you discuss this event and your supervisees' reaction in supervision? If so, how did it go? If not, why do you think the topic did not come up in supervision?
8. How does your organization support your approach to doing supervision?
    a. How does your organization not support your approach or process doing supervision?
    b. What kinds of supports do you wish were in place?
    c. What has been supportive in the past?
    d. What has facilitated and hindered your ability to address race and culture in supervision?

Appendix C

Boston College Consent Form

Boston College Lynch School of Education
Informed Consent to be in study
Adult Consent Form

Title: Exploring the role of context in racially responsive supervision: Social interaction model

Principal Investigator: Stephanie Paulk, M.A., M.A.

Invitation to Participate and Description of the Study
You are being asked to participate in a research study on the examining supervisors' experiences of providing supervision in their training context, particularly with regard to race and culture. The study will focus on understanding the role of organizational culture and climate in supervision processes related to race and culture. We are asking psychologists to participate who:
  • Are licensed
  • Following licensure, have supervised psychologists or psychologists-in-training working in practica, internship or post-doc positions

To decide whether or not you want to participate in this research study, you should know enough about its risks and benefits to make an informed judgment. Detailed information about the research study is provided in this consent form. The following description explains all aspects of this research: its purpose, the procedures that will be used, any risks and benefits of the procedures, and possible alternative treatments. Once you have read the description of the study, you will be asked if you wish to participate; if so, you will be asked to provide your signature, affirming your consent to participate.

Description of Procedures
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a brief questionnaire and participate in a one-on-one interview. If you choose not to answer any particular question, you may skip the question.

The entire questionnaire completion and **interview** should take approximately 1 hour to complete. If at any point you should choose to quit participation, you may simply leave session and you will not experience any penalty for doing so.

Risks and Inconveniences
It is unlikely risks should come to you because of your participation in this study. There may be unknown risks to the study

Benefits
No direct benefit is expected to come to you as a result of your participation. However, you will enable us to learn more about the many facets involved with supporting the cultural and racial responsiveness development of therapists in training. In addition, we hope to learn about how organizational culture and climate influences supervision processes with regard to race and culture. We hope the findings from this study will inform the

scientific and counseling psychology community of dynamic ways of fostering cultural responsiveness in supervision.

Economic Considerations
We are unable to provide payment for participation in the study. We greatly appreciate your generosity in sharing your valuable and limited time. There is no cost to you to be in this research study other than your time.

Confidentiality
No information that identifies you as a participant will be linked to your questionnaire or focus group responses. These responses will not be traceable back to you. Your contact information (email address) will be collected ONLY for the purpose of scheduling the interview. Outside of contact information, your identifying information will not be requested during study or connected to your questionnaire or interview responses in any way. Any identifiable information that is obtained prior to study for scheduling purposes will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by U.S. or State law.

Your responses will be audio recorded, transcribed and grouped with those of other participants; all participants' responses will be stored in password-protected data files. It is expected that the results of the questionnaire and interview from groups of participants rather than individuals will be published or discussed in scientific conferences, but no information that would reveal your identity will be included in these presentations.

Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records, but no information that identifies you will be attached to these records

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal
Choosing to be in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to be in this study, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University. You are free to stop participating in the study or to stop responding to the questionnaire and interview at any time. You are free to choose not to participate and if you do become a participant, you are free to withdraw from this study at any time during its course. Voluntary withdrawal includes a participant choosing to stop participation in the study and interview prior to its completion. If you choose not to participate or if you withdraw, you will not experience any harmful consequences as a result of your choice. You do not jeopardize your grades, nor risk loss of present or future faculty/school/University relationships because of your decision to participate or not to participate.

Authorization & Statement of Consent

I have read this form and understand the possible risks and benefits of the study. I know that being in this study is voluntary and have decided to participate in the study described above. I know I can stop being in the study at any time. Its general purposes, the particulars of my involvement and possible hazards and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. My signature below indicates that I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent and understand this form. I have been provided with a copy of this form.

This study was reviewed and approved by the Boston College Institutional Review Board. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please sign below.

Signatures/Dates
Study Participant (Print Name): _____   Date _____

Participant or Legal Representative Signature: _____   Date _____

Initial here to indicate that you received a copy of the consent form _____

Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is Stephanie Paulk. **The Boston College Faculty Advisor for this study is Dr. Janet Helms. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact them respectively at (617) 552-2482, paulks@bc.edu or 617-552-4080,   janet.helms@bc.edu**. If you have any questions about your rights as a person in this research study, you may contact: Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:
You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.