

Racial Justice Allyship Requires Civil Courage: A Behavioral Prescription for Moral Growth and Change

Monnica T. Williams^{1, 2}, Sonya Faber³, Arghavan Nepton², and Terence H. W. Ching⁴

¹ School of Psychology, Clinical Program, University of Ottawa

² Department of Cellular and Molecular Medicine, Neuroscience, University of Ottawa

³ Bioville GmbH, Leipzig, Germany

⁴ Department of Psychological Sciences, University of Connecticut

In racialized societies, race divides people, prioritizes some groups over others, and directly impacts opportunities and outcomes in life. These missed opportunities and altered outcomes can be rectified only through the deliberate dismantling of explicit, implicit, and systemic patterns of injustice. Racial problems cannot be corrected merely by the good wishes of individuals—purposeful actions and interventions are required. To create equitable systems, civil courage is vital. Civil courage differs from other forms of courage, as it is directed at social change. People who demonstrate civil courage are aware of the negative consequences and social costs but choose to persist based on a moral imperative. After defining allyship and providing contemporary and historical examples of civil courage, this paper explains the difficulties and impediments inherent in implementing racial justice. To enable growth and change, we introduce ten practical exercises based on cognitive-behavioral approaches to help individuals increase their awareness and ability to demonstrate racial justice allyship in alignment with valued behaviors. We explain how these exercises can be utilized to change thinking patterns, why the exercises can be difficult, and how psychologists and others might make use of them to expand the capacity for civil courage in the service of racial justice.

Public Significance Statement

Racial justice is an important goal for the well-being of racialized people globally. However, most Americans, psychologists included, find it difficult to align their values and intentions with actions. This paper offers a frank discussion of the issues of shame and discomfort that often surround issues of racial injustice and describes cognitive-behavioral approaches for cultivating civil courage.

Keywords: courage, racism, social justice, education, diversity

Supplemental materials: <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000940.supp>

Monnica T. Williams  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0095-3277>

Terence H. W. Ching  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8850-2237>

The authors would like to thank Matthew Skinta, PhD, for his review of the paper and useful comments.

This research was undertaken, in part, thanks to funding from the Canada Research Chairs Program, Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) grant number 950-232127 (PI Monnica T. Williams).

Monnica T. Williams and Sonya Faber share first-authorship due to equal contributions.

Monnica T. Williams played a lead role in resources and supervision, supporting role in conceptualization and an equal role in project

administration, writing of original draft, and writing of review and editing. Sonya Faber played a lead role in conceptualization and an equal role in writing of original draft and writing of review and editing. Arghavan Nepton played a supporting role in investigation and project administration and an equal role in writing of original draft and writing of review and editing. Terence H. W. Ching played a supporting role in writing, review, and editing.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Monnica T. Williams, School of Psychology, Clinical Program, University of Ottawa, 136 Jean-Jacques Lussier, Vanier Hall, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5, Canada. Email: monnica.williams@uottawa.ca



Monnica T. Williams

Ties That Bind Us: Race and Racial Justice

In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.

—Martin Luther King, Jr.

Although overt and legalized forms of racism have declined over recent decades, racism remains embedded in our structures and systems as well as in the psyches of many throughout the Western world (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Hochman & Suyemoto, 2020). Nonetheless, it can be difficult to understand the nature of racism, especially among those who have not experienced or studied it, and it is even more difficult to know what to do about it. This is particularly salient for psychologists who may wish to cultivate a multicultural and antiracist approach in their trainees or in themselves. This analysis seeks to explore the space between knowledge of the problem and the ability to make a change.

The very concept of race is in and of itself racist, as racial categories were invented to divide us, to determine which people were property (e.g., enslaved people) or had some other subordinate status (Haeny et al., 2021). Nonetheless, it is important to discuss and study race because it is a major determinant of physical and mental health outcomes across a person's lifespan (Benner et al., 2018; Paradies et al., 2015). The U.S. and most other Western nations are racialized societies, which means that opportunities and outcomes in life are influenced by the invented category called race, which is often characterized by skin shade and has no meaningful connection with other biological traits (Hochman, 2020; Umek & Fischer, 2020). These opportunities and outcomes have been determined by the explicit and implicit decisions of persons in power over hundreds of years and can be reformed only through the deliberate dismantling of explicit, implicit,

and systemic patterns of injustice (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). For example, the construction of a toxic garbage dump or a polluted highway in a majority Black neighborhood that leaves a White neighborhood untouched cannot be remedied by the good wishes of individuals alone. Purposeful action is needed.

To reduce these negative outcomes and make progress toward an equitable system, it is essential for fair-minded individuals to embrace a *racial justice* orientation. Racial justice includes the fair treatment of people of all racial categories, leading to fair opportunities and outcomes for everyone. Racial justice is not just the absence of discrimination but also the installation of deliberate systems and supports to create and sustain equity (Hochman & Suyemoto, 2020).

A Special Kind of Courage

Civil courage is defined as brave behavior accompanied by indignation about injustice that is intended to embody or transform societal and ethical norms without considering the social cost to oneself (Broz, 2008; Greitemeyer et al., 2007). Civil courage is distinguished from altruistic behavior and other forms of courage because it is often punished, as it entails risks that almost always lead to ostracism—from a group that the courageous individual belongs to as well as society at large (Greitemeyer et al., 2007). What is important to underscore is that a social cost is assumed.

Unfortunately, bias and racism have been deeply ingrained in the unconscious of nearly all people in Western society, regardless of race, and have greatly influenced cultural norms; these issues must be addressed (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020; Salter et al., 2018). Many White people have been socialized not to notice the ubiquitous presence of structural injustice; therefore, even before the injustice can be addressed, they must be taught to perceive it. A critical contribution to this conversation was Peggy McIntosh's invisible knapsack, which described a number of daily advantages that White people enjoy but rarely think about (McIntosh, 2003). The corollary to invisible advantages for White people is invisible disadvantages for people of color. Although racialized people do notice racism, they have been socialized not to speak out about it by society at large and sometimes even by their own ethnic group (Young et al., 2020). This makes racial justice work difficult.

To deprogram one's unconscious cultural habits and patterns requires moral courage because the discussion and examination of race, in particular Whiteness and Blackness, are topics that most Americans (as well as Canadians and British people) have been socialized to avoid (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Underhill, 2018). There is a Navajo proverb that says, "You can't wake a person who is pretending to be asleep," which in this case means that when there is a problem, it is sometimes easier to pretend that it is not happening and ignore those who might try to sound an alarm.



Sonya Faber

By virtue of their learning history, people do not want to face these issues, and those who transgress sociocultural norms by raising concerns pay a measurable cost (e.g., McKinney, 2006; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). This means that even standing up to point out, for example, that there is a toxic garbage dump in the poor area of town, where the wealthy dump their trash, can be seen sociologically as an unwelcome affront and even be perceived as an attack by those who benefit from this structural injustice.

Why We Fight

The authors' backgrounds and experiences in education and research are relevant to the subject and perspective of this article. Their varied racial identities (Black, Asian) and ethnicities (African American, Singaporean Chinese, Persian Iranian) provide a unique perspective on how to change racially influenced behavior. They were motivated by frequent requests from students and colleagues, recognizing that merely wanting to do the right thing has not been enough, for a more structured, deliberate, and reasoned guide to how to take personal steps toward changing attitudes and actions to become an active agent rather than a passive bystander in issues of everyday injustice. One of the authors is a Canada Research Chair in mental health disparities and racism expert, one is a biomedical scientist and pharmaceutical manager, one is a doctoral neuroscience student and researcher, and one is an early-career psychologist clinical researcher, and all have notable teaching experience.

The authors approach this topic from both professional and personal interest as people of color who have experienced and witnessed everyday injustices not experienced by their White students and colleagues, to whom such events can seem invisible (e.g., Alabi, 2015). The motivation, impetus,

and tools to change an issue that one cannot perceive may be unclear or even puzzling to those who are not racialized. Recent highly public racially charged events, however, have galvanized people of all races who are now asking how to make behavioral changes in order to move in the direction of valued behaviors. A Chinese proverb states, "Tell me and I'll forget. Show me and I may remember. Involve me and I'll understand." It is in this vein that we offer an approach for psychologists, trainees, and those interested in deepening their commitment to social justice in which involvement is central and concrete experiential exercises to create a shift in behaviors and cognitions are included. This paper is not meant as an exhaustive review of the literature; rather, it is intended as a discussion of civil courage and how to foster it in others and ourselves in the service of racial justice.

Civil Courage Is a Prerequisite for Allyship

In psychology, terms such as *racial justice allyship* are used to indicate individuals who have started the process of seeing, acknowledging, self-educating, proactively implementing racial justice (Williams & Sharif, 2021). Spanierman and Smith (2017) further describe White allies as those who understand institutional racism and White privilege, reflect on their own racism, work in solidarity with people of color, and, critically, "encounter resistance from other White individuals" (p. 609). That being said, anyone can be a racial justice ally, as racialization is historically codified and hierarchical based on skin color and presumed heritage. For example, an East Asian person can be a racial justice ally toward a Native American if the East Asian person has more racial privilege in a given social context.

The decision to face the repercussions of allyship (e.g., social ostracism or rebuke) and the ability to find the courage to face the inevitable backlash are implied in racial justice allyship. However, the concept of *civil courage* provides an additional powerful term to focus precisely on the psychological weak point that prevents the success of would-be racial justice allies—those who cannot find the will or who do not know why they find it so difficult to act on their convictions.

Although courage is considered a virtue and a major character strength, there is no universally accepted definition of courage (e.g., Lopez et al., 2003; Pury et al., 2007; Putman, 1997; Snyder & Lopez, 2007). Putman (1997) and Pury et al. (2007) define three sorts of courage: physical, moral, and psychological. Additionally, types of morally courageous persons have been defined in the literature. Monin et al. (2008) define moral rebels as "individuals who take a principled stand against the status quo, who refuse to comply, stay silent, or simply go along when this would require that they compromise their values" (pp. 76–77). Although not identical, moral rebels are similar to those who express civil courage in terms of the backlash (and in some cases threats and exclusion) that they experience as a result of their action.



Arghavan Nepton

The study of *civil* courage specifically, and how it is elicited, comes from a handful of psychology publications that define its boundaries and characteristics. According to Lopez et al. (2003), civil courage is akin to moral courage, and as Pury et al. (2007) define it, civil courage and physical courage are closely associated as well. In contrast to previous studies that make no distinction between civil courage and other forms of bravery or helping behavior (e.g., Batson, 1998), Greitemeyer et al. (2007) posit that the implicit theories that motivate civil courage are notably different from those that motivate other types of helping behavior. Psychological experiments have shown that the more bystanders who are present, the less likely it is that someone will help a person in distress—primarily because individuals think that someone else will intervene, and they take behavioral cues from those around them (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Latané & Nida, 1981). However, bystander studies in young children show that they do not have a “bystander problem” and courageously rush to render aid regardless of social approbation (Staub, 2019).

The number of bystanders is only one factor in emergency need-for-help situations. Studies spanning the period from the late 1970s to today have shown that race also plays a decisive role in intervention rates for help (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Katz et al., 2018). In the earliest laboratory studies, when White participants thought that they were the only observer, they almost always helped victims in distress, regardless of the victims’ race. In contrast, when the participants were advised that other witnesses were also present, they helped White victims twice as often as Black victims (75% vs. 38%) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). More recent bystander research similarly demonstrates the ongoing influence of race (Katz et al., 2018).

In contrast, Greitemeyer et al. (2006, 2007) show that the *number of bystanders* and *mood*, two classic factors that

influence helping behavior, have no impact on civil courage. Moreover, in their third study, Greitemeyer et al. (2006) illustrates that the classic helping models (e.g., Latané & Darley, 1970) are unable to thoroughly predict civil courage. These studies demonstrate that there is a difference between this kind of courage and other types of bravery. The person demonstrating civil courage *knows and accepts that they may suffer* from displaying civil courage and chooses to proceed anyway. Since English vocabulary lacks words to elucidate the important nuances of these differences in human behavior, we borrow this word from the German “zivilcourag,” as there exists a body of German literature and a history of discussing and considering civil courage as a unique concept.

The word “zivilcourag” was first coined by the Lutheran theologian and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer. In July 1939, Bonhoeffer left New York almost as soon as he had arrived to return to his native Germany and the dangers of the burgeoning war. Although he had accepted a safe haven offered by American friends, he wrote, “I have come to the conclusion that I made a mistake in coming to America. I shall have no right to take part in the restoration of Christian life in Germany after the war unless I share the trials of this time with my people.” He was later executed by the Third Reich.

Examples of Civil Courage

Civil courage encompasses a range of actions, some comparatively small and others requiring the ultimate sacrifice. Some notable examples of civil courage are featured in Figure 1.

In-Group Solidarity

We all like to believe we would be the one risking social disapproval to help someone in need or that we would speak up for a stranger being persecuted, but studies show that it is rare for people to help if it requires inconveniencing themselves and becomes even more rare as the social or physical costs increase (Shotland & Stebbins, 1983). Likewise, most people overestimate their willingness or capacity to act when faced with genuine injustice (e.g., Williams et al., 2021). Group solidarity is a powerful and highly evolutionarily selected social phenomenon (Vienrich & Creighton, 2018). Breaking group solidarity causes emotional pain, which is associated with measurable pain-specific brain activity (Malfiet et al., 2017) and, regardless of how it was created, will have social consequences.

Because of racial injustice, White in-group solidarity is often associated with the consolidation of unjust power. As previously noted, White Americans are socialized not to challenge racist structures that provide advantages to them. DiAngelo (2018) defines *White solidarity* as “the unspoken agreement among Whites to protect white advantage and not cause another white person to feel racial discomfort by

Figure 1
Civil Courage Exhibited Across Many Cultures



Note. (A) *The German soldier*: A young soldier in Berlin helped a child cross the newly built Berlin Wall. On the night of August 12, 1961, an order was given to prevent crossing between East and West Berlin. Despite his awareness of the instruction from the East German government forbidding crossing, the soldier showed civil courage by helping the boy, and for this, he was removed from his unit. The original photo description read, “No one knows what became of him”—a rare example of civil courage, originally caught on film. (B) *Tank Man*: In 1989, a Chinese man carrying two shopping bags stood alone in defiance before a line of tanks to block their way toward Beijing’s Changan Boulevard in Tiananmen. The tanks were headed to clear civil rights student protesters from Tiananmen Square. His image became a symbol of freedom, courage, and defiance against unwinnable odds. (C) *Colin Kaepernick*: In 2016, an NFL quarterback protested systemic racism and police brutality by kneeling while the U.S. national anthem was playing (Wyche, 2016). This action shocked viewers, and the aftermath destroyed his athletic career. Undaunted, he persisted. To this day, although widely praised for his courage, he is shunned by his own sport. (D) *Bree Newsome*: In 2015, a 30-year-old African American woman scaled the flagpole on the South Carolina capitol grounds and took down the Confederate flag. From the top of the pole, she called out, “You come against me in the name of hatred, repression, and violence. I come against you in the name of God.” For this act of courage and love, she was arrested. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

confronting them when they say or do something racially problematic” (p. 57).

A recent experimental study demonstrates the difficulties that White Americans have with demonstrating civil courage around issues of racial justice. Kanter, Williams, et al. (2020) designed a research study in which a neutral White

conversational partner (a confederate instructed to agree with the participant) conversed with other White participants about racially controversial news events. Despite their intentions, participants did not defend out-groups (Williams et al., 2021). These difficulties extend to real-life settings, where it was found that even after a successful day-long



Terence H. W. Ching

antiracism training, White people did not maintain their intentions to be allies one month later (Williams & Gran-Ruaz, 2021).

One mechanistic means of maintaining White solidarity and power is arguably through the commission of racial microaggressions—small, covert acts of racism often unnoticed by those who perpetrate them (Williams, 2020). When oppressive racial stereotypes and racist ideologies are chronically assimilated by people of color, maladaptive shame and even anger toward the self as a racialized being can occur (Pyke, 2010). These psychological outcomes can disincentivize challenging everyday racial injustices, even when they occur to oneself or others among one's in-group.

Additional factors promote the centrality of Whiteness, such as Asian cultural values that emphasize emotional restraint and interpersonal harmony when paired with the internalization of the “model minority” myth (Chao et al., 2013; Wei et al., 2013). While seemingly positive in nature, the model minority stereotype perpetuates the fallacy that all individuals of Asian descent are high-achieving and well-adjusted relative to other groups of color. Thus, ascription to the model minority ideal becomes a Sisyphean task and contributes to various forms of psychopathology (e.g., anxiety and depression), especially when the reality of racism and race-based barriers conflicts with unrealistic self-imposed or perceived expectations of success (Liu & Suyemoto, 2016; Nadal et al., 2014). A wider understanding of these hidden, underexamined psychological mechanisms and knowledge about why they are harmful are helpful for Asian racialized individuals, as they allow deeper internal analysis and the freedom to challenge restrictive cultural norms that are ultimately harmful when they prevent individuals from standing up for justice (e.g., Ching, 2021). While harmony, diligence, and restraint are admirable values, they should not take precedence over justice.

In summary, White individuals are socialized by in-group solidarity not to stand up or speak out against injustice from which they personally benefit, while Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, and other racialized or minoritized individuals are socialized by fear, in-group complicity, and internalized racism to similarly not challenge injustice, although they may not benefit or only marginally benefit from these power structures. The lifelong socialization process around White solidarity is a powerful force behind inaction. For White Americans, being seen as a “race traitor” and facing the possible loss of “White” status exert a powerful effect (e.g., McKinney, 2006). Likewise, racialized persons are socialized in various ways, that is, through fear rather than solidarity, not to speak out. Racial justice allies of all races, conversely, embody civil courage. They accept that their actions will result in social disapproval of some kind but persist based on a moral imperative.

Despite the best intentions, it seems to be very difficult for individuals of any race to demonstrate civil courage as a racial justice ally when such a demonstration requires acting against in-group social norms, even though they may aspire to do so. These difficulties are observed across racial groups, although they are enforced by different mechanisms, depending on the race of the individual. It is important to see and understand how our particular socialized environment, which is often racially unique, prevents us from practicing civil courage so that we can specifically address the forces that influence our personal journey. This underscores the need for more intentional and personalized approaches for individuals from all educational and social backgrounds to potentiate change.

Walking the Walk: A Prescription for Change

In one of the earliest literary examples of civil courage, Roman citizen Paul (née Saul) of Tarsus and Silas in the New Testament Book of Acts intervened to free a child and were beaten and thrown in prison for it. In a demonstrative act of allyship and civil courage, Paul and his friends remained in prison to save their Roman jailer from punishment even though they could have fled. Echoing across the centuries, in 2017, transgender Filipino pastor Marrz Balaoro was arrested for holding same-sex marriage ceremonies in Hong Kong. He vowed to continue officiating such marriages despite the threat of prosecution. Honoring the deeply meaningful drive to connect people who love each other, he said, “I can [perform] same-sex marriages and will continue to do so” (Taylor, 2020).

How can we become people like Paul or Marrz Balaoro, willing to suffer, psychologically or physically, for the sake of what we know to be right? It is possible to train oneself to become a person who is more rather than less inclined to show civil courage. However, as Black feminist poet Audre Lorde opines (1984), it is clear that the tools we have now are inadequate for the house we would like to build; therefore, we

must create better tools. Likewise, we must move beyond mere awareness. Murrell (2020) points out the need for intervention-based behavioral and competency-based approaches when considering individual inconsistencies between self-perceptions and actions.

As such, in preparing to become antiracist, projustice people who will act on convictions and show civil courage, practice and training are required. For example, in preparation for strikes against California agricultural firms to protest the exploitation of their non-White Hispanic laborers, organizer Cesar Chavez explained, “Non-violence is not inaction. It is not discussion. It is not for the timid or weak. . . . Non-violence is hard work. It is the willingness to sacrifice. It is the patience to win” (United Farm Workers, 2017). The movement that Chavez started was modeled after the fortitude of 1956 Civil Rights protesters who prepared themselves for civil disobedience with singing, prayer, and teachings on nonviolence. They steeled themselves to suffer without retaliating by practicing being taunted and abused in preparation for planned sit-ins at all-White establishments, where the taunting and abuse would be real (Clark & Coy, 2015).

Assumption of a Just Society Validates Its Rules

Civil courage requires knowledge of the injustice of the rules and willingness to break them—there are ways to create knowledge of the unwritten rules and complementary actions that can teach us how to break them. One of the unwritten rules of American society is that with hard work, anyone can become prosperous (Kwate & Meyer, 2010; Madeira et al., 2019). It is conventionally believed that people who are poor, therefore, do not work hard enough, thus positioning poverty as one’s own fault and the system as just. The assumption of a just world validates such rules. Society is, however, unjust. The opportunity to acquire wealth is distributed unequally by race, and just as there is solidarity based on race, there is solidarity based on wealth or economic status (Kraus et al., 2017, 2019; Kwate & Meyer, 2010). These in-group economic mindsets lead to internal bias and mask our innate impulses of human compassion and empathy (Sierksma et al., 2015). Giving activates regions of the brain associated with social connection and trust (Moll et al., 2006). This trust can break down class barriers (Devine et al., 2012) and work against socioeconomic mindsets that function as rules preventing us from helping those who need help. As early as Roman times, the charity was understood to be a criticism of the social order. The last pagan Roman emperor wrote to a temple in Asia Minor in 362 CE that Christians “support not only their own poor but ours as well, everyone can see that our people lack aid from us.” Here, significantly, even in the third century, helping is implicitly criticized (Satlow, 2010). So too, charity can be an act of civil courage.

Leaping ahead to 2019, an immigration reform activist in Arizona was handcuffed and arrested for the crime of having

provided migrants with food, water, clean clothes, and beds, risking a jail sentence of 20 years. In the case of these Good Samaritans, accepting the consequences of these acts of civil courage is unambiguous. As one stated, “Whatever happens with my trial, the next day, someone will walk in from the desert and knock on someone’s door. . . . If they are thirsty, we will offer them water; we will not ask for documents beforehand” (Warren, 2019). In both cases, charity as public action—in one case against societal norms and in the other against explicit rules—can be seen as an implicit condemnation of bystander inaction and the disruption of an unjust system.

Young children act on the impulse to help without being concerned about the rules (Beier et al., 2014; Hepach et al., 2012). Empirical studies by Staub (1971) show that children learn the conventional rules of helping behavior around sixth grade, when they stop helping a needy confederate in a separate room because they are afraid of breaking the rules, which can be either implicit or explicit (Staub, 1971). Some children try to balance the impulse to both keep the rules and help by breaking their pencils to manufacture a reason to leave the room. By this age, only when explicitly given permission to do so do they help a bystander. Importantly, children do not have to be told the rules to lose the bystander helping impulse; rather, they must be given explicit permission to elicit bystander helping (Hepach et al., 2012; Paulus & Moore, 2012). By adolescence, most young people do not intervene when they see someone being harmed (Chapin & Stern, 2021).

These experiments show that we lose the natural early childhood inclination to help (Beier et al., 2014; Hepach et al., 2012) and must be retaught that under certain circumstances, the need to help another person overrides the rules (Beier et al., 2014; Staub, 2019; Thornberg et al., 2012). Over 400 years, the rules of our society became institutionalized practices that ensured social distance and geographical separation between races. By childhood, these rules are an implicit and powerful force that operates as a default condition (Guess, 2006). The impulse to act against these rules can be taught, and understanding the unwritten rules can provide a clearer pathway to seeing how to do so (Devine et al., 2012; Staub, 2019).

Real Risk: Behavioral Prescription for Change

In the following section are ten practical exercises designed to build awareness and foster civil courage, based on cognitive-behavioral approaches (e.g., Foa & Kozak, 1986; Machalicek et al., 2021; Sewart & Craske, 2020) and ordered from (typically) easiest to most challenging. The first set of exercises is designed to help us see and understand the unwritten rules of society about interacting with other races. The risk level is primarily psychological (i.e., “I might find out I am not the ‘good’ person I thought I was.”) These exercises

develop civil courage by teaching the participant to be courageous in examining their assumptions, beliefs, anxieties, and internal state of mind (Devine et al., 2012; Rosen et al., 2019). The second set of exercises is conceived to help build civil courage in cases where risks become more tangible. They examine and set challenges for addressing the unspoken rules by which we still live (Guess, 2006). By definition, no risk can be completely safe. Real growth requires real risk, and in general, more risk elicits greater growth (Crane et al., 2019). Civil courage often requires walking without a safety net and accepting the consequences.

These exercises can be practiced by anyone, and most have origins in the published literature (see Supplemental Table, for overview and references). We explain the utility of each exercise, how one may learn from and grow by doing each exercise, and the psychological reasons why they may be difficult to carry out. Several of these exercises have been administered to our own clinical psychology graduate students as part of their culture and diversity training or as part of diversity workshops that we have conducted (Williams, 2019b). In classroom settings, each week, students were asked to do one of the exercises as homework, write about it, and then share their experience in class. In gathering feedback on learner experiences, we have witnessed how the exercises have been helpful and impactful. The exercises are ideally conducted with a group of others in an encouraging environment to share challenges and successes.

Mapping Relationships: Support Network Diagram

Create a “friendship support network” diagram, including who would most readily be called on in times of need. The following should be indicated on the map: (a) intimacy of the relationship, (b) race, (c) ethnicity, (d) gender, (e) socioeconomic status, (f) sexual orientation, and (g) religion. The designer of the map has artistic license to be creative, using words, symbols, or any organizing framework that feels comfortable. The experience of creating the map should be recorded as well as any reflections regarding the dimensions of diversity represented and how the map informs the learner’s understanding of cultural differences (Williams, 2020).

This exercise is a social networking tool that allows people to recognize, graphically, that they likely live very segregated lives (Cox et al., 2016). Many people like to think that their circle of friends and acquaintances is diverse but find that contrary to their stated values, they have a monochromatic relationship map. This discovery leads to cognitive dissonance, as people are confronted with the knowledge that they may not be who they believed themselves to be (Roth et al., 2018). Such a discovery can, however, be the beginning of essential personal reflection. For example, most White psychology graduate students confronted with this exercise in our classes were dismayed to realize how few friends of other races they actually had, to the point that a few were in tears when

presenting their maps to the class. One transgender student of color who had a rich level of racial diversity in his map realized that all of his friends were atheists, which impeded his understanding of faith traditions. Friendship circles may be diverse in some dimensions but not in others.

This exercise was a critical learning experience and good starting point for the graduate clinical psychology students who completed it because it helped them understand the areas in which they needed to grow to understand their diverse clients (Okech & Champe, 2008). Discussing the exercise in the group setting helped to build the students’ ability to have conversations about diverse identity issues, which is an area of challenge for trainees and faculty alike (Sue et al., 2009, 2010). A few rekindled prior friendships with people of color that had lapsed; cross-racial friendships are an important means of learning about others (Ragins & Ehrhardt, 2020). The diversity of one’s friendship network can help improve ethnic identity development (Kornienko et al., 2015). In summary, many realized they had to deliberately diversify their networks to be the people they wanted to become.

Who Is Lucky? Chance Versus Effort

In this exercise, the participant should list as many times in their life as they can remember being lucky, trying to find at least 10. When the list is finished, each instance should be divided into what percentage was the result of opportunity (meaning no personal effort was expended—also called a “gift,” “chance,” or “providence”) and what percentage was the result of preparation or personal effort. Example: “I am lucky to have been born in America.” This could be divided into 100% (unearned) opportunity and 0% preparation or own effort. If one was “lucky to have gotten a good job offer,” this might be scored 50% opportunity, 50% preparation.

Luck as a concept tends to exclude events that are achieved primarily by effort and preparation; if an instance is pure luck, or random, then it was not earned. Implicit bias may develop when people believe that racialized groups have been recipients of largesse that they did not earn or should not have access to, especially if these benefits are perceived to be scarce (Kraus et al., 2019; Krosch et al., 2017). We tend to exaggerate the proportion of our life events that are influenced by work/preparation in comparison to luck/opportunity (Roth et al., 2018).

The implication of luck is that an event has occurred by chance, but in common usage, luck designates many events (the gain of a job, a school admission, a house) that occur as a mixture of chance, opportunity, and preparation. Many lucky events are not chance but rather events where winners and losers are designated based on race or wealth. As such, luck is a slippery word that potentially hides a multitude of ills. It is socially permissible to state that one has been lucky in the sense of having achieved something unearned; however, saying that one’s achievements have been brought about

by racial privilege, which is also unearned, is socially shunned. It is, therefore, helpful as a perspective-taking task to consider the role-played by unearned benefits in our lives and our personal contribution and balance of opportunity and privilege (Cohan, 2019; Forscher et al., 2017; Kwate & Goodman, 2014). A similar exercise might be to list all our unearned advantages that have resulted in life successes to date.

In our classroom settings, we find that disadvantaged and minoritized students usually have an easier time identifying luck and opportunity in their lives than do White people, who tend to cling to the notion that they have earned every good thing that has happened to them (e.g., Kwate & Goodman, 2014; Madeira et al., 2019). This exercise can be particularly enlightening when shared in a diverse group so that the participants can learn about varied experiences even among their own peers.

Honestly Assessing Dislikes

In this exercise, an approach based in cognitive-behavioral therapies (CBT) with a modified form of intergroup contact is used to address prejudice against specific subgroups of people (Brown et al., 2021; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The participants should think about at least three types of people they usually avoid based on appearance and stereotypes. These could be as varied as men in suits, Asian people sitting together at a mall, or people who support a disliked politician; however, the participants should consider any negative stereotypes they have about any ethnic group and reflect on what impacts these dislikes may have on their relationships with the disliked group as well as any possible misconceptions. The task is to then find and assemble three images on the internet that typify these types of individuals. Through a process of introspection, the participants should reflect on why they avoid these groups and subsequently, in daily life, find someone who exemplifies each picture and strike up a short, friendly conversation with that person. This could be done anywhere, such as at a restaurant, coffee shop, or tram stop or in line at the grocery store.

Approaching interracial interactions with the goal of personal growth can reduce anxiety in these interactions. In a study by Goff et al. (2008), when people were focused on judging their performance during interracial interactions, their anxiety increased because this focus centered their attention on how they were being evaluated. However, when they approached these interactions as opportunities to learn new skills and gain important knowledge, it reduced their fear of being judged. Thus, this study illustrates that racial anxieties can be reduced if learners view interracial interactions as opportunities for skill building (Godsil & Richardson, 2017).

Before starting, participants should predict how the conversation might proceed and record any fears or concerns.

These can be compared with what actually happened, and any discrepancies can provide a source of introspection. Psychology graduate students who performed this exercise were surprised to find, in violation of their expectations, that when they actually interacted with real people, their stereotypes and biases were disproven. Several students, for example, found that when they approached and started friendly conversations with diverse people, including police officers, people at bus stops, bikers, or people of another ethnicity, they were received positively, in contrast to their own expectations. This exercise helps to humanize people who seem very different and build the participant's ability to engage those from feared social groups (Devine et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2020). In a classroom setting, discussing positive experiences and disproven biases has the effect of changing the mindset of the learner, and sometimes also that of the people they interact with, who may harbor their own biases. This principle is the same as that found in inhibitory learning approaches, where one makes predictions and processes the expectancy violation (Sewart & Craske, 2020).

Talking About Race With a Colleague of a Different Race

Talking about race is one of the most difficult exercises for many Americans. Americans in general, but White Americans specifically, are taught from a young age to avoid any discussion of race, particularly with people of a different race (DiAngelo, 2018; Underhill, 2018). However, if we cannot speak about a subject, we cannot study or correct any problems associated with it.

An op-ed documentary in the *New York Times* conducted a focus group of White people and asked them on camera to reflect on race and, in particular, on Whiteness. It is instructive to see how difficult these participants found the exercise and their descriptions of their cognitions and emotions in the moment (Foster & Stevenson, 2015). Statements by participants included the following: They are afraid to offend anyone and do not want to see any racism that might be inside them, so they do not want to talk about race. They understand that as a White person, they are advantaged in society, and although they do not want differences based on race to exist, even bringing up race as a topic might imply that there truly are differences between races, and they do not want to think about this. They know they are White but do not like to think that they have a racial identity and do not consider what this might mean. One mentioned a sense of shame and guilt because of racism by White people. Finally, as a White person, they must have a sense of responsibility, but when they have heard racist jokes, they have not spoken up.

The issues expressed in this op-ed doc video would be expected to come up in any substantial discussion of race in the USA; therefore, participants should be prepared to

encounter these issues and think about them before starting the next exercise. Here, the task is to find *a willing* colleague of a different race for a discussion about racialization. Before starting this exercise, participants should write down their predictions of how the discussion will proceed and how it will end. The discussion should specifically include race-related experiences. The personal thoughts and experiences of both parties should be exchanged. After finishing the conversation, the participants should reflect on what actually occurred and write down whether they now feel closer to or more distant from their colleagues. It is important to be respectful of the emotional burden and time of the person being asked, as racialized persons may receive many such requests. A stranger should not be enlisted with this request; rather, the conversational partner should be someone known to the learner.

As stated above, most White people struggle with asking a person of color about their racialized experiences because they fear that such questions will be met with disapproval, and they likewise struggle with talking about their Whiteness because they have never considered it or talked about it before (Sue et al., 2010; Underhill, 2018). However, our experience is that in most cases, they find that the conversation goes better than expected and that their racialized conversation partner is glad to talk about their experiences and does so with an enviable level of sophistication and fluidity. Research has shown that reciprocal interactions across racial differences can reduce interracial anxieties (Kanter, Rosen, et al., 2020; Schultz et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2020). Likewise, a person of color who converses with a person of color from a different ethnic group may learn about how other groups navigate racialization. Most people find that they feel closer to their partner after the conversation (Williams et al., 2020), and expectancy violations facilitate learning (Sewart & Craske, 2020).

Visiting a Place of Worship of a Race and Ethnicity Different From Your Own

In this exercise, the participant exits their comfort zone to be the minority in a group of good-natured people who are different as a way to improve their perspective-taking ability and practice engaging in cross-racial social connections (Hodson et al., 2018; Todd et al., 2011). The exercise is to attend a service at a house of worship where everyone “looks different” from the participant (Rehfuß & Parks-Savage, 2011; Williams, 2020). Houses of worship in the USA are often clustered into racial and ethnic enclaves. Studies have shown that in White churches, talking about race results in the loss of parishioners, so the topic of racism is widely avoided if at all possible, but most Black churches have a different mindset and are often welcoming of diversity (Emerson & Smith, 2000). The participant should go alone and expect to experience what it is like to be a cultural

outsider. Here, the participant will not benefit by entering unseen, sitting in the last row, and slipping out unnoticed. The participant should rather sit near the front, do their best to be an active participant, and be prepared to interact with the people around them. Beforehand, the participant should write about and reflect on any anxieties, taking into consideration the experiences of others who may be marginalized due to differences in race, culture, or nationality.

After the service, the participant should linger to chat if the opportunity arises. If asked why they have attended, they should simply say that they “wanted to learn more about the faith and the community.” The number-one reason that students voice resistance to this activity is that they think they will not be welcome. This fear can easily be addressed by calling in advance and asking whether visitors are welcome. The vast majority heartily welcome visitors, even of a different faith or race. The participant should also ask whether there are any traditions or customs that visitors should respect (e.g., style of dress, place to sit).

Most students who have completed this task say that although they felt awkward at first, the congregations were welcoming, and they had an important positive overall experience. Positive cross-racial relationships can be very powerful in the development of antiracist attitudes (Ragins & Ehrhardt, 2020). One White student found a Korean church so welcoming that she made it her permanent church home. Notably, one Black student reported a negative experience when visiting an all-White traditional Protestant church. As these are individualized exercises, and people of color have already had many experiences of being a racial outsider, Black Americans may benefit more from finding a different dimension of difference to explore (e.g., an African American student might visit a Black Islamic gathering, if they are unfamiliar with that faith, or an African church). A variation on this exercise is to attend a church where the congregation speaks a different language than that of the participant. This is an excellent way to connect with the experience of immigrants, who may arrive in a new country without knowledge of the dominant language.

Assessing One’s Own Racial Identity

Racial and ethnic identity are multifaceted concepts pertaining to how people develop a sense of belonging to their group. As they learn to identify with their ethnoracial groups, individuals progress through different stages through which they come to understand the group customs and values and their place in society (Abaied & Perry, 2021; Liu et al., 2019). White people and people of color alike often struggle with this process (Helms & Carter, 1990; Liu et al., 2019; Pyke, 2010). In this exercise, the participant writes about their own ethnic and racial identity, an exercise designed to improve intercultural competence (DiAngelo, 2018; Weigl,

2009). The participant should write about their positive and negative associations with their identity. Any feelings of shame, embarrassment, and stigma, along with feelings of appreciation and pride, should be recorded and shared with a supportive person (Williams, 2020).

If the participant is a White American, they should write an essay about the question “What does being White mean to me, and what did I think when I learned that I was a White American?” Most racialized people can talk about what being a racialized person means, their understanding of their culture, and their social standing associated with their race. Many Black Americans can recall their realization at a younger age that they would be treated worse than those with lighter skin and how that made them feel (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997). For White individuals, part of this exercise is to record how it made them feel to realize that they are part of a group that is treated better by society based on the lightness of their skin. Why might expressing this realization be difficult? White Americans do not have much experience in thinking about Whiteness as an identity; as a result, Whiteness often goes unexamined (Helms & Carter, 1990). There is a dearth of publications about White American identity (Roberts et al., 2020). After many conversations with fair-skinned Europeans who have come to live in America or stay for long visits, we find that they can almost always immediately recall the moment they realized that they would be treated better than the many people around them with darker skin and how that made them feel. As a European businessman noted, “If you travel to India, you may know that they have a caste system which still influences their society, but you don’t necessarily expect to immediately become an unwitting participant in it.”

Many White Americans cannot consciously pinpoint the moment they realized that they would be treated better and that, as a result, others would be treated poorly. However, in her highly acclaimed essay in *The Guardian*, Hansen (2017) wrote poignantly about this moment upon considering James Baldwin’s assertion about Whiteness (“White children, in the main, and whether they are rich or poor, grow up with a grasp of reality so feeble that they can very accurately be described as deluded”):

I came across a line in a book in which a historian argued that, long ago, during the slavery era, black people and white people had defined their identities in opposition to each other. The revelation to me was not that black people had conceived of their identities in response to ours, but that our white identities had been composed in conscious objection to theirs. I’d had no idea that we had ever had to define our identities at all, because to me, white Americans were born fully formed, completely detached from any sort of complicated past. . . . My lack of consciousness allowed me to believe I was innocent, or that white American was not an identity like Muslim or Turk.

The codification in a society of in- and out-groups sets up hostility based on the characteristics of who is favored and

who is shunned. The hostility is often not conscious but when unexamined can fester and be a source of implicit biases. Many White Americans, when asked about their White identity, answer that they do not see themselves as White Americans but rather as “normal” Americans (e.g., Foster & Stevenson, 2015; Hegarty, 2017). This label is problematic because they are then defining the default American as White. The lack of consideration of *Whiteness as an identity* is part of the cultural habit of being White in America and perpetuates the inability to mitigate the consequences of a racialized society. Both White people and people of color can benefit from an examination of their racial identities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018). Those who have engaged in greater exploration of their ethnoracial identity have a clearer sense of what this aspect of their identity means for their lives and demonstrate better psychological adjustment (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2012).

Defending Convictions in a Hostile Forum

Despite the fact that many Americans believe racism is declining and overt expressions of racism are rare, one place where American racism is plain and open can be found online, where people express their fears and hate behind a dark digital curtain. Many news sites have moderated comment sections where anyone can post an opinion that is frequented primarily by White male commenters (Watson et al., 2019). Even when moderated, articles about race often generate scores of ugly comments (Loke, 2012).

For the advanced participant, this is an opportunity to practice opposing hate in a real-life situation as a conscious, self-aware active bystander in a controlled environment (Watson et al., 2019). A post supporting racial justice and critiquing racist comments can be made completely anonymously. After practicing the low-stakes version several times, posters can start adding their name to their comments and work their way up to addressing racist statements on their own social media sites (e.g., Facebook). That said, professionals do need to consider what they post on social media and should attend to reasonable rules imposed by their workplace or graduate program. Posts need not be antagonistic. They can be as simple and dispassionate as correcting inaccurate information being advanced against stigmatized groups (e.g., “Actually, Black people are quite generous, giving more to charity than any other group”; Ashley & James, 2018) or saying something positive about a person of color who has recently been attacked in the media (e.g., “Megan Markle had a lot of courage to open up about feeling suicidal”; Chaddah, 2021). It is important to be prepared for the backlash that will likely occur in these situations (Crane et al., 2019; Krämer et al., 2018; McKinney, 2006). It is likely that the racist users will direct their verbal venom at the participant, which can be hurtful. The participant should keep in mind that those who are spewing hate are the ones with the

problem, and the attack is caused not by the participant but rather by the bigotry of the attacker.

This exercise is useful in cultivating civil courage, as it is intended to directly address the social anxiety that prevents people from speaking up when they hear someone say something racist. Anyone can try this exercise, as noted in the section on in-group solidarity; hesitancy to speak out, and the desire to overcome it, occurs among those of all races. Confronting feared but relatively safe situations in a controlled and gradual manner reduces anxiety and helps individuals respond better when similar situations arise unpredictably. These are the same cognitive-behavioral principles used to extinguish social phobias and symptoms of obsessive-compulsive disorder (Foa & Kozak, 1986).

Challenging the Status Quo in the Workplace

Financially insecure and racialized people may be among those least able to take risks in their workplace; however, those with union members in their family history know that these courageous persons were willing to lay their jobs on the line in heroic acts of civil courage that brought benefits to all working Americans (Hagedorn et al., 2016). One recent example involves the University of North Carolina, where BIPOC faculty colleagues of the acclaimed Black journalist Nikole Hannah Jones were willing to leave their jobs before she was finally offered tenure (Rappaport, 2021).

The erosion of community and solidarity has lowered the level of risk that people are willing to take, yet as we spend a significant proportion of our time in the workplace, there are still actions here that can build civil courage. Workplaces may demonstrate racism in many forms (Williams, 2019a). A starting point would be to simply ask a responsible administrator about the organization's gender or diversity plans (e.g., "What is our department doing to improve racial diversity among incoming graduate students?"). If the participant belongs to an advantaged group, asking on behalf of a group other than their own can be particularly powerful, bringing new attention to the issue and providing a way to venture outside their comfort zone and demonstrate support as an ally (e.g., Gardner & Ryan, 2020). Similarly, asking whether salaries for position levels and counts of race per position can be made public or asking about the gender and racial makeup at the managerial and executive levels of a company are polite ways to challenge the workplace status quo. Taking even a small risk can be a source of tension, but resilience can be strengthened by willing exposure to such stressors, which therefore can also be a way to produce growth (Crane et al., 2019; Moisuc et al., 2018).

Another workplace exercise is to practice centering the voices of racialized or other marginalized people in group meetings (Hancock & Rubin, 2015). This entails noticing who is speaking and who is being heard and then making a public and visible effort to focus attention on the voices of

those who are not being heard at the risk of not being heard oneself or becoming the focus of unwanted attention. The benefits of such allyship work are building the cognitive and affective skills to handle racial issues, developing the stamina needed for constructive engagement across racial divides, and personal growth (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019).

Calling out Bigoted Behavior of Colleagues and Friends

Conversations between individuals in an in-group may be different when external nonmembers are not present (Wellman et al., 2009). However, sexist and racist comments are typically unaddressed in the often homogeneous circles where they tend to sprout, leaving the perpetrator to think that such comments are acceptable and reinforcing hurtful social norms (Douglass et al., 2016). The task here is to let the offender know that you disapprove because the behavior is bigoted. Published studies can provide insight into how to mentally prepare for this task (Willow, 2011). Optimism, attention, and concern for the greater good are factors known to positively influence the pursuit of a valued goal in the face of a threat or challenge (Moisuc et al., 2018; Wellman et al., 2009). Optimistic expectancies energize individuals to actively intervene after witnessing racist jokes in spite of countervailing social norms (Wellman et al., 2009). However, participants must also be reminded of the salience of their own values. Therefore, it can help to remind oneself that actions have meaning and that regardless of the response of the person being confronted, such confrontations are part of building civil courage and demonstrating moral behavior.

As noted in Exercise 7, confronting prejudicial behavior need not be aggressive or adversarial. For example, sometimes simply repeating back an offensive comment is enough to alert the speaker to the negative impact. Likewise, one can ask the offender to clarify their comment, which often causes the offender to reevaluate what they said (Sue et al., 2019). Another option is to explain how the comment landed and ask whether the commenter intended it to be as hurtful or unsettling as the hearer experienced it. One could say, "What you said made me feel very uncomfortable. Those are misconceptions rooted in ignorance (or racist ideas), and I wanted you to know that." This example clearly states that the behavior is not appreciated and that someone may speak out against it. This approach relies on the strength of the relationship with the other person to enable a meaningful dialogue. Do not be surprised if fragility emerges. The friend or colleague may be offended or embarrassed. Rather than considering their own behavior, they may make a case that they cannot be bigoted or a racist because they love all people or have done some good deeds for an oppressed group. Do not let this argument derail the point of the conversation. The important thing is to act in accordance with one's true values and point out that the harmful behavior has no place in the

relationship. These types of actions have been shown to be conducive to building civil courage (Moisuc et al., 2018; Wellman et al., 2009).

Choosing a More Colorful, More Integrated Life

Housing in the U.S. remains stubbornly racially segregated (Bailey et al., 2017; Lewis et al., 2011). Studies have shown that Asian and Hispanic neighborhood composition does not matter to most Americans, while Black neighborhood composition continues to be a consideration, especially for White Americans with children under age 18 (Crowder & South, 2008; Lewis et al., 2011). Although when asked, White people provided alternative reasons, the effect of Black composition was the net of the variables that White people offered as justifications (Lewis et al., 2011). Although Michael Emerson has published several studies on segregated housing and its effects on society (Emerson & Smith, 2000; Lewis et al., 2011), less well known is the fact that Dr. Emerson, a White man, committed a profound act of civil courage by defying conventional mores and moving his family out of a White and into a predominantly Black area, sending his young children to the local school. He was criticized incessantly, with predictions of scholastic catastrophe for his children and inability to build wealth through real estate, and he has spoken publicly about the toll of such criticism. However, he found that being an active part of a system designed to benefit him based on race was no longer acceptable (Zambrana, 2017).

In many communities across the U.S., there also exist parallel, mainly non-White immigrant communities, which operate separately and often out of sight, in many cases because some members of these communities lack legal status to work and live in the country. Members of these communities actively avoid contact with persons outside their local circles due to the fear of persecution and eventual separation from their families. Regardless of the legal status of these individuals, becoming involved in a supportive way with such communities breaks generational social rules that dictate that communities remain divided by race. Such prosocial involvement requires facing our own interracial anxieties and xenophobia and changing the way in which we live.

Visiting a barbershop in a racially diverse or immigrant community, buying vegetables at a bodega filled with people who look different from you, and socializing in a cafe or bar frequented by same-sex couples are simple ways to start to live differently (Rosen et al., 2019). Some of those who choose to change the way in which they live will risk the disapproval of their colleagues or friends. However, diverse communities have been positively related to trust, and choosing to live, shop, patronize businesses, socialize, or work in immigrant or minority districts where the denizens are mostly different from oneself makes a powerful public statement, especially when acting against societal pressure established by the unjust mores of past generations (Crowder & South,

2008; McKenna et al., 2018). This kind of civil courage has the power to transform society (Nai et al., 2018).

Discussion

Leveraging Privileged Identities for Change

Exercise six may be particularly difficult because as adults, we tend to think of identity as immutable (Roberts & Gelman, 2016). As such, considering negative associations with our identity can cause feelings of discomfort or even pain and despondency. Children begin to develop a racial identity early in life as they see how people group others by race. Studies have found that a major difference between the socialization of White people into Whiteness and the socialization of racialized families is that most White children are taught that race is a subject that should not be discussed (Abaied & Perry, 2021; Underhill, 2018). The lack of discussion does not make the issue go away but rather reinforces the current system of colorblind indifference to racial inequality.

Racial identity is an elephant in the room that parents of color do not have the luxury of ignoring, as the profiling of racialized children starts as early as preschool (Waxman, 2021). Following a viewing of the film *Twelve Years a Slave*, a German mixed-race adolescent exclaimed, “How can I be White and not be ashamed by the complicity? How can I be Black and not be ashamed by the victimization? How can I even stand to be German at all? This is a shitshow.” For people who identify with a particular sports team or geography, experiencing loss associated with these teams or places can be a painful experience. A much greater meaning and potential burden are attached to one’s ethnic identity.

However, it is important to keep in mind that although feelings of complicity and victimization can be accompanied by shame, identity is not destiny. Traits that are viewed by society as negative aspects of identity can become positive, and aspects of one’s own identity that are viewed as negative can be positive depending on one’s perspective. For example, consider the following:

- To be a White ally is to know, accept and understand that although you did not choose your White identity, it gives you special power in U.S. society to bring attention, intervention, and justice to situations in which a person of a darker skin color would not be able to act. You can choose, for example, to be a *Shield of the Oppressed*.
- Being a racialized person in U.S. society is also something you did not choose and may not be able to change, but lifelong experience gives you the eyes to see injustice and suffering and the empathy to make positive changes that a White person may not immediately notice. To do so is ultimately to

promote interpersonal connection and harmony. You can speak up and choose to be a *Voice for the Silenced*.

- To look like a White American but feel that your identity is that of a racialized or minoritized person (as persons who identify as non-binary, Jewish, mixed-race, or of Hispanic ethnicity often do) gives you the unique position of being able to be an unseen witness in the camps of the unjust, to hear and see things that a clearly racialized person would not know or hear, and then to make positive changes either in front of or behind the scenes. You can choose to be an active witness as a *Spy in the House of the Unjust*.

Society and fate will dole out advantages and disadvantages based on identity, ethnicity, and race, but each individual can ultimately decide what this identity means and how it will be wielded (e.g., Bassett et al., 2012; Comas-Díaz, 2010). Each individual is wonderfully unique, and each aspect of an identity, regardless of how it is viewed by society or oneself, can be used in its own way to demonstrate unique, situational civil courage, further justice, and work against racism.

How Psychologist Educators Can Use These Exercises

Some people become diversity educators by intent, having trained and planned for this work over the course of their education, whereas others stumble upon this work quite by accident. It is not uncommon for educators of color to be drafted into these roles, often without proper training or preparation for the inevitable backlash from students who do not appreciate challenges to their comfortable worldviews (e.g., Boatright-Horowitz & Soeung, 2009; Sue et al., 2009). However, in the process of this work, we have learned that this material cannot be taught in a purely intellectual manner. Learners must engage and wrestle with the material in an experiential way. Emotional engagement is critical to learning, but doing this work requires skill and care, as emotional dysregulation and its opposite, suppression, are detrimental to the process (Kanter et al., 2019). These exercises can provide educators with some of the tools, skills, and experiences needed to anticipate, understand, and competently respond to the discomfort that will predictably arise from classroom conversations centered on race. In a similar vein, as part of its diversity programming for psychology doctoral students, the University of North Carolina requires an experiential exercise referred to as a “cultural plunge,” where students plan an experience in which they temporarily become a stigmatized person rather than someone with privilege and then process this experience with a senior student. Despite the challenges, student participants report positive growth from the experience (Bardone-Cone et al., 2016).

Our students have similarly told us that exercises such as those outlined here can help foster a multicultural perspective that better enables them to recognize racial injustice when it occurs and provide them with the fortitude to act against it in the moment. In fact, many have said that this was the most meaningful and impactful course they had ever taken. Like any exercises that promote growth, these are challenging, but CBT principles inform us that over time, such experiences reduce anxiety, relieve cognitive distortions around race, and become easier to carry out (Devine et al., 2012; Foa & Kozak, 1986; Machalicek et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2020). Nonetheless, the exercises can be more difficult than anticipated; therefore, students will need praise and support as they work through them (Williams, 2019b). Students should be informed that the exercises will not eliminate all fears, and they can feel anxious but still act courageously. It can be helpful to remind learners that this is an ongoing process, and they cannot expect to get everything right the first time. Students will need time and space to process and make meaning out of these engagements. Furthermore, the exercises should not be viewed as a checklist of to-do's but rather as starting points for ongoing growth. (See [Supplemental Materials](#), for a list of more resources to guide growth in these areas.)

Civil Courage in Clinical Practice

Even in clinical practice, civil courage is required for those who want to be allies to people of color. One recent example is a situation in which a White early-career psychologist was told by his state licensing board (KY) that unless he rescinded a positive parental fitness report about a Black father, which he knew to be valid, he would be subject to disciplinary action and his license could be revoked. Despite being outgunned, he refused to give in to these racist demands, even though he also knew there could be consequences. He was even discreetly informed that he could instead implicate his supervisor (a person of color) and avoid a licensing board hearing, but he decided to be a *Shield for the Oppressed* and endure having his psychologist license suspended for a year to protect two innocent people for the cause of justice.

There have been other important moments when it would have behooved psychologists to exercise civil courage, and the tragic result was loss of life. As we have discussed, there are numerous reasons that people do not behave courageously when they know they should. One example concerns work done by psychologists James Mitchell and Bruce Jessen for the U.S. Department of Defense who developed enhanced torture techniques for prisoners of war leading to the death of at least one detainee. Apparently, many leaders of the American Psychological Association (APA) had knowledge of this program, and during all torture sessions, a psychologist was required to be present, but the few psychologists who tried to speak out were threatened or ignored (Elkins, 2016).

It took a journalist to publicly blow the whistle on this compromised relationship, leading to the weighty 500-page Hoffman Report (Hoffman et al., 2015). The public reaction was so severe that the APA was forced to act immediately and subsequently banned its members from participating in national security interrogations. Had civil courage been a part of the training that all psychologists receive, perhaps this situation would have ended sooner or never have occurred at all.

Conclusion and Future Directions

We have yet to quantify how much people will change as a result of these specific exercises, which could be an important area of future study. However, interventions based on these principles have shown tangible benefits. There are recent examples of intervention programs and bystander training that have successfully resulted in behavioral changes for individuals and active bystanders who have been taught to proactively intervene in the presence of unjust behavior (e.g., Burns et al., 2019; Haynes-Baratz et al., 2021; Staub, 2019). For example, the programs designed by Staub (2019) targeted groups as diverse as students and police departments and included promoting self-awareness, confronting implicit biases, behavioral modification techniques, intergroup social connections, rejection of passivity, empathy development, and active intervention. The results have demonstrated that psychological healing and humanization can grow through active, meaningful engagement with unfamiliar cultures (i.e., sharing a holiday meal).

The desire to help persons in need, as shown by changes in bystander activism after early childhood (Hepach et al., 2012; Staub, 2019), is a malleable tendency that can be corroded or restored (Palmer et al., 2015). The exercises described in this paper can increase caring, empower participants with new skills, and provide the mindset necessary to break the unjust rules of society to help those suffering due to oppression and racialization. However, as a cautionary note, just as we can gain empathy, we can also continue to lose it. When powerful people promote public messages of fear and hate toward stigmatized groups, such as new immigrants of color, hate can be further ignited and empathy further lost (Newman et al., 2020).

Courage is something that many aspire to, but in the case of civil courage, the accompanying message of loss and pain is unpopular. Creating a racially just society will require civil courage, willingness to stand up to institutions and processes that propagate harm, with the knowledge that doing so will surely have a social price but is worth the cost.

References

Abiaed, J. L., & Perry, S. P. (2021). Socialization of racial ideology by White parents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 27*, 431–440. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000454>

- Alabi, J. (2015). Racial microaggressions in academic libraries: Results of a survey of minority and non-minority librarians. *Journal of Academic Librarianship, 41*(1), 47–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acalib.2014.10.008>
- Ashley, S., & James, J. (2018). *Urban wire: Nonprofits and philanthropy*. Urban Institute. <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/despite-racial-wealth-gap-black-philanthropy-strong>
- Bailey, Z. D., Krieger, N., Agénor, M., Graves, J., Linos, N., & Bassett, M. T. (2017). Structural racism and health inequities in the USA: Evidence and interventions. *Lancet, 389*(10077), 1453–1463. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(17\)30569-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(17)30569-X)
- Bardone-Cone, A. M., Calhoun, C. D., Fischer, M. S., Gaskin-Wasson, A. L., Jones, S. C. T., Schwartz, S. L., Wise, E. H., & Prinstein, M. J. (2016). Development and implementation of a diversity training sequence in a clinical psychology doctoral program. *The Behavior Therapist, 39*(3), 65–75.
- Bassett, D., Tsosie, U., & Nannauck, S. (2012). “Our culture is medicine”: Perspectives of Native healers on posttrauma recovery among American Indian and Alaska Native patients. *The Permanente Journal, 16*(1), 19–27. <https://doi.org/10.7812/TPP/11-123>
- Batson, C. D. (1998). Altruism and prosocial behavior. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (pp. 282–316). McGraw Hill/Oxford University Press.
- Beier, J. S., Over, H., & Carpenter, M. (2014). Young children help others to achieve their social goals. *Developmental Psychology, 50*(3), 934–940. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033886>
- Benner, A. D., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., Boyle, A. E., Polk, R., & Cheng, Y. P. (2018). Racial/ethnic discrimination and well-being during adolescence: A meta-analytic review. *American Psychologist, 73*(7), 855–883. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000204>
- Boatright-Horowitz, S. L., & Soeung, S. (2009). Teaching white privilege to white students can mean saying good-bye to positive student evaluations. *American Psychologist, 64*(6), 574–575. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016593>
- Brown, T. R., Xu, K. Y., & Glowinski, A. L. (2021). Cognitive behavioral therapy and the implementation of antiracism. *JAMA Psychiatry, 78*, 819–820. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2021.0487>
- Broz, S. (2008). Civil courage: Good people in an evil time, building and promoting resilience. *African Health Sciences, 8*(Suppl. 1), S37–S38.
- Burns, V. L., Eaton, A. A., Long, H., & Zapp, D. (2019). Exploring the role of race and gender on perceived bystander ability and intent: Findings before and after exposure to an online training program to prevent sexual assault on campus. *Violence Against Women, 25*(8), 999–1017. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218807089>
- Chaddah, K. (2021). Trivialising Meghan Markle’s mental health is a slap in the face to people of colour. *Huffington Post UK*. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/meghan-markle-mental-health_uk_60473f6bc5b6a973f954901b
- Chao, M. M., Chiu, C., Chan, W., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Kwok, C. (2013). The model minority as a shared reality and its implication for interracial perceptions. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 4*(2), 84–92. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028769>
- Chapin, J., & Stern, A. (2021). Upstander intervention and parenting styles. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Trauma, 14*(1), 85–91. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-019-00287-9>
- Ching, T. H. W. (2021). Culturally attuned behavior therapy for anxiety and depression in Asian Americans: Addressing racial microaggressions and deconstructing the model minority myth. *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cbpra.2021.04.006>
- Clark, A. D., & Coy, P. G. (2015). Civil rights, social movements, and domestic policy: The 1960 Nashville student sit-in movement. In M. C. Hallward & J. Norman (Eds.), *Understanding nonviolence: Contours and contexts* (pp. 1–19). Polity Press.
- Cohan, D. (2019). Racist like me—A call to self-reflection and action for White physicians. *The New England Journal of Medicine, 380*(9), 805–807. <https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMp1814269>

- Comas-Díaz, L. (2010). On being a Latina healer: Voice, consciousness, and identity. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 47(2), 162–168. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019758>
- Cox, D., Navarro-Rivera, J., & Jones, R. P. (2016). *Race, religion, and political affiliation of Americans' core social networks*. PRRI. <https://www.prii.org/research/poll-race-religion-politics-americans-social-networks/>
- Crane, M. F., Searle, B. J., Kangas, M., & Nwiran, Y. (2019). How resilience is strengthened by exposure to stressors: The systematic self-reflection model of resilience strengthening. *Anxiety, Stress, and Coping*, 32(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10615806.2018.1506640>
- Crowder, K., & South, S. J. (2008). Spatial dynamics of white flight: The effects of local and extralocal racial conditions on neighborhood outmigration. *American Sociological Review*, 73(5), 792–812. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300505>
- Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. (2012). Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(6), 1267–1278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.06.003>
- DiAngelo, R. J. (2018). *White fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism*. Beacon Press.
- Douglass, S., Mirpuri, S., English, D., & Yip, T. (2016). “They were just making jokes”: Ethnic/racial teasing and discrimination among adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 22(1), 69–82. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000041>
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 36, pp. 1–52). Academic Press.
- Elkins, D. N. (2016). The American Psychological Association and the Hoffman Report. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 56(2), 99–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022167815619064>
- Emerson, M. O., & Smith, C. (2000). *Divided by faith: Evangelical religion and the problem of race in America*. Oxford University Press.
- Ersine, S. E., & Bilimoria, D. (2019). White allyship of Afro-Diasporic women in the work-place: A transformative strategy for organizational change. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*, 26(3), 319–338. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1548051819848993>
- Foa, E. B., & Kozak, M. J. (1986). Emotional processing of fear: Exposure to corrective information. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99(1), 20–35. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.99.1.20>
- Forscher, P. S., Mitamura, C., Dix, E. L., Cox, W. T. L., & Devine, P. G. (2017). Breaking the prejudice habit: Mechanisms, timecourse, and longevity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 72, 133–146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.04.009>
- Foster, B., & Stevenson, M. (2015, July 1). *A conversation with White people on race* [Video]. New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/video/opinion/10000003773643/a-conversation-with-white-people-on-race.html>
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1977). The subtlety of White racism, arousal, and helping behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(10), 691–707. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.35.10.691>
- Gardner, D. M., & Ryan, A. M. (2020). What's in it for you? Demographics and self-interest perceptions in diversity promotion. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 105(9), 1062–1072. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000478>
- Godsil, R. D., & Richardson, L. S. (2017). Racial anxiety. *Iowa Law Review*, 102(5), 2235–2264. <https://ilr.law.uiowa.edu/print/volume-102-issue-5/racial-anxiety/>
- Goff, P. A., Steele, C. M., & Davies, P. G. (2008). The space between us: Stereotype threat and distance in interracial contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(1), 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.91>
- Greitemeyer, T., Fischer, P., Kastenmüller, A., & Frey, D. (2006). Civil courage and helping behaviour: Differences and similarities. *European Psychologist*, 11(2), 90–98. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040.11.2.90>
- Greitemeyer, T., Osswald, S., Fischer, P., & Frey, D. (2007). Civil courage: Implicit theories, related concepts, and measurement. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 2(2), 115–119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760701228789>
- Guess, T. J. (2006). The social construction of whiteness: Racism by intent, racism by consequence. *Critical Sociology*, 32(4), 649–673. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156916306779155199>
- Haeny, A. M., Holmes, S. C., & Williams, M. T. (2021). The need for shared nomenclature on racism and related terminology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 16(5), 886–892. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211000760>
- Hagedorn, J., Paras, C. A., Greenwich, H., & Hagopian, A. (2016). The role of labor unions in creating working conditions that promote public health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 106(6), 989–995. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303138>
- Hancock, A. B., & Rubin, B. A. (2015). Influence of communication partner's gender on language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 34(1), 46–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X14533197>
- Hansen, S. (2017). *Unlearning the myth of American innocence*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/08/unlearning-the-myth-of-american-innocence>
- Haynes-Baratz, M. C., Metinyurt, T., Li, Y. L., Gonzales, J., & Bond, M. A. (2021). Bystander training for faculty: A promising approach to tackling microaggressions in the academy. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 63, Article 100882. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2021.100882>
- Hegarty, P. (2017). On the failure to notice that White people are White: Generating and testing hypotheses in the celebrity guessing game. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 146(1), 41–62. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000243>
- Helms, J. E., & Carter, R. T. (1990). Toward a model of the White racial identity development. In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 49–66). Greenwood Press.
- Hepach, R., Vaish, A., & Tomasello, M. (2012). Young children are intrinsically motivated to see others helped. *Psychological Science*, 23(9), 967–972. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612440571>
- Hochman, A. (2020). Janus-faced race: Is race biological, social, or mythical? *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 175(2), 453–464. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.24169>
- Hochman, A. L., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2020). Evaluating and dismantling an intervention aimed at increasing White people's knowledge and understanding of racial justice issues. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 90(6), 733–750. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000506>
- Hodson, G., Crisp, R. J., Meleady, R., & Earle, M. (2018). Intergroup contact as an agent of cognitive liberalization. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 13(5), 523–548. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617752324>
- Hoffman, D. H., Carter, D. J., Lopez, C. R. V., Benziller, H. L., Guo, A. X., Latifi, S. Y., & Craig, D. C. (2015, July 2). *Report to the Special Committee of the board of directors of the American Psychological Association: Independent review relating to APA ethics guidelines, national security interrogations, and torture*. Sidley Austin LLP.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1(4), 200–214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4
- Kanter, J. W., Rosen, D. C., Manbeck, K. E., Branstetter, H., Kuczynski, A., Corey, M. D., Maitland, D., & Williams, M. T. (2020). Addressing microaggressions in racially charged patient-provider interactions: A pilot randomized trial. *BMC Medical Education*, 20(88), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12909-020-02004-9>
- Kanter, J. W., Rosen, D. C., Manbeck, K. E., Kuczynski, A. M., Corey, M. D., & Branstetter, H. M. L. (2019). Using contextual behavioral science to understand racism and bias. In M. T. Williams, D. C. Rosen, & J. W. Kanter (Eds.), *Eliminating race-based mental health disparities: Promoting equity and culturally responsive care across settings* (pp. 99–125). New Harbinger.

- Kanter, J. W., Williams, M. T., Kuczynski, A. M., Corey, M. D., Parigoris, R. M., Carey, C. M., Manbeck, K. E., Wallace, E. C., & Rosen, D. C. (2020). The measurement and structure of microaggressive communications by White people against Black people. *Race and Social Problems, 12*, 323–343. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-020-09298-w>
- Katz, J., Merrilees, C., LaRose, J., & Edgington, C. (2018). White female bystanders' responses to a black woman at risk for sexual assault: Associations with attitudes about sexism and racial injustice. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 27*(4), 444–459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2017.1376238>
- Kornienko, O., Santos, C. E., & Updegraff, K. A. (2015). Friendship networks and ethnic identity development: Contributions from social network analysis. In C. E. Santos & A. J. Umana-Taylor (Eds.), *Studying ethnic identity: Methodological and conceptual approaches across disciplines* (pp. 177–202). American Psychological Association; <https://doi.org/10.1037/14618-008>
- Krämer, N., Sobieraj, S., Feng, D., Trubina, E., & Marsella, S. (2018). Being bullied in virtual environments: Experiences and reactions of male and female students to a male or female oppressor. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*(253), Article 253. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00253>
- Kraus, M. W., Onyeador, I. N., Daumeyer, N. M., Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2019). The misperception of racial economic inequality. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 14*(6), 899–921. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691619863049>
- Kraus, M. W., Park, J. W., & Tan, J. J. X. (2017). Signs of social class: The experience of economic inequality in everyday life. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 12*(3), 422–435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916673192>
- Krosch, A. R., Tyler, T. R., & Amodio, D. M. (2017). Race and recession: Effects of economic scarcity on racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 113*(6), 892–909. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000112>
- Kwate, N. O., & Goodman, M. S. (2014). An empirical analysis of White privilege, social position and health. *Social Science & Medicine (1982), 116*, 150–160. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.05.041>
- Kwate, N. O., & Meyer, I. H. (2010). The myth of meritocracy and African American health. *American Journal of Public Health, 100*(10), 1831–1834. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2009.186445>
- Latané, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?* Prentice Hall.
- Latané, B., & Nida, S. (1981). Ten years of research on group size and helping. *Psychological Bulletin, 89*(2), 308–324. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.89.2.308>
- Lewis, V. A., Emerson, M. O., & Klineberg, S. L. (2011). Who we'll live with: Neighborhood racial composition preferences of Whites, Blacks and Latinos. *Social Forces, 89*(4), 1385–1407. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/89.4.1385>
- Liu, C. M., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2016). The effects of racism-related stress on Asian Americans: Anxiety and depression among different generational statuses. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 7*(2), 137–146. <https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000046>
- Liu, W. M., Liu, R. Z., Garrison, Y. L., Kim, J. Y. C., Chan, L., Ho, Y. C. S., & Yeung, C. W. (2019). Racial trauma, microaggressions, and becoming racially innocuous: The role of acculturation and White supremacist ideology. *American Psychologist, 74*(1), 143–155. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000368>
- Loke, J. (2012). Public expressions of private sentiments: Unveiling the pulse of racial tolerance through online news readers' comments. *The Howard Journal of Communications, 23*(3), 235–252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2012.695643>
- Lopez, S., O'Byrne, K. K., & Petersen, S. (2003). Profiling courage. In S. Lopez & C. R. Snyder (Eds.), *Positive psychology assessment: A handbook of models and measures* (pp. 185–197). APA. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10612-012>
- Machaliecek, W., Strickland-Cohen, K., Drew, C., & Cohen-Lissman, D. (2021). Sustaining personal activism: Behavior analysts as antiracist accomplices. *Behavior Analysis in Practice*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40617-021-00580-w>
- Madeira, A. F., Costa-Lopes, R., Dovidio, J. F., Freitas, G., & Mascarenhas, M. F. (2019). Primes and consequences: A systematic review of meritocracy in intergroup relations. *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*, Article 2007. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02007>
- Malfliet, A., Coppieters, I., Van Wilgen, P., Kregel, J., De Pauw, R., Dolphens, M., & Ickmans, K. (2017). Brain changes associated with cognitive and emotional factors in chronic pain: A systematic review. *European Journal of Pain (London, England), 21*(5), 769–786. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejp.1003>
- McIntosh, P. (2003). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. In S. Plous (Ed.), *Understanding prejudice and discrimination*. McGraw-Hill.
- McKenna, S., Lee, E., Klik, K. A., Markus, A., Hewstone, M., & Reynolds, K. J. (2018). Are diverse societies less cohesive? Testing contact and mediated contact theories. *PLOS ONE, 13*(3), Article e0193337. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0193337>
- McKinney, K. D. (2006). 'I really felt white': Turning points in whiteness through interracial contact. *Social Identities, 12*(2), 167–185. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630600583361>
- Moisuc, A., Brauer, M., Fonseca, A., Chaurand, N., & Greitemeyer, T. (2018). Individual differences in social control: Who 'speaks up' when witnessing uncivil, discriminatory, and immoral behaviours? *British Journal of Social Psychology, 57*(3), 524–546. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12246>
- Moll, J., Krueger, F., Zahn, R., Pardini, M., de Oliveira-Souza, R., & Grafman, J. (2006). Human fronto-mesolimbic networks guide decisions about charitable donation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 103*(42), 15623–15628. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0604475103>
- Monin, B., Sawyer, P. J., & Marquez, M. J. (2008). The rejection of moral rebels: Resenting those who do the right thing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(1), 76–93. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.76>
- Murrell, A. (2020). Why someone did not stop them? Aversive racism and the responsibility of bystanders. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion, 40*(1), 60–73. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-07-2020-0191>
- Nadal, K. L., Wong, Y., Sriken, J., Griffin, K., & Fujii-Doe, W. (2014). Racial microaggressions and Asian Americans: An exploratory study on within-group differences and mental health. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 6*(2), 136–144. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038058>
- Nai, J., Narayanan, J., Hernandez, I., & Savani, K. (2018). People in more racially diverse neighborhoods are more prosocial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 114*(4), 497–515. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000103>
- Newman, B., Merolla, J. L., Shah, S., Lemi, D. C., Collingwood, L., & Ramakrishnan, S. K. (2020). The Trump effect: An experimental investigation of the emboldening effect of racially inflammatory elite communication. *British Journal of Political Science, 51*(3), 1138–1159. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123419000590>
- Okech, J. E. A., & Champe, J. (2008). Informing culturally competent practice through cross-racial friendships. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling, 30*(2), 104–115. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-008-9049-x>
- Palmer, S. B., Rutland, A., & Cameron, L. (2015). The development of bystander intentions and social-moral reasoning about intergroup verbal aggression. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 33*(4), 419–433. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjdp.12092>
- Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaher, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLOS ONE, 10*(9), Article e0138511. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0138511>

- Paulus, M., & Moore, C. (2012). Producing and understanding prosocial actions in early childhood. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, 42, 271–305. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-394388-0.00008-3>
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(6), 922–934. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504>
- Pury, C. L. S., Kowalski, R. M., & Spearman, J. (2007). Distinctions between general and personal courage. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 2(2), 99–114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760701237962>
- Putman, D. (1997). Psychological courage. *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology*, 4(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ppp.1997.0008>
- Pyke, K. D. (2010). What is internalized racial oppression and why don't we study it? Acknowledging racism's hidden injuries. *Sociological Perspectives*, 53(4), 551–572. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2010.53.4.551>
- Ragins, B. R., & Ehrhardt, K. (2020). Gaining perspective: The impact of close cross-race friendships on diversity training and education. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 106(6), 856–881. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000807>
- Rappaport, B. (2021, June 18). *UNC professors leaving the university in the wake of Nikole Hannah-Jones tenure inaction*. Higher Education, UNC, WCHL. <https://chapelboro.com/news/unc/unc-professors-students-outaged-in-the-wake-of-nikole-hannah-jones-tenure-inaction>
- Reh fuss, M. C., & Parks-Savage, A. (2011). Different religious/spiritual cultural experience. In M. Pope, J. S. Pangelinan, & A. D. Coker (Eds.), *Experiential activities for teaching multicultural competence in counseling* (pp. 305–307). American Counseling Association.
- Roberts, S. O., Bareket-Shavit, C., Dollins, F. A., Goldie, P. D., & Mortenson, E. (2020). Racial inequality in psychological research: Trends of the past and recommendations for the future. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 15(6), 1295–1309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691620927709>
- Roberts, S. O., & Gelman, S. A. (2016). Can White children grow up to be Black? Children's reasoning about the stability of emotion and race. *Developmental Psychology*, 52(6), 887–893. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000132>
- Roberts, S. O., & Rizzo, M. T. (2020). The psychology of American racism. *American Psychologist*, 76(3), 475–487. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000642>
- Rosen, D. C., Kanter, J. W., Villatte, M., Skinta, M. D., & Loudon, M. P. (2019). Becoming an antiracist White clinician. In M. T. Williams, D. C. Rosen, & J. W. Kanter (Eds.), *Eliminating race-based mental health disparities: Promoting equity and culturally responsive care across settings* (pp. 147–168). New Harbinger.
- Roth, J., Steffens, M. C., & Vignoles, V. L. (2018). Group membership, group change, and inter-group attitudes: A recategorization model based on cognitive consistency principles. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, Article 479. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00479>
- Salter, P. S., Adams, G., & Perez, M. J. (2018). Racism in the structure of everyday worlds: A cultural-psychological perspective. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 150–155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417724239>
- Satlow, M. L., & the Michael L. Satlow. (2010). "Fruit and the fruit of fruit": Charity and piety among Jews in late antique Palestine. *Jewish Quarterly Review (Philadelphia, Pa.)*, 100(2), 244–277. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jqr.0.0082>
- Schultz, J. R., Gaither, S. E., Urry, H. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2015). Reframing anxiety to encourage interracial interactions. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(4), 392–400. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tips0000048>
- Sewart, A. R., & Craske, M. G. (2020). Inhibitory learning. In J. S. Abramowitz & S. M. Blakey (Eds.), *Clinical handbook of fear and anxiety: Maintenance processes and treatment* (pp. 265–285). American Psychological Association; <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000150-015>
- Shotland, R. L., & Stebbins, C. A. (1983). Emergency and cost as determinants of helping behavior and the slow accumulation of social psychological knowledge. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 46(1), 36–46. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3033659>
- Sierksma, J., Thijs, J., & Verkuyten, M. (2015). In-group bias in children's intention to help can be overpowered by inducing empathy. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 33(1), 45–56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjdp.12065>
- Snyder, C. R., & Lopez, S. J. (2007). *Positive psychology: The scientific and practical explorations of human strengths*. SAGE Publications.
- Spanierman, L. B., & Smith, L. (2017). Roles and responsibilities of White allies: Implications for research, teaching, and practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 45(5), 606–617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000017717712>
- Staub, E. (1971). Helping a person in distress: The influence of implicit and explicit "rules" of conduct on children and adults. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 17(2), 137–144. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030357>
- Staub, E. (2019). Witnesses/bystanders: The tragic fruits of passivity, the power of bystanders, and promoting active bystandership in children, adults, and groups. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(4), 1262–1293. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12351>
- Sue, D. W., Alsaidi, S., Awad, M. N., Glaeser, E., Calle, C. Z., & Mendez, N. (2019). Disarming racial microaggressions: Microintervention strategies for targets, White allies, and bystanders. *American Psychologist*, 74(1), 128–142. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000296>
- Sue, D. W., Rivera, D. P., Capodilupo, C. M., Lin, A. I., & Torino, G. C. (2010). Racial dialogues and White trainee fears: Implications for education and training. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16(2), 206–213. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016112>
- Sue, D. W., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., Rivera, D. P., & Lin, A. I. (2009). How White faculty perceive and react to difficult dialogues on race: Implications for education and training. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 37(8), 1090–1115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000009340443>
- Taylor, M. (2020, March 17). *Transgender pastor defies court to conduct same-sex marriages in Hong Kong*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/china-lgbt-marriage-idUSL4N2BA1FV>
- Thornberg, R., Tenenbaum, L., Varjas, K., Meyers, J., Jungert, T., & Vanegas, G. (2012). Bystander motivation in bullying incidents: To intervene or not to intervene? *The Western Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 13(3), 247–252. <https://doi.org/10.5811/westjem.2012.3.11792>
- Todd, A. R., Bodenhausen, G. V., Richeson, J. A., & Galinsky, A. D. (2011). Perspective taking combats automatic expressions of racial bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(6), 1027–1042. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022308>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Douglass, S., Updegraff, K. A., & Marsiglia, F. F. (2018). A small-scale randomized efficacy trial of the identity project: Promoting adolescents' ethnic-racial identity exploration and resolution. *Child Development*, 89(3), 862–870. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12755>
- Umek, W., & Fischer, B. (2020). We should abandon "race" as a biological category in biomedical research. *Female Pelvic Medicine & Reconstructive Surgery*, 26(12), 719–720. <https://doi.org/10.1097/SPV.0000000000000979>
- Underhill, M. R. (2018). Parenting during Ferguson: Making sense of White parents' silence. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(11), 1934–1951. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1375132>
- United Farm Workers. (2017, April 3). *Education of the heart: Cesar Chavez in his own words*. Cesar E. Chavez Foundation. <https://ufw.org/education-heart-cesar-chavez-words-2/>
- Vienrich, A. B., & Creighton, M. J. (2018). What's left unsaid? In-group solidarity and ethnic and racial differences in opposition to immigration in the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(13), 2240–2255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1334540>
- Warren, S. (2019, May 28). I gave water to migrants crossing the Arizona desert. *They charged me with a felony*. Washington Post. <https://www.wa>

- shingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/05/28/i-gave-water-migrants-crossing-arizona-desert-they-charged-me-with-felony/
- Watson, B. R., Peng, Z., & Lewis, S. C. (2019). Who will intervene to save news comments? De-viance and social control in communities of news commenters. *New Media & Society*, 21(8), 1840–1858. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819828328>
- Waxman, S. R. (2021). Racial awareness and bias begin early: Developmental entrypoints, challenges and a call to action. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 16(5), 893–902. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211026968>
- Wei, M., Su, J. C., Carrera, S., Lin, S. P., & Yi, F. (2013). Suppression and interpersonal harmony: A cross-cultural comparison between Chinese and European Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 60(4), 625–633. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033413>
- Weigl, R. C. (2009). Intercultural competence through cultural self-study: A strategy for adult learners. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33(4), 346–360. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.04.004>
- Wellman, J. A., Czopp, A. M., & Geers, A. L. (2009). The egalitarian optimist and the confrontation of prejudice. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 4(5), 389–395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760902992449>
- Williams, M. T. (2019a). Adverse racial climates in academia: Conceptualization, interventions, and call to action. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 55, 58–67. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2019.05.002>
- Williams, M. T. (2019b). Cultural competence 101: Teaching about race and racism. In M. T. Williams, D. C. Rosen, & J. W. Kanter (Eds.), *Eliminating race-based mental health disparities: Promoting equity and culturally responsive care across settings* (pp. 129–146). New Harbinger.
- Williams, M. T. (2020). Preventing microaggressions in therapy (and life in general). In M. T. Williams (Ed.), *Managing microaggressions: Addressing everyday racism in therapeutic spaces* (pp. 117–133). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/med-psych/9780190875237.003.0007>
- Williams, M. T., Chapman, L. K., Wong, J., & Turkheimer, E. (2012). The role of ethnic identity in symptoms of anxiety and depression in African Americans. *Psychiatry Research*, 199(1), 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2012.03.049>
- Williams, M. T. & Gran-Ruaz, S. (2021). Can anti-racism training improve outgroup liking and allyship behaviors? *Whiteness and Education*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23793406.2021.1988687>
- Williams, M. T., Kanter, J. W., Peña, A., Ching, T. H. W., & Oshin, L. (2020). Reducing microaggressions and promoting interracial connection: The racial harmony workshop. *Journal of Contextual Behavioral Science*, 16, 153–161. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcbs.2020.04.008>
- Williams, M. T., & Sharif, N. (2021). Racial allyship: Novel measurement and new insights. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 62, Article 100865. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2021.100865>
- Williams, M. T., Sharif, N., Strauss, D., Gran-Ruaz, S., Bartlett, A., & Skinta, M. D. (2021). Unicorns, leprechauns, and White allies: Exploring the space between intent and action. *Behavior Therapist*, 44(6), 272–281.
- Willow, R. A. (2011). Interrupting oppression: Finding ways to speak out against overt oppression and everyday microaggressions, Chapter, 71. In M. Pope, J. S. Pangelinan, & A. D. Coker (Eds.), *Experiential activities for teaching multicultural competence in counseling* (pp. 197–198). American Counseling Association.
- Wyche, S. (2016, August 26). *Colin Kaepernick explains why he sat during national anthem*. NFL Media. <https://www.nfl.com/news/colin-kaepernick-explains-why-he-sat-during-national-anthem-0ap3000000691077>
- Young, J. L., Kim, H., & Golojuch, L. (2020). “Race was something we didn’t talk about”: Racial socialization in Asian American families. *Family Relations*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12495>
- Zambrana, R. E. (2017). Income and wealth gaps, inequitable public policies, and the tentacles of racism. *American Journal of Public Health*, 107(10), 1531–1532. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2017.304026>

Received April 29, 2021

Revision received September 24, 2021

Accepted September 29, 2021 ■