Color-Blind Racial Ideology

Theory, Training, and Measurement Implications in Psychology

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Synthesizing the interdisciplinary literature, we characterize color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) as consisting of two interrelated domains: color-evasion (i.e., denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness) and power-evasion (i.e., denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities). Mounting empirical data suggest that the color-evasion dimension is ineffective and in fact promotes interracial tension and potential inequality. CBRI may be conceived as an ultramodern or contemporary form of racism and a legitimizing ideology used to justify the racial status quo. Four types of CBRI are described: denial of (a) race, (b) blatant racial issues, (c) institutional racism, and (d) White privilege. We discuss empirical findings suggesting a relationship between CBRI and increased racial prejudice, racial anger, and racial fear. Implications for education, training, and research are provided.

Keywords: color-blind racial ideology, racism, racial beliefs, prejudice, discrimination

The question of whether the United States has moved beyond race and racism is one that scholars have grappled with for decades. For some, President Barack Obama's ascension into the White House in 2008 marked the beginning of a new "postracial" era in which issues of race and racial discrimination are memories of a not-too-distant past. After all, such people argue, if a Black American man could be elected twice to the highest office, then the country has transcended its racial past. Scholars have provided sharp analyses countering the legitimacy of a postracial or color-blind America after Obama's first election (e.g., Alexander, 2010; Cha-Jua, 2009; Wise, 2010). Public opinion polls provide further empirical support for these analyses (e.g., Agiesta & Ross, 2012; Hutchings, 2009). Some findings suggest that White adults' views on racial policies changed very little between 1998 and the election of President Obama (Hutchings, 2009), while others indicate an actual increase in explicit and implicit anti-Black racial prejudice since his historic election (Agiesta & Ross, 2012). Thus, even though a Black American man twice has been elected president, we have actually witnessed an increase in anti-Black prejudice, suggesting that race still matters in U.S. society.

Psychology has a rich history of research designed to understand and describe the changing expressions of racial beliefs, including the highly contested notion of racial color blindness. In the 1990s, the American Psychological Association (APA; 1997) published a pamphlet answering the question: *Can—or Should—America Be Color-Blind?* Using research from social psychology, APA uncovered fallacies in individual and collective color-blind approaches to racism and thus concluded in the pamphlet, "Despite society's best attempts to ignore race, the research indicates that race does matter" (p. 7). More recently, Melba Vasquez convened the Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity during her presidency of APA; the Task Force produced a detailed report on prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination (APA, Presidential Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity, 2012). In the report, interpersonal and institutional (racial) discrimination were characterized as human rights violations, and psychologists were encouraged to educate themselves and others about the evolving manifestations of discrimination. Color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) is one such evolving manifestation of racial discrimination (APA, Presidential Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity, 2012). Surprisingly, to date, there is no synthesis and integration of the debates within the racial color-blindness literature and their implications in psychology.

In this article, we propose a CBRI framework to help synthesize the divergent perspectives in the literature. In defining CBRI, we argue that racial color-blindness is unattainable, reinforces racial prejudices and/or inequality, and is actually an expression of ultramodern notions of racism among White Americans and of internalized racism or the adoption of negative racial stereotypes among people of color. By *ultramodern* we mean the new articulation of racism at this historic moment that demands the development of theory and corresponding scales (McConahay, 1986). Given our view of CBRI as an ultramodern form of racism—particularly among White Americans—we differ-

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entiate CBRI from other racism theories. We then outline the expressions of CBRI across different racial groups before concluding with a discussion of the implications of CBRI for education, training, and research in psychology.

Defining CBRI: Color- and Power-Evasion Dimensions

There are varying definitions of color-blindness with respect to race. We modified sociologist Frankenberg's (1993) conceptual framework in which she identified two core interrelated dimensions of racial color-blindness: color-evasion and power-evasion. In Table 1 we outline the definition and underlying assumptions of these two dimensions. To further highlight the differences between the CBRI dimensions, we identify each dimension's alternative perspective: that is, multiculturalism, or the acknowledgment of racial differences, for the color-evasion dimension and color-consciousness, or the critical awareness of the existence of racism, for the power-evasion dimension. A brief summary of the empirical research is also included.

As noted in Table 1, the first dimension, *color-evasion*, "emphasiz[es] sameness as a way of rejecting the idea of white racial superiority" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 147). The second dimension, *power-evasion,* refers to the belief that everyone has the same opportunities to succeed and consequently "any failure to achieve is therefore the fault of people of color themselves" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 14). A number of researchers in psychology view color-blindness from a *color-evasion* perspective in which people ignore interracial divisions and attempt to view each person as an individual (e.g., Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). From this perspective, color-blindness is a sign of being fair-minded and is a strategy designed to manage diversity by reducing racial prejudice (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009). Some advocates of this perspective believe that racial color-blindness does exist and that it is a good thing. But, as we argue below, racial color-blindness is not desirable and may cause more harm in interracial interactions.

Color-Evasion CBRI

The key color-evasion strategy of "not seeing race" is an aspirational goal of reducing racial prejudice, and it is something that few people would argue against. As Appiah and Gutmann (1996) reminded us, however, ignoring race as a strategy to promote racial equality is desirable in an ideal world. Unfortunately, the United States is far from ideal when it comes to race and racial justice, as is evident in the wide-ranging racial disparities that exist here. And thus although we would like to believe everyone has an equal chance to succeed, this is not the case in the United States.

The data on racial disparities underscore the point that we do not live in a racially egalitarian or ideal society. Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians are overrepresented among those living in poverty (e.g., Fox, 2004; Quadagno, 1994); their unemployment rates are consistently double or higher than those of their White counterparts (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Disparities research also suggests that Asian Americans are underrepresented in both socioeconomic as well as health indices despite being considered a model racial group. Asian Americans have disproportionately high levels of cancer, tuberculosis, and Hepatitis B (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). The dominant belief in society that people who work hard can get ahead obfuscates these types of disparities.

We argue that it is unrealistic and even harmful to disregard another's race or to not see color in a society that is as racially stratified as the United States. Thus, the adoption of CBRI does *not* reduce racial prejudice and, moreover, people who endorse greater levels of CBRI actually engage in racially insensitive behavior (e.g., Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). For example, Correll et al. (2008) found that in high-conflict situations a color-blind prejudice-reduction strategy was more likely to increase prejudice toward ethnic minorities than was a multicultural prejudice-reduction strategy. Similarly, research indicates that White students who avoid mentioning race when completing a collaborative task with a Black partner appear less friendly (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008), in part because they make less eye contact (Norton et al., 2006). More recently, Vorauer and Sasaki (2011) showed that when there is conflict and relationships are threatening, a multicultural perspective increases greater meaning making of hostile behaviors in interracial interactions compared with either a color-blind or an antiracist approach.

The harmful effects of a color-evasion approach are also evident among young children. Apfelbaum and colleagues (2010) exposed elementary school children to one

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of two narratives—one promoting racial equality through a color-blind approach ("We are all the same") and the other endorsing a value-diversity approach ("We appreciate and celebrate our differences"). Children who listened to the color-blind story were less likely to identify and report overt acts of racial discrimination. Collectively, these findings are consistent with APA's (1997) conclusion that "treating different people differently and celebrating their cultural uniqueness appears to be a more equitable way to achieve social justice than attempting to adopt a color-blind stance" (p. 8).

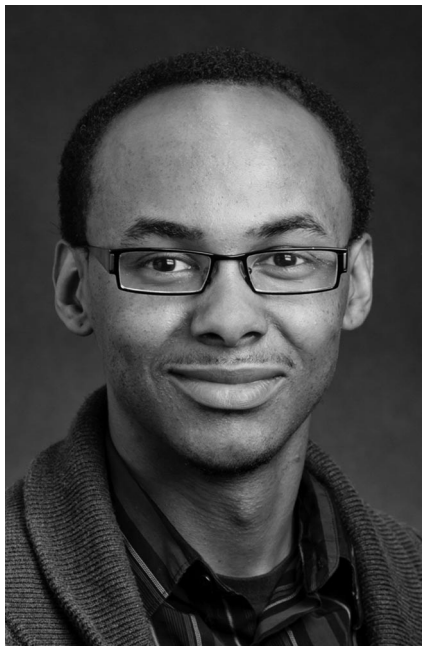
Power-Evasion CBRI

The overwhelming majority of researchers in this area argue that racial color-blindness reflects a contemporary expression of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). A historical analysis of racial prejudice in the United States shows that overt forms of racism have decreased in the past 40 years (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Despite the decrease of these overt forms of prejudice (e.g., violence, use of racial epithets), covert forms of racial prejudice seemed to have replaced "old fashioned racism." The ideas of modern and ultramodern forms of prejudice build upon the premise that displaying prejudice is no longer politically correct or socially acceptable. Therefore, individuals who hold racist attitudes tend to mask their attitudes by either rationalizing their discrimination or avoiding racial topics and intergroup contact. These more modern forms of prejudice and racism are rampant today (Whitley & Kite, 2009) and are connected to contemporary assertions of racial color-blindness.

The concept of *power-evasion* is related to the broader discourse of racial color-blindness as an ultramodern form of racism (e.g., Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). The evasion emphasis here is on power relationships in society and not on the color of someone's skin. From

Table 1
Characteristics of Color-Blind Racial Ideology Dimensions

Characteristic	Color-Blind Racial Ideology (CBRI) dimensions	
	Color-evasion	Power-evasion
Definition	Denial of potential racial differences by emphasizing sameness	Denial of racism by emphasizing the belief that everyone has the same opportunities
Type(s)	Denial of "race"	Denial/minimization of (a) blatant racial issues, (b) institutional racism, and (c) White privilege
Example	"I don't see the color of the person"; "I don't notice race"; "We are all the same"	"Racism is *not* a major issue in American society"; "Everyone has an equal chance to succeed in society"; "Racism against Whites is a major problem in society"
Underlying assumptions	(Ineffective) strategy to reduce racial prejudice; masks discomfort in interracial interactions	Legitimizing ideology to justify the racial status quo; ultramodern expression of racism in society
Alternative perspective	Multiculturalism	Color-consciousness
Elements of CBRI in Whites	Discomfort in the presence of people of color and/or when discussing racial issues; increased engagement in racial microaggressions	Increased racial intolerance/prejudice, modern racism, racial anger and fear, belief in a just world, and social dominance; lower cultural empathy and multicultural competencies
Elements of CBRI in people of color	Discomfort discussing racial issues; fewer interracial friendships	Increased internalized oppression; lower multicultural competencies and provision of racial socialization



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this perspective, racial color-blindness is viewed as an ideology that provides a framework in which to ignore racism. We reviewed the literature and identified three core interrelated types of evading power, including the denial, minimization, and/or distortion of (a) blatant forms of racism (e.g., "Racism is a thing of the past and is no longer a problem today"), (b) institutional racism (e.g., "Certain policies and practices unfairly benefit racial and ethnic minorities"), and (c) racial privilege (e.g., "White people do not have certain advantages because of the color of their skin"). The characterization of these types is consistent with the subscales of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), the most commonly used measure in the psychology literature to assess CBRI from a power-evasion perspective.

Although some individuals certainly deny the existence of blatant racism in society, it is the denial of institutional racism that appears more prevalent. In these instances, individuals ignore institutional racism by not considering power in the definition of racism; such individuals believe that everyone regardless of race is a perpetrator and a victim of racism in society. Helen Neville and her colleagues interviewed over 30 racially diverse college students about their beliefs about race and racism (Neville, Barr, & Cheng, 2007). "Tiffany," a White undergraduate student, exemplified the denial of institutional racism. Throughout the interview, Tiffany expressed abhorrence of racism. However, her definition of racism did not include a consideration of institutional discrimination. By not considering the role of institutional discrimination in creating racial inequalities in society, Tiffany assumed that racism affected both White and Black people in the same way; in the interview she asserted that "African Americans are probably more racist than they think White people are" and that notable African Americans such as Jessie Jackson and Oprah Winfrey are "very racist against people that aren't Black." In addition, instead of considering the role of institutional racism as one of the reasons African Americans and other people of color discuss race and racial inequality, she believed that the problem was talking about racism and wanting to discuss solutions to racial inequality, which she referred to as "special rights." Empirical data suggests that Tiffany is not alone in her assessment; Norton and Sommers (2011) showed that White adults' ratings of anti-White bias showed a significant increase in the 1970s and that by the mid-1990s, Whites perceived racism against Whites as greater than racism against Blacks.

If a person, such as Tiffany, does not consider issues of power in defining racism, then she or he is more likely to place blame on individuals for racial disparities and thus to avoid identifying policies and practices as problematic. The predicament then arises when considering solutions to racial inequalities—should interventions be targeted to those who are affected most by racial disparities, or should they be targeted to external factors that potentially shape the disparities? Marshall (2012) interviewed police officers, court officials such as judges, and child welfare professionals to examine their understanding about the disproportionate number of Black youth involved in the child welfare system who ultimately become involved in the juvenile justice system, or what she refers to as *crossover youth.* Participants with high levels of CBRI based on CoBRAS scores, compared to those with low levels of CBRI, were more likely to blame children or their families for racial disproportionalities in the numbers of crossover youth; participants with low levels of CBRI were more likely to identify macro- and system-level factors in their understanding of the disproportionalities.

In sum, CBRI is a dominant racial ideology or worldview that serves to justify and explain away racial inequalities in society; it is thus one type of ideology that is used "to [help] sustain the social hierarchy while maintaining a perspective that provides the cover of innocence" (APA, Presidential Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity, 2012, p. 4). Expressions of CBRI are primarily organized around two interconnecting dimensions—color- and power-evasion. Color-evasion research more often than not is experimental and sets up color-blind versus multicultural conditions (e.g., Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, &, Wittenbrink, 2000), and power-evasion research tends to employ survey designs often using the CoBRAS (e.g., Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005; Neville et al., 2000). Throughout, we focus on power-evasion components of CBRI while at the same time recognizing the importance of the literature framed within a color-evasion perspective.

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Differentiating CBRI From Other Psychology Theories of Contemporary Racism

The expression of racism is ever changing depending on context and historical time frame. There are core aspects of racism that are stable over time and context; these include the interlocking role of ideology (or belief system) and institutional practices that serve to create unequal access to resources between racial minority and majority groups. However, gradual changes occur in the type of beliefs about race and the manifestations of these practices within institutions and interpersonal interactions. CBRI reflects these changing beliefs in the United States at this historic moment. As social norms surrounding the appropriateness of expressing racial attitudes evolve (i.e., it becomes socially unacceptable to honestly express negative racial beliefs), the ways that individuals choose to express their racial attitudes also change. Several theories explaining the contemporary forms of racial prejudice are presented in the social psychological and multicultural discourse. Below we compare CBRI with three theories of racism: modern/symbolic, aversive, and racial microaggressions.

CBRI and Modern/Symbolic Racism/Prejudice

Modern/symbolic prejudice emphasizes the idea that racism is a thing of the past and that Blacks get more than they deserve and seek special favors to get ahead in society. Given the overlap in the conceptualization of modern and symbolic prejudice, many scholars have combined the terms. Modern/symbolic prejudice also describes the inclination by some to legitimize their racial prejudices while couching their attitudes in American cultural ideals of individualism and the Protestant work ethic (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2005). CBRI is similar to modern/symbolic racism in that they both serve to ignore the existence of racial inequities in contemporary times. In addition, modern/symbolic racism and CBRI both rely on the myth of meritocracy in that both are concerned primarily with equality of opportunity and reject any programs that they believe may unjustly lead to equality of outcome (e.g., affirmative action).

Although modern/symbolic racism and CBRI theories are similar in their consideration of the denial of racism, the motivation to deny such inequalities or prejudice differs. Modern/symbolic racists do not believe that racism exists because they believe (a) that racism is a thing of the past, and they perceive racism only as old-fashioned racism, and (b) that racial minorities bring negative outcomes (e.g., discrimination) upon themselves because of their reliance on handouts or lack of work ethic. Modern/symbolic racists tend to believe that Whites are the ones being discriminated against through "reverse racism." Individuals who endorse CBRI, on the other hand, may be motivated by the notion that denying race and racial incidents makes them less racist.

CBRI and Aversive Racism/Prejudice

CBRI may also be related to more subtle or implicit forms of prejudice such as aversive racism/prejudice. Individuals who exhibit aversive prejudice embrace egalitarian beliefs but also simultaneously hold unacknowledged negative attitudes toward people of color (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998, 2004). Aversive racists may purposefully avoid racial minorities or evade situations or conversations in which racial issues are discussed. People who espouse aversive attitudes may be motivated to adopt a CBRI because it is an ideal strategy to help them avoid racial topics or minorities so that they can preclude the discomfort that arises from addressing racial issues.

CBRI and Racial Microaggressions

Racial microaggressions have gained increasing attention in the literature as a contemporary expression of subtle forms of racism; while related, CBRI extends this framework as well. Racial microaggressions consist of behavioral micro-assaults (similar to pre–civil rights movement overt actions), insults (racial insensitivity to one's heritage; e.g., assuming someone is a criminal or is not an American because of their racial or ethnic background), and invalidations (denial of the racialized experiences of people of color). The latter exemplifies CBRI. In fact, CBRI is a micro-invalidation theme within Sue's framework (Sue, 2009; Sue et al., 2007). In the original taxonomy, Sue and colleagues defined color-blindness as primarily involving interactions in which White people do not acknowledge race or they deny a person of color's racialized experience (e.g., "I don't see you as Black, I see you as a human"). This conceptualization is consistent with the color-evasion component of CBRI discussed earlier.

Extending Sue's framework (Sue, 2009; Sue et al., 2007), we argue that CBRI consists of additional dimensions, particularly denial of racialized experiences and de-

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nial of (institutional) racism; these dimensions are consistent with the power-evasion component of CBRI. The first dimension occurs when a person or group denies a person of color's racialized experience. Denial of (institutional) racism refers to a person's or group's denial of the existence of institutional, cultural, or other form of racism in the presence of a person of color, most often as a way to dismiss the individual's racial group's lived experience. This denial in turn serves to alienate or anger the member of the targeted group.

Emerging data illustrate the connection between racial microaggressions and CBRI. In an innovative study, Tynes and Markoe (2010) showed Black and White college students two images of racially themed parties. The investigators asked the students to respond to derogatory and insulting images of African American and Latino cultures as if they were posted on one of their friends' social networking sites. Students who were classified as high in CBRI on the basis of their CoBRAS scores were more likely than others to indicate they were not bothered by the images; a few of these students even provided positive evaluations of the party (e.g., "Looks like a fun party . . . why wasn't I invited?", p. 7).

CBRI Is the Dominant Racial Ideology

CBRI differs from many of the contemporary racism frameworks in psychology because of its emphasis on ideology. Most of the theories in psychology focus on racial prejudice, anti-Black sentiment, or racial slights/injuries such as microaggressions. According to a number of racism scholars, ideology is a key component of racism (Guinier & Torres, 2007). CBRI explicitly describes the changing racial ideology over the past two decades, one that has moved away from overt beliefs about racial inferiority/superiority to one that evades public consideration of race(ism). To modify Dawson's (2001) general definition, racial ideology consists of a

> worldview readily found in the population, including sets of ideas and values [about race] that cohere, that are used to publicly justify political stances [especially as they relate to racialized matters], and that shape and are shaped by society . . . . Cognitively, ideology serves as a filter of what one "sees" and responds to [interpersonally and] in the social world. (pp. 4–5).

Prager (1982) connected individual-level expressions of racial beliefs to these larger ideological frames or "public worldview" (p. 102).

There are a number of examples in politics to draw from to illustrate racial color-blindness as an ideology or public worldview. The outcry over former President Jimmy Carter's comments naming the tea partiers' portrayal of President Obama as racist reflects a color-blind public worldview. From the perspective of a number of pundits and lay people commenting on President Carter's remarks, naming racism was considered racist in and of itself because as a society we have moved beyond racism. And thus, asserting that portrayals of Obama as a monkey or a witch doctor are racist becomes problematic, as opposed to the behaviors themselves. More recently, Texas Governor Rick Perry commented that the justice system is "color-blind" after neighborhood watchman George Zimmerman was acquitted of second-degree murder and manslaughter for killing Trayvon Martin, an African American teenager. The Zimmerman trial and verdict received national attention in part because of the racial undertones of the case. Those who speculate that race and racism have nothing to do with who is arrested, charged, and sentenced with crimes may reflect a color-blind stance that ignores well-documented racial bias in the legal/justice system (see Alexander, 2010).

As reflected in the concept of power-evasion, CBRI is a specific type of racial ideology; it is a legitimizing or system-justifying ideology designed to maintain the status quo. Jost and Major (2001) noted that ideological thoughts operate to validate ideas and actions that otherwise would be considered questionable. They continued by observing that prevailing ideologies rationalize inequalities, both social and economic, while "preserv[ing] the sense that such inequality is fair and legitimate" (p. 6). In ways, it seems that legitimizing ideologies appear to create a loop in that they justify ideas and actions. In many ways, CBRI serves as a legitimizing ideology because it is designed to deny or minimize institutional racism in our society and as such supports victim-blaming rationalizations to explain potential racial inequalities (Gallagher, 2003; Neville, 2009). That can lead to inequalities that are then legitimized through ideas and actions.

CBRI Framework Applies to Both Whites and People of Color

People across racial groups in the United States are socialized in the same larger macro-system, and thus it is not surprising that anyone can adopt CBRI, irrespective of

racial group membership(s). Given the nature of racism, most psychological theories describe the racial prejudice, affect, and/or covert behaviors of Whites directed to people of color. The CBRI framework is flexible enough to consider the beliefs of and consequences for both Whites and people of color.

Although Whites and people of color can and do adopt CBRI, adhering to these beliefs has different implications for the two groups. For Whites, CBRI is linked to racial privilege and animus, and for people of color, CBRI is linked to internalized racism. Given that Whites as a whole benefit from CBRI, it is not surprising that White students and community members, on average, adopt higher levels of CBRI as measured by the CoBRAS than do their racial and ethnic minority counterparts (e.g., Awad et al., 2005; Neville et al., 2000; Oh, Choi, Neville, Anderson, & Landrum-Brown, 2010; Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, & Hart, 2008). There are very few data on the differences in opinions between racial and ethnic minority groups, particularly Asian Americans and American Indians. Some emerging data indicate that Latinos endorse color-blind racial beliefs to about the same degree as Whites but to a greater extent than their Black American counterparts (see Bonilla-Silva & Dietrich, 2011).

CBRI among Whites. Instead of reducing racial prejudice, ignoring race and not acknowledging racism actually reflect racial intolerance and prejudice among Whites. There is growing empirical support linking CBRI with a range of cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of racism. Consistent with theoretical assertions, findings indicate that among White adults, increased CBRI is related to greater levels of modern racism, racial and gender intolerance, and a belief in a just world (Neville et al., 2000). For example, Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) found that White college students who adopted a color-blind mindset as opposed to a multicultural mindset were more likely to show racial bias on both explicit and implicit measures. CBRI also was found to be associated with an increased social dominance orientation (Worthington et al., 2008) and lower cultural appreciation (Spanierman, Poteat, Oh, & Wang, 2008).

Adhering to a victim-blaming ideology such as CBRI is often related to an increase in negative emotions such as fear of people of color and a lack of ethnocultural empathy. The tragic aftermath of Hurricane Katrina illustrates this point. Initially, many pundits and politicians denied that racism against poor Black Americans played a role in the delayed federal response to the victims, who were stranded for days with limited food and water. A significant number of these storm survivors were relocated to Houston for temporary shelter, where Barbara Bush, most notably, commented, "What I'm hearing, which is sort of scary, is they all want to stay in Texas. Everyone is so overwhelmed by the hospitality. And so many of the people in the arena here, you know, were underprivileged anyway, so this is working very well for them" ("Barbara Bush Calls Evacuees Better Off," 2005). Empirical research supports the link between this type of limited empathy toward Black people (sometimes referred to as the racial empathy gap) and racial bias (e.g., Forgiarini, Gallucci, & Maravita, 2011).

Emerging data provide initial support for the relation between CBRI and lower levels of cultural empathy. Burkard and Knox (2004) found that psychologists categorized as high in CBRI reported lower levels of empathy and were more likely to hold African American clients more responsible for finding solutions to their problems than were their lower CBRI counterparts. CBRI is related to other negative emotional responses as well. In her systematic research on the emotional reactions to racism (i.e., costs of racism to Whites), Spanierman and her colleagues completed a series of correlational (e.g., Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), longitudinal (Todd, Spanierman, & Poteat, 2011), and quasi-experimental (Soble, Spanierman, & Liao, 2011) studies that have incorporated an examination of negative emotions such as the "White fear" of people of color and CBRI. Consistently, findings from these studies indicate that increased CBRI is related to racial fear among both college students and community members.

CBRI among people of color. When people of color deny the existence of racism, they engage in individual and collective behaviors that counter their group interests. People of color who endorse CBRI may internalize stereotypes and believe that race is unimportant; this process is often referred to as internalized racism (Speight, 2007). CBRI, like internalized racism, addresses the context in which the racial status quo exists and continues to be perpetuated. Consider a person of color who believes that race is a nonfactor in securing a job (or the denial of institutional racism) and believes that she and other people of color only need to realign their values to give priority to education and not hedonism in order to succeed. Here a dominant racial ideology is maintained by relying on U.S. values of meritocracy and individualism to explain group differences that, in essence, blame the victim for inequalities. Having never considered systemic forms of oppression, this individual may turn to self-criticism to understand her unemployment. There is emerging empirical support for a direct link between CBRI and internalized oppression (e.g., Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005). For example, Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, and Dodd (2006) found among a sample of Asian American students that increased internalized racial oppression was related to higher levels of denial of institutional racism and racial privilege. CBRI also is associated with opposition to policies such as affirmative action that would help promote greater representation in higher education and the workplace (Awad et al., 2005; Oh et al., 2010).

Future Directions in Understanding CBRI

Given that CBRI is the current dominant racial ideology, psychologists can play an instrumental role in educating and training students, mental health professionals, and communities about race and racism. In this section, we describe education, training, and consultation as they relate to the reduction of CBRI. Specifically, we consider educa-

tion within the university setting, training mental health professionals, and consultation in several contexts (e.g., community, workplace). Findings from interventions and studies employing CBRI reduction strategies are described in addition to suggestions for future directions. A discussion of the implications of CBRI in providing therapy is incorporated in our consideration of education and training of mental health professionals. However, a detailed discussion about the manifestations of CBRI in clinical practice is beyond the scope of this article.

Education and Training and CBRI

The common educational and training challenge is to find effective ways to contest the main expressions of CBRI (i.e., denial of race, blatant racial issues, institutional racism, and White privilege). Many of the education and training activities designed to challenge these expressions are comparable across context, including teaching undergraduate students or training mental health professionals. Most of the suggestions offered in this section serve as learning opportunities for people across race and ethnicity. In our own teaching and training experience, we have observed that acknowledging institutional racism in particular is a challenge for both White students and people of color students.

Another challenge is to provide students an opportunity to explore alternative approaches to color-blindness. From the color-evasion perspective, this alternative often is the adoption of a multicultural approach in which people recognize and appreciate others' diversity (see Wolsko et al., 2000). Focusing more directly on issues of race(ism), scholars from the power-evasion frame talk about a *color-conscious* outlook; in addition to engaging the social significance of race and racism, color-consciousness involves individual and collective action to reduce racial injustices (e.g., Appiah & Gutmann, 1996).

Educating undergraduate students. Psychologists can educate undergraduate students about race(ism) by offering courses related to the topic and providing training to faculty interested in incorporating research on race(ism) into their courses. The research is clear; exposure to racism awareness education often decreases CBRI and promotes a critical awareness of race(ism) (Lopez, 2004). There is mounting documentation of the role of diversity courses in decreasing racism, particularly among White students (Case, 2007; Cole, Case, Rios, & Curtin, 2011; Colvin-Burque, Davis-Maye, & Zugazaga, 2007; Kernahan & Davis, 2007). Two longitudinal studies are worth mentioning. Kernahan and Davis (2010) found that students who completed a diversity course increased their awareness of various dimensions of racism (i.e., lowered their CBRI) compared to students who completed another type of course, and this change was maintained over a year. In a longitudinal study over a four-year period, Neville, Poteat, Lewis, and Spanierman (2013) found that White students who completed a greater number of diversity courses during their undergraduate years showed faster decline in the power-evasion dimension of CBRI over time.

While these results are encouraging, it is important to identify not only what brings about declines in CBRI but also how those changes are brought about. There are few process-related studies, and thus little is known about what types of experiences in diversity courses are helpful in challenging CBRI. In one of the few studies that examined a specific intervention on the power-evasion dimension of CBRI, Soble et al. (2011) randomly assigned undergraduate students to one of two conditions: a racism documentary condition and a control group. Students who watched the documentary showed a decrease in CBRI scores immediately after watching the video; follow-up data were not collected.

More research is needed to identify the specific educational ingredients that produce long-term changes in the reduction of CBRI among students. Theory and writings from educators point to some compelling activities that show promise. In addition to discussing documentaries about blatant and institutional racism in society, psychologists can help students see the relevance of racism in their lives and on campus. Using counternarratives is one way to get at this understanding and to develop color-consciousness, because they expose racism.

Grounded in the work of critical race theorists, we acknowledge that a fair number of people "see" institutional and interpersonal racism. Such individuals challenge underlying assumptions that race and racism do not matter in today's society and expose the ways in which racism has affected their lives. Critical race theory draws on scholarship in the fields of law, sociology, education, Black studies, ethnic studies, and women's studies (see Crenshaw, 2011). Scholars within this tradition often use qualitative methods in which participants share stories that "tell on" racism.

Educational researcher Lee Ann Bell is one such scholar who writes extensively in this area. In an interview study with gatekeepers within the education and human service fields, Bell (2003) identified CBRI counternarratives. Most of the narrators of these stories were people of color, but a few White participants who learned about racism through close friendships with people of color also shared CBRI counternarrative stories. In these stories, participants discussed the persistence of racism; they acknowledged progress in this area since the civil rights movement, but they noted that change was slow. Drawing on this research, educators could assign counternarratives to read or, better yet, they could bring counternarratives to the classroom via a panel of students, faculty, and administrators on campus.

Another method to increase an awareness that "race(ism) does in fact matter"—particularly among White students—is to create opportunities for meaningful interracial interactions. As posited by the contact hypothesis (also known as intergroup contact theory), there are several conditions that are necessary for successful intergroup interaction. These include equal status, cooperation to achieve common goals, acquaintance potential, and institutional support (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Research findings indicate that establishing close friendships with people of color is related to decreases in CBRI and an increase in a critical understanding of race(ism) among Whites (Bell, 2003). In Neville et al.'s (2013) four-year longitudinal study, White students who reported a greater proportion of close Black American friends demonstrated a significantly greater rate of decrease in CBRI over the course of their undergraduate experience. These findings extend the contact hypothesis by suggesting that increased interracial friendships reduce CBRI or rather increase an awareness of race(ism) in society. At this point, we do not know what it is about these interpersonal interactions that may reduce CBRI. One possible explanation is the sharing of stories and experiences that occurs in close friendships; perhaps, for White students, these exchanges put a human face to racism.

Educating and training mental health professionals. Graduate programs training mental health professionals should challenge CBRI among students as a component of establishing multicultural counseling competencies (APA, 2003). Literature documents the harmful effects of both color- and power-evasion in the therapy context. Chalmer Thompson and her colleagues (Thompson & Jenal, 1994; Thompson, Worthington, & Atkinson, 1994) conducted the first studies examining the role of CBRI, or what they referred to as a race-avoidant or universalist perspective, on the therapy process. Both studies reported findings from a larger quasi-experimental study in which Black women college students were invited to participate in a quasi-counseling session with either a White or a Black woman counselor under one of two counseling content conditions: a universalist condition in which the counselor avoided discussions about race even when initiated by the client and a cultural content condition that attended to race, racism, and cultural content in the session. Not surprisingly, the type of content condition influenced the therapy process. Clients rated the counselor as more credible and were more likely to disclose at a deeper level under the cultural content condition than under the universalist (i.e., CBRI) condition (Thompson et al., 1994). Since these publications, researchers have found an association between CBRI and multicultural counseling competencies (e.g., Burkard & Knox, 2004; Chao, Wei, Good, & Flores, 2011; Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006). In a survey study with over 300 White therapists in training, Spanierman et al. (2008) found significant associations between increased CBRI and lower levels of multicultural counseling competencies, particularly multicultural awareness of one's values and biases and knowledge of the roles of race, culture, and sociohistorical experiences in mental health.

Training programs are tasked with the difficult job of educating emerging professionals about the potential role of race(ism) in the therapy context at a deep process level rather than with a cookie cutter, one-size-fits-all approach. In order to do this, educators have to work with students to understand the role of race in their own lives, including their own fears, anxiety, and anger about race. Without a full understanding about his or her own views of race, it is impossible for a trainee to competently talk about race with a potential client. Much of this type of work has been written about extensively (see Sue & Sue, 2013).

Developing skills to identify the appropriate time to talk and how to talk about race with clients are key steps in countering the ill effects of CBRI in therapy and in developing multicultural counseling competencies. Should a White therapist discuss race with an Asian American client who is battling symptoms of major depression? Should a Mexican American mental health professional talk about race with a White client who makes racial slurs in therapy? There are no clear answers to these types of questions. Educators can work with emerging professionals to identify ways to introduce race as part of processing the therapeutic relationship. Role-playing activities also could be incorporated into training to provide students opportunities to (a) respond to racial information when it is explicitly discussed or implicitly referenced in coded language and (b) identify and manage their anxiety that may result from talking about race(ism).

Training programs should also assist students in incorporating an analysis of race(ism) in conceptualizing all clients' presenting concerns; this does not mean that race(ism) plays a role in all presenting concerns, but rather that a therapist should systematically rule out (or include) these issues. The challenge here is to assess the complexities of race(ism) in the person's life, in the history of his or her family, and/or in the connections to larger social issues while concurrently viewing the person as a unique individual. Providing case vignettes for students to work through and discuss is one way to develop skills in this area.

Educating and training in consultation activities. In the role of consultants, psychologists can assist groups such as universities, companies, and communities to challenge the culture of CBRI in their settings. Racial inequalities or injuries are perpetuated when the leadership team ignores race(ism) practices in the setting or if a community tries to ignore its racial past. Employers who espouse a CBRI, for example, may turn a blind eye to the ways in which discriminatory practices take place in their organization. If they believe race does not matter, then they will be less likely to acknowledge that stereotypes may impact their evaluations of people of color in their organization. Perhaps if there is an awareness of the possibility of racial prejudice, individuals in a position to evaluate applicants will engage in slow effortful processing to ensure that they objectively assess their employees of color. Psychological consultants may want to present data about the impact of biases in the evaluations of applicants to help raise awareness of how these biases may impact the workplace vis à vis hiring, promotion, and retention practices (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005).

The case of sundown towns offers another example of the ways in which consultants can assist a large system to challenge CBRI. Sundown towns are communities that are intentionally kept all-White (Loewen, 2005). There are over a thousand such towns across the country. In a survey study of White undergraduates, we found that students

from sundown towns were more likely to adhere to higher levels of CBRI compared to students who did not reside in communities that were at some point intentionally all-White (Flores, Neville, Spanierman, & Loewen, 2013). This finding exemplifies how CBRI endorses White supremacy under the guise that race is no longer a relative construct.

One of the authors (Michelle P. Flores) worked with sociologist James Loewen on his ongoing research on sundown towns across the United States. The leadership of a historic sundown town consulted with Loewen to assist them in their efforts to change the town's reputation associated with its racial past. As part of the consultation work, Loewen (2005) proposed a three-step change plan: publicly acknowledging its history of being a sundown town, taking steps to apologize (e.g., public apology or publication of a newspaper article), and implementing structural changes that lessened the impact of racism in the town. The town's leadership council believed it was unnecessary to acknowledge the town's racist history and to issue a public apology. The trivialization of racism in this case exemplifies how CBRI is endorsed not only at the individual or family level but throughout a community and its administration. The town was unable to connect the historic past with contemporary inequalities in the town; they wanted to adopt a color-blind future without acknowledging racial injustices.

Building on Loewen's (2005) education paradigm in working with sundown towns, we offer three strategies psychology consultants can use to reduce CBRI in group/community settings and to promote color-conscious practices. First, consultants could work with groups to create an open dialogue about the group's history and current stance on race. Part of this discussion could include exploring whether one or more of the four CBRI types are present in the group's culture, interpersonal interactions, and/or group-based policies and practices. Second, they could collaboratively identify appropriate ways to acknowledge and apologize for (if appropriate) previous racial "injuries." An apology for a historic lynching or a recent racist event/practice exemplifies this step. Last, consultants could work hand in hand with the group leadership to implement and evaluate diversity education via trainings, seminars, and school curricula as a way to counter CBRI and increase racial equality in the setting.

Measurement Issues and CBRI

As a nascent theory, more work is needed to further theorize CBRI. For example, future researchers could explore if there are additional types of CBRI beyond the four commonly studied in the psychology literature (i.e., denial of race, blatant racial issues, institutional racism, and White privilege). In addition, CBRI research centers on research in the United States, yet the construct has relevance in other countries with a legacy of racism. Further theorizing about the history and expressions of CBRI in other countries is needed to better articulate the tenets of CBRI as an ultramodern expression of racism and not just a unique racial ideology within the United States.

There is no one measure designed to assess both the color- and power-evasion dimensions of CBRI. In studies using (quasi) experimental designs, CBRI conditions are created to evoke color-evasion, and occasionally scales are used to measure color-evasion attitudes (e.g., Goff, Jackson, Nichols, & Di Leone, 2013). In survey research, there are scales to assess one or more types of power-evasion CBRI. In terms of the scales used in these studies, researchers either piece together one to four items with little or no psychometric support or they use the CoBRAS. The CoBRAS has solid psychometric properties with college and community samples across a range of racial and ethnic groups, and it has subscales designed to assess three types of power-evasion CBRI. However, the CoBRAS was developed in the very early years of empirical CBRI research in the social sciences. Are the items still as relevant and do they capture current articulations of denial of blatant racism, institutional racism, and White privilege? A CBRI measure is also needed to examine both color- and power-evasion. We know very little about how these two dimensions are linked empirically and the specific outcomes to which they are linked.

At this point, we do not know if certain CBRI types are more relevant for specific racial and ethnic groups and, if they are, under what conditions. For example, does CBRI among White college students look the same as CBRI among Asian American college students? And, if there are differences, what potential explanations can account for these differences? More information also is needed on factors accounting for within-group differences among specific racial and ethnic groups. Initial findings in the literature suggest that racial socialization for Black emerging adults is related to CBRI (e.g., Barr & Neville, 2008), but more research is needed for other racial groups. Having this understanding is important to explore the full impact of CBRI on the lives of people of color.

Measures designed to assess color-consciousness are needed as an alternative to power-evasion CBRI. In the literature, some researchers use low scores on the CoBRAS to indicate color-consciousness. While low CBRI may be a proxy for color-consciousness, it is not the same construct, and thus explicit measures of color-consciousness are needed. Researchers should explore the core dimensions of color-consciousness and how the construct is similar to theories of critical consciousness.

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