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Development of the Racial Allyship Characteristics Scale: Measuring White Allyship from the Perspective of People of Color

Cassandra Hinger

ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACIAL ALLYSHIP CHARACTERISTICS SCALE: MEASURING WHITE ALLYSHIP FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR, by CASSANDRA HINGER, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, in the College of Education & Human Development, Georgia State University.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACIAL ALLYSHIP CHARACTERISTICS SCALE: MEASURING WHITE ALLYSHIP FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR

by

CASSANDRA L. HINGER

Under the Direction of Dr. Cirleen DeBlaere

ABSTRACT

Scholars and activists of color have urged White allies to engage in racial justice work led by the voices of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC). However, to date, most research on racial allyship has centered exclusively on the perspective of White allies themselves. To address this gap in the literature, Chapter 1 utilized constructivist grounded theory methodology to expound on the characteristics of racial allies as described by BIPOC. Chapter 2 utilized the qualitative themes that emerged from Chapter 1 to develop the 27-item Racial Allyship Characteristics Scale (RACS) across two studies. In Study 1, exploratory factor analysis with 275 White college students identified the six dimensions of allyship described by BIPOC participants in Chapter 1 were subsumed into three factors: Antiracist Action and Skills (13 items), Critical Awareness (8 items), and Relationship Building (6 items). In Study 2, the three-factor model was confirmed with an additional sample of 305 White college students. The RACS demonstrated temporal stability over a two-week period. Additional validity was supported through positive associations with antiracist behaviors, awareness of racism, and inverse associations with color-evasive racial attitudes. The potential utility of the RACS and future directions for ongoing development are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: racial allyship, scale development, social justice, counseling psychology

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CHAPTER 1: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF RACIAL ALLYSHIP FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Counseling psychologists have been leaders in researching the lived experiences of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC)[1] for decades (e.g., Arredondo et al., 1996; Carter, 1995, Helms, 1993; Neville & Pieterse, 2009; Ponterotto, 1996; Pope-Davis et al., 2002; Sue & Sue, 1999), and have been particularly prolific in explicating the deleterious impact of systemic racism and white supremacy (e.g., Pieterse et al., 2012). Scholars have defined *white supremacy* as the political, economic, and cultural system that sustains White people's power and dominance across institutional and social systems (Ansley, 1997). White supremacy is the mechanism that sanctions the entrenchment of racism in our society, causing systemic disparities, unjust burden, and harm to BIPOC (Grzanka et al., 2019; Miller et al., 2018).

Within the field of counseling psychology, there has been an increased focus on dismantling White supremacy in the last several years. For example, counseling psychology's commitment to racial justice can be seen in past president initiatives such as Drs. Annelise Singh's *A Counseling Psychology of Liberation*, Mary O'Leary Wiley's *It Takes a Village: ENGAGING with Solidarity in Practice, Anti-Black Racism, Leadership, Advocacy, and Big Ideas,* and Amy Reynolds *Transforming Counseling Psychology Through Critical Consciousness and Radical Change.* Additionally, in the summer of 2020, Counseling psychologists Pearis Bellamy, Dr. Della Mosley, and their collective created *Academics for Black Survival and Wellness*, an initiative for non-Black academics to resist anti-Blackness and White supremacy, facilitate collective action, as well as provide a healing space for Black academics (Academics for Black Survival and Wellness, 2021).

[1] The term BIPOC is used because of its inclusive nature and centering of Black person's experiences in the U.S as our sample was 65% Black. However, to not obfuscate literature on BIPOC experiences, it is important to note that our sample did not include Indigenous participants.

However, the field of psychology, and academia more broadly, is not immune to replicating harmful white supremacy practices and structures (Singh, 2020). For example, there has been a long history of psychology's exploitation of communities of color and gate-keeping practices that have limited BIPOC's access to our field and services (Buchanan et al., 2021). Critical works by BIPOC scholars have articulated how BIPOC can resist and heal from racism and racial trauma (e.g., French et al., 2020; Mosley et al., 2021). However, addressing racism also requires that White people examine their complicity in white supremacy and work alongside BIPOC to develop concrete actions (e.g., Singh, 2020). Understanding and promoting authentic racial allyship[2] may be one way that White people can begin to engage in this necessary work.

Broadly, an ally is defined as "a member of a dominant group who works to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based upon their social group membership" (Broido, 2000, p. 3). Interdisciplinary literature on allyship has identified several defining characteristics of White allies, such as: (a) demonstrating a growing knowledge and awareness of power, privilege, and oppression, particularly the historical legacy of racism and White privilege (Derman-Sparks & Philips, 1997; Reason et al., 2005; Smith & Redington, 2010); (b) engaging in continuous self-reflection regarding their own White racial identity, positionality, and ways in which they may be perpetuating racism (Case, 2012; Helms, 2017; Reason et al., 2005; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Williams & Shariff, 2021); (c) committing to transformative anti-racist actions by expressing ideas, supporting policies, and engaging in individual and systemic level actions that lead to racial equity (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Case, 2012; Kendi, 2019; Kivel, 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017); (d) working in solidarity with BIPOC individuals and communities (Boutte & Jackson, 2013; Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Spanierman & Smith, 2017);

[2] Given the definition of an ally, the terms racial ally and White ally are considered synonymous and used interchangeably throughout the manuscript.

and (e) intentionally engaging other White individuals about racism and White privilege (Goodman, 2011; Reason et al., 2005; Williams & Shariff, 2021).

It is important to highlight that much of the research on racial allyship is from the perspective and positionality of White allies themselves (e.g., Case, 2012; Reason et al., 2005). While this work has been helpful in conceptualizing and operationalizing White allyship, critical race scholars (e.g., Matsuda et al., 1993), multicultural scholars (e.g., Boutte & Jackson, 2014), and current grassroots racial justice activists (e.g., Mann & Baker, 2020), have urged White allies to engage in racial justice work that is led by BIPOC. Thus, it is critical to center BIPOC voices in our understanding of racial allyship (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). Moreover, given the nature of allyship, it seems fundamental to the concept that allyship be defined and decided by BIPOC. In other words, and as articulated by others (e.g., Sue, 2017), allyship, racial or otherwise, is a role and action orientation that can and should be aspirational for the person or group with the more privileged positionality but may not be an identity that one can claim.

Indeed, when BIPOC perspectives are centered, BIPOC describe the challenges they face when engaging with allies. For example, in one study of BIPOC diversity educators, participants shared that working with whiteness can be taxing for BIPOC, particularly when White allies engage racial justice language without the willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to enact transformative, anti-racist actions (Mathew et al., 2023). Similarly, BIPOC women described encountering racial microaggressions in the form of tone-policing, expectations to educate others, and defensive reactions to feedback in feminist-ally spaces (Nuru & Arendt, 2019). These narratives highlight the ways that some White allies can continue to reinforce white supremacy in their interactions with BIPOC in insidious ways

Although the few studies previously discussed examined BIPOC's challenges with White allies, to our knowledge, only one empirical study has utilized qualitative methodologies to examine how BIPOC characterize and define racial allies (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). The themes that emerged from their study focused largely on interpersonal characteristics (e.g., allies create a feeling of connection and share similar interests) as well as some more action-oriented qualities (e.g., propose actions to address racism; Brown & Ostrove, 2013). While this study makes an important contribution to our understanding of racial allyship, the authors identified some limitations. First, their interview questions were modeled after a study examining what lesbian, gay, and bisexual participants desired from their heterosexual allies in the workplace (Brooks & Edwards, 2009). Given this narrower focus, the themes they derived may not fully encompass the dynamics of racial allyship. In addition, their participants described both White allies and BIPOC allies from other racial or ethnic groups. Although both forms of allyship are important, combining these two groups does not account for the unique power that White allies must use to dismantle the oppressive system that they created and from which they benefit (Munin & Speight, 2010). Accordingly, the author hopes to build upon this work in the current study.

The Current Study

Overall, there are a limited number of studies on White allyship in the psychological literature (Grzanka et al., 2019) and even fewer studies that center the experiences and perspectives of BIPOC in defining racial allyship. Thus, the present study hopes to heed the call of many BIPOC leaders in counseling psychology (e.g., Hargons et al., 2017; Singh, 2020) by centering our understanding of White allyship on the perspectives of BIPOC, while also acknowledging the work that White individuals must take upon themselves to engage in allyship.

Utilizing a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) methodology with BIPOC focus groups, the guiding research question was: How do BIPOC define racial allyship in their own lives?

Method

Research Design

From a relativist ontological perspective, we started with the assumption that social reality is constructed and expressed in multiple ways (Charmaz, 2014). As our foundational framework, CGT posits that both the data and analyses are social constructions that reflect the conditions of researchers' and participants' temporality and culture (Charmaz, 2014). Epistemologically grounded in subjectivism, CGT denies that researchers can be neutral observers or value-free experts (Charmaz, 2014; Charmaz, 2017). As such, researchers must examine how their privileges and preconceptions may have shaped the identification and analysis of phenomena (Charmaz, 2014). As is typical with a CGT methodology, symbolic interactionism was our guiding theoretical lens. Symbolic interactionism posits that people construct meaning through a reciprocal process of actions and interpretations, assuming that social processes are open-ended and dynamic instead of static and unchanging (Charmaz, 2014). Our study was also informed by critical race theory (Crenshaw et al., 1995 Levitt, 2021).

Critical race theory "challenges the universality of White experiences/judgments as the authoritative standard that binds people of color" (Tate, 1997, pp. 196-197). Although initially developed by legal scholars, critical race theory has been utilized to deconstruct oppressive structures and discourse across several other disciplines, including psychology (e.g., Fine & Cross, 2016). As researchers of racial allyship, we acknowledge that the mainstream research practices we have been indoctrinated to follow can be implicated in the reproduction of racist systems (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). We utilized a critical lens to examine where White

supremacy manifested in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data to orient our work toward liberation.

Participant Recruitment and Selection

After receiving institutional board approval, participants were recruited from the undergraduate research pool at a Southeastern university. College students were selected as the group for inclusion because college has been identified as a crucial time in ally development due to the increase in identity exploration and greater exposure to a diversity of people, allowing for more opportunities for interracial relationship building (Broido, 2000; Brown & Ostrove, 2013). To participate in the study, individuals needed to be over the age of 18 and self-identify as a BIPOC. Participants' social identities are presented in Table 1.1

Although there is no prescriptive guideline for sample size within CGT, sample sizes are typically determined by theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2014). Guest and colleagues (2016) found that researchers can reach 90% saturation within three to six focus groups. We reached 90% saturation at seven groups. To ensure our theoretical categories fully captured the phenomenon of interest, we added one additional group and obtained full theoretical saturation at eight focus group sessions (29 participants) when no new codes emerged.

Focus Group Facilitators

Four doctoral-level students (cisgender men = 1, cisgender women = 3) with diverse racial/ethnic identities (Black/African American = 2, Southeast/South Asian = 1, Latine = 1) led focus group discussions. Focus groups consisted of two facilitators. Group facilitators were selected based on their advanced interviewing skills, training in multicultural counseling, and previous experience with group facilitation (Kress & Shoffner, 2007). Prior to the start of focus groups, facilitators were given an overview of allyship literature and a detailed description of the

study goals. The author provided training on the presentation of focus group questions and appropriate probes. Facilitators were encouraged to use broad probes to elicit further discussion and more specific probes for clarification that were "open ended yet directed" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 84). Group facilitators were paired together based on diversity of racial identities and level of experience in group facilitation. After each group session, facilitators debriefed with the first author and were provided feedback. One group facilitator was also a member of the coding team.

Procedure

Consistent with general recommendations for CGT methodology, the authors deemed focus groups an appropriate method of data collection because they were interested in the depth and richness of the interactive meaning-making process as participants discussed racial allyship together (Charmaz, 2014; Kress & Shoffner, 2007). This approach allowed researchers to capture individual perspectives as they emerged within a unique social context (Massey, 2011). The first author created the focus group discussion questions after a thorough review of allyship literature. Two experts in multicultural research reviewed the focus group questions and made minor suggestions. Focus group questions were delivered in a semi-structured format consisting of eight questions with follow-up questions and probes (Kress & Shoffner, 2007). Facilitators first asked participants to define racial allyship and then provided the Broido (2000) broad definition of allies for group discussion. This was followed by questions that explored participants' perceptions of knowledge, skills, and actions that allies possessed soliciting for specific examples. We then inquired how participants made the distinction between an ally and a friend to help clarify the defining characteristics of racial allies.

After gathering consent, data were collected by conducting in-person 50-to-70-minute focus groups. Participants created pseudonyms in the focus groups that were subsequently used

throughout the manuscript. Each group session was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by an encrypted online service and verified for accuracy. Reflecting best practices in qualitative research (Yeh & Inman, 2007), participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback on their experience in the group and any additional insights on racial allyship in a brief online follow-up questionnaire. Fourteen participants responded to the survey, with at least one member of each focus group represented. After the first focus group session, one participant suggested a minor rephrasing of one question to better comprehend what was being asked. This change was implemented in subsequent focus groups. No other changes were suggested.

Analysis

Data-Analytical Strategies

Open coding consisted of researchers individually hand-coding transcripts line-by-line into meaning units (i.e., concepts extracted from participant responses; Charmaz, 2014). After each focus group script was individually coded, the research team met to discuss the application of the codes to the data. These meetings allowed for coders to bring their insights on applying and integrating codes, generating new codes and categories, and processing personal reactions throughout the coding process. Consensus among the researchers was needed to apply codes to units of data. When there was disagreement on the applicability of a code, consensus was reached through discussion and code adjustment. Discussions on coding discrepancies also allowed researchers to begin identifying how certain categories were related to one another. We constructed 183 open codes across eight focus group sessions. All initial codes were provisional, comparative, and grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2014).

Following open coding, the research team engaged in focused coding in which codes were further refined into broader, conceptual categories and subcategories (Charmaz, 2014). For

example, codes related to antiracist actions (e.g., confronting friends when they say something racist) were compared to one another and integrated into broad concepts (e.g., Standing Up Regardless of Consequences). At this stage, codes with greater theoretical centrality were elevated in the analysis process (Charmaz, 2014). For instance, independent broad concepts became preliminary categories (e.g., Relationship Building), while concepts that demonstrated how to engage in that category were separated into subcategories (e.g., Practicing Empathy). During the focused coding stage, the core category also began to emerge (Charmaz, 2014).

In the next stage of theoretical coding, coders ensured theoretical salience of the categories, conceptualized how categories related to one another, and integrated these into a comprehensive framework of racial allyship (Charmaz, 2014). The core category (i.e., Committing Fully to Allyship) that connected all the constructed categories to form a conceptual model became more defined during this phase. Researchers consistently referred to the primary research question to guide the coding process and integration of codes and categories. Codes from our analysis that were not confirmed as central to the theoretical model were removed. For example, codes and categories that differentiated between friends and allies (e.g., Greater Expectation for Allies to Act) were dropped from the analyses. Instead, the research team focused specifically on the actions that participants attributed uniquely to racial allies and integrated those codes into the described categories. Once the final coding structure was developed, the first author engaged in diagramming and refining the model in consultation with the subsequent authors. All focus group scripts were again reviewed and coded with the final coding structure to confirm that the developed categories captured the identified meaning units.

Methodological Integrity

We utilized several strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of our data collection and analysis process. First, we collected rich descriptions from participants by soliciting detailed examples from participants that provided insight into their experiences with allyship and the specific contexts in which those experiences occurred (Morrow, 2007). We also used member checks by providing copies of transcribed focus group sessions and the final coding structure to the participants soliciting corrective feedback (Morrow, 2007). No participants responded with corrections or additional insights. Finally, we triangulated the coding process with all research team members to further establish credibility as a consensus about code application was needed.

Consistent with CGT best practices (Charmaz, 2014), coding team members participated in reflexivity and analytic memoranda throughout the research process. All coding team members documented and discussed their social positioning, assumptions, biases, and personal reactions throughout all stages of the study (Morrow, 2007). In particular, coding team members intentionally discussed the influence of their racial identity and racial identity development, the centrality of White supremacy in U.S. culture and the research process, and the international cultural experiences of many coding team members on the research process. Coders also discussed how the intersection of other identities (i.e., sexual orientation, gender, and socioeconomic status) with their racial/ethnic identity shaped the lens through which they made meaning of the data. Similarly, we challenged one another's assumptions of what constituted racial allyship based on our personal experiences and academic training. One member of the coding team was also a focus group facilitator. Throughout coding meetings, the team frequently discussed how their participation in the focus groups and the coding process could provide both additional insight and potential for bias. The positionalities, biases, assumptions, and areas of less

awareness that were the most salient for researchers are noted in Table 1.2 along with strategies used to account for these biases in the research process.

Results

Core Category: Commit Fully to Allyship

Participants defined racial allyship through a conceptual model that described six domains of ally characteristics. The category that was at the core of our data was participants' desire for allies to commit fully to racial allyship. Analogous to Helms' White racial identity theory (1992), committing fully to allyship included an emotional investment that called for allies to move beyond the intellectualization of allyship towards a deep life-long commitment to liberation that is grounded in compassion, self-examination, and authenticity. In every focus group, participants asserted that allies cannot pick and choose when to be an ally but must focus on racial justice in all actions possible. London, a 22-year-old Black woman, succinctly summarized how she expected allies to support all aspects of racial justice: "If you're going to be an ally, you have to be 100% in, not halfway into certain causes."

Participants also noted that racial allies make their allyship visible by engaging in anti-racist behaviors across all platforms and spheres of influence in their life. While responding to what actions allies can take, Tasha A., a 21-year-old Black woman, described several different platforms and roles for racial allies:

> Advocating on social media, creating petitions, speeches at certain conferences, just being out there, being in the parks, or going to the national level. It's just being out there, putting yourself out there. At any and every event you can, to get people on your side and the people that you do have on your side, keeping them, keeping their attention, giving them direction. Just having a plan.

Committing fully to allyship consisted of six categories: (1) Relationship Building, (2) Engaging in Action, (3) Critical Awareness, (4) Sociopolitical Knowledge, (5) Accountability, and (6) Communicating and Disseminating Information (see Figure 1.1). Each category subsumed subcategories in which participants identified specific ways that allies can demonstrate a commitment to their respective categories with examples of representative participant quotes (See Table A.1 for additional sample quotes). The categories, and their constituent subcategories, are presented in order of participant endorsement.

Relationship Building

BIPOC in our sample indicated that racial allies take the time to build relationships with individuals who are racially and culturally different from themselves. Accordingly, participants reported that allies surround themselves with BIPOC in their immediate and extended social networks. Many participants identified that relationship building was critical to establishing trust and safety with BIPOC individuals and communities. Relationship Building subsumed five subcategories of interpersonal strategies critical to establishing trust and safety with BIPOC: (1) Practice Empathy (n = 40)[4], (2) Practice Humility (n = 32), (3) Recognize Common Humanity (n = 21), (4) Recognize Differences (n = 17), and (5) Respect Boundaries (n = 13).

Practice Empathy

Participants indicated that allies try to understand BIPOC perspectives and nuanced experiences. For example, allies can sit with difficult emotions that BIPOC may experience due to experiences of marginalization including powerlessness, hopelessness, and frustration without minimizing or immediately moving to problem-solving. Participants described that allies work to come from a place of understanding when building ally relationships. When describing the most significant attribute of a racial ally, John Doe, a 22-year-old Black man, stated:

[2] *n*'s represent the number of times each code was applied throughout the focus groups.

> A strong sense of empathy, because you got to be able to understand whatever troubles any minority group may be facing, and whatever struggles they're facing. You got to be able to understand it, be compassionate towards it. I think empathy is pretty important for that.

Many participants noted that empathy and understanding were the foundation of other allyship characteristics and skills. Some, like Angel, a 20-year-old Asian American woman, described further that without empathy and relational support, racial allyship is impossible, "It's just really about understanding and being able to relate. If you just don't have that, then becoming an ally or being thought of as an ally is just out of the question. It's not possible."

Practice Humility

Similarly, participants reported that a defining component of racial allyship is practicing humility. Participants explained that racial allies do not hold themselves in high regard. Rather, racial allies remain open-minded and refrain from judging people or situations. JMath, a 21-year-old Black man, reported:

> A behavior that a racial ally should have is humility. Not be arrogant or be boastful... Don't try to have power over us or like belittle us… Not just go in and boss people around…You got to be humble as if you are with us, and don't try to put yourself above us.

JMath's response demonstrates that often White individuals can engage in racial justice work in ways that perpetuate paternalism, replicate racial hierarchies, and continue to cause harm. Instead, many participants noted that racial allies do not think or act in ways that convey superiority over BIPOC. Others agreed that, when racial allies engage in racial justice work, they

do not think of themselves as "heroes" or "saviors." Instead, allies have an intrinsic value for equality and, as a result, treat others with respect, dignity, and fairness.

Recognize Common Humanity

Participants wanted allies to understand that, as humans, we all have shared experiences. Korra, a 23-year-old Asian American woman, stated, "We're all in this boat together. We're all just doing our own thing, trying to do the best we can in life." Many participants conveyed a similar message as Korra, suggesting that allies can connect with BIPOC through a sense of "shared humanity." Participants named a moral or human obligation to combat interpersonal and systemic racism. For example, Asia, a 23-year-old Black woman, succinctly advised allies to "behave as though we are all humans." Asia's quote coincided with other participants' statements that conveyed a desire to be treated as equals due to a shared identity as human beings.

Recognize Differences

Just as participants expected allies to recognize the commonalities between them, they also wanted racial allies to recognize the differences in their experiences. Participants shared personal stories about allies in their lives who acknowledged the cultural differences between them and pointed out the harm of viewing differences as divisive or through a "color-blind" ideology. Evelyn, a 34-year-old Black woman, even defined a racial ally as "someone who recognizes ethnicity, the color of my race… doesn't necessarily say 'I don't see color' because I feel like that is the reason why things are the way they are. Because we do need to recognize it." Participants expected allies to acknowledge and celebrate the differences between BIPOC and themselves.

Beyond differences between allies and BIPOC, many participants also described that allies recognized that BIPOC are not a monolithic group. Although the word intersectionality did not

explicitly come up in focus group discussions, several participants shared that strong allies are aware that an individual's multitude of identities can intersect with their racial identity in unique ways. As such, their experiences of racism are also interlocked with other forms of systemic oppression (e.g., sexism, heterosexism, and classism). Buttercup, a 26-year-old Black woman, had this advice to allies:

> I would say you have to talk about gender, too… For example, Caucasian men see African American men as a threat, not just their household as far as interracial dating but also for jobs. Also, there's a huge percent of African American men that are in jail for literally pointless reasons...with women and men, it's all different.

Buttercup was acutely aware of how gendered racism was occurring in her community and affected Black men and Black women in different ways. She made clear in focus group discussions that racial allies also need to ground their understanding of racism in an intersectionality framework. Many participants further reported that, given the vast amount of diversity within the BIPOC population, allies do not generalize one individual's perspective or culture to all individuals within this group.

Respect Boundaries

Participants noted the importance of setting appropriate boundaries when working with racial allies. Accordingly, participants described that racial allies respect the personal and cultural boundaries of BIPOC in allyship. For example, Maryam, a 20-year-old Black and Latine woman described:

> I feel like experience and knowledge are separate things. You can be knowledgeable about it [racism], knowing what the problem is, why it happens, but you'll never experience

> it…like giving birth. You can learn about it, study it, the body, or whatever, but you won't truly know the pain that a woman goes through unless you yourself give birth.

Maryam's powerful use of birth as a metaphor illustrates the clear boundary between allies' knowledge and the lived experiences of BIPOC. Several other participants stated that allies respect cultural boundaries around humor, knowledge, and interpersonal behaviors and do not engage in behaviors or actions that are not appropriate for White individuals.

Engage in Anti-Racist Action

Participants called for racial allies to orient their knowledge of racial injustice to specific actions and activities that promote racial equity. They provided examples of allies who take the initiative by engaging in anti-racist behaviors or actions across multiple settings and levels. Participants described that allies take action in the following ways: (1) Stand Up Regardless of Consequences (n = 49), (2) Use Privilege as a Tool (n = 26), (3) Share Resources (n = 11), and (4) Work Within the System (n = 8).

Stand Up, Regardless of Consequences

Participants reported that racial allies are willing to stand up against racism and racial discrimination irrespective of the possible negative consequences they may face as a result. For example, many participants described that racial allies must address racism with their friends and families despite possible ruptures in these relationships. Other participants identified that allies must be willing to sacrifice their comfort, finances, and even their physical safety. Standing up for racial justice also included attending protests, marches, and demonstrations. As Laila, a 21-year-old Black woman explained:

> Like with Martin Luther King, they were doing those sit-ins, and they had the White people doing it with them, they were willing to get beat on and spat on and cursed out, and

> during the marches, they were willing to get hosed down. You have to be willing to handle whatever that race is handling as well.

As indicated by Laila's quote, participants discussed that racial allies are willing to make their support visible and endure similar hardships and injustices that many BIPOC encounter while fighting for racial equity.

Use Privilege as a Tool

The participants in our study described how allies can use their racial privilege to intervene when their majority identity can be a tool to keep BIPOC safe or help them be heard. Riley, a 21-year-old Black woman, described how a White ally in her life helped de-escalate a situation in which the police pulled over her and her friends:

> There was two other friends in my car, and it was a White guy in the passenger seat, and the Black guy got pulled over, and the officer was coming up to the driver side, and my White friend just immediately started talking to [the officer], and it really just de-escalated the whole scene, honestly.

Analogous to Riley's quote, many participants explained that racial allies intervene in potentially harmful situations between the police and BIPOC specifically. Other examples of racial allies using privilege as a tool included physically protecting BIPOC protestors, and racial allies using their phones to record instances of racism or police brutality.

Share Resources

Participants indicated several ways that racial allies share access to material and nonmaterial resources with BIPOC. Some participants discussed that allies donate to anti-racist causes and organizations or directly to BIPOC individuals and communities. Alison, a 21-year-old Black woman, suggested, "If someone is down in hard times because of unjust circumstances,

give what you can. Whether that's money or a job opportunity." Alison's response indicates that allies can give access to opportunities as well as monetary resources.

Similarly, participants noted that allies share resources such as insight, networks, influence, and spaces with BIPOC. Evelyn discussed the stress that she experienced due to "code-switching" from her true cultural self in predominately White spaces. "If minorities didn't have to code-switch…you know, just to make them [White people] feel comfortable, that would be great for allies to explore." Like Evelyn, other participants noted that allies share access to comfort, power, and control with BIPOC by intentionally creating spaces inclusive of BIPOC voices, perspectives, people, and culture.

Work Within the System

Participants described that racial allies take actions that affect change within the larger political system. Allies find and create opportunities to address racism beyond individual actions and join efforts at community and systemic levels to create lasting and widespread racial equity. For many participants in our sample, working within the system meant voting. John, an 18-year-old Middle Eastern man, stated:

> One thing that's important, whether it be white allies or other [racial] minority allies, is voting for what's right and actually getting out and voting. Because here in America, not nearly as many people vote as they should. A lot more people should be voting, and a lot of people can't vote because of laws that have been passed…But if people start voting at higher rates from local levels up, then that's something that can be changed, and we can get those racist people and laws out of the way, and then a lot more people can have their voices heard.

John's response indicates that he recognizes the many systemic barriers to voting that BIPOC communities face. He, as well as other participants, called on racial allies to show up to vote and to vote in alignment with racial justice values. Other examples that were discussed included voting for candidates that promote racial justice, engaging in political careers, supporting BIPOC political candidates, and supporting anti-discrimination legislation.

Critical Awareness

BIPOC in this study reported that racial allies must utilize a critical lens to interrogate what they know and how they have come to know it. Participants discussed that racial allies must have a robust understanding of themselves as a cultural and racial beings. Moreover, racial allies demonstrate that awareness in their interactions with others outside of their racial group. We identified four subcategories within Critical Awareness with two subcategories specific to types of awareness: (1) Awareness of Self (n = 24) and (2) Awareness of Privilege (n = 16), and two subcategories emerging as critical awareness practices: (3) Critically Consume Information (n = 13), and (4) Challenge Racist Socialization (n = 12).

Awareness of Self

Participants collectively described how racial allies are aware of their own cultural identities and worldview, as well as their intentions and impetus for engaging in racial justice work. For example, Alison shared:

> I feel like oftentimes people do things to get attention…not necessarily because they care, but because they don't want other people to view them as being such a bad person. But if your intention is wrong, then you can't really be a good ally because you don't genuinely care about the person or the cause...Some people do it to prove things to themselves that they aren't as bad of a person, or they aren't racist.

Like Allison, many other participants further identified that racial allies are genuine about their intentions with others, particularly with BIPOC. Participants urged racial allies to be true to themselves and remain authentic in their interactions with BIPOC. For many participants, authenticity, as an extension of self-awareness, was an essential component of allyship that appeared in every focus group discussion with our sample.

Awareness of Privilege

In addition to awareness of self, participants identified that allies must be aware of how privilege operates in U.S. society. Participants reported that allies are aware that privilege equates to social power, and they understand how disproportionate levels of power impact lives. Allies recognize the unearned privilege that White individuals hold and how society is structured to benefit White people, norms, and culture. Participants shared examples of how White privilege, or the lack thereof, impacted their jobs, education, policing in their communities, and the ability to receive adequate healthcare.

Indeed, participants explained that racial allies are mindful of differences in power and privilege within their environments, relationships, and institutions. Alison reiterated as such by stating, "I think to be a successful ally, you have to be conscious of your privilege in just day to day things that you do that you may not realize affect people of color or have an impact." Other participants shared that allies are willing to learn and confront the complexities, consequences, personal benefits, harm to others, and systemic impact of their unearned privileges.

Critically Consume Information

Participants also proposed that allies are motivated to unlearn false and racially biased narratives. BIPOC in our sample indicated that racial allies search out counternarratives through books, research, art, and storytelling centering BIPOC experiences and perspectives. Many focus

group discussions centered on the biased nature of mainstream media and the current historical perspectives perpetuated in education. Diamond, a 23-year-old Black and Latine woman, explained:

> I would expect an ally to know history, and hopefully accurate history, because sometimes what they teach us is a lie. A big, bold-faced lie. And be able to do research, obviously. Not always believe everything that people say, right? Just have good judgment.

Diamond's quote highlights a desire for racial allies to put effort into developing discernment regarding culturally biased information. Some participants reported that racial allies should be engaging in regular fact-checking and source-checking to better scrutinize the media for biased reports. Other participants identified that allies are reflective and apply a critical lens to what they learn, who benefits from the narratives they are told, and alternatives to the current narratives that perpetuate White supremacy.

Challenge Racist Socialization

Participants in our sample shared examples of how White individuals can interact with members of their own and other racial groups in ways that can often perpetuate racism. Indeed, participants shared painful experiences of when White individuals were unaware of how their racist thinking and actions impacted BIPOC. In contrast, participants discussed that racial allies actively work to challenge the misrepresentations, stereotypes, and biases that they hold. Diamond reported:

> White people only have to know or care about what they want to know or care about… I'm actually nine months pregnant, and I was just walking around the grocery store with a basket. And there was this old White lady in the aisle too. And this lady walked up to me, looked me dead in my eyes, and asked me do I work here? Did you just ask me that just

> because I'm the only Black person you see right here?...A lot of times with White people, they don't care to even think about it because they've never had to...For allies, you have to break out of that box.

Diamond's response was similar to other participants' responses who expected White allies to think critically about their White socialization and not treat BIPOC in ways that perpetuate racial hierarchies, stereotypes, or prejudices. Others discussed that allies understand that there is a plurality of experiences beyond "White people knowledge," and that the cultural narratives of Whiteness are not universal to all people.

Sociopolitical Knowledge

Sociopolitical Knowledge consisted of the current and historical knowledge that BIPOC deemed to be crucial to allyship, particularly as it relates to culture, racial inequities, and social movements. Two distinct subcategories emerged within Sociopolitical Knowledge: (1) Cultural Knowledge (n = 35) and (2) Knowledge of Oppression (n = 17)

Cultural Knowledge

BIPOC in our sample reported that racial allies take the time to learn about different cultures and communities outside of their own. Participants emphasized that knowledge of the history, language, religious beliefs, interpersonal norms, and values of a community are critical to joining in allyship. JMath explained:

> I think, for an ally, some skills would be to travel to a different country, to be able to speak the language or try to learn the language or get acquainted to the religion of the place and also the culture because without knowing the type of culture or religion, you're just going to go into whatever country or whatever group you're trying to support without

> any knowledge of who they are, what they are about, or even the situation that you're trying to fight for. You're not going to know anything about it.

Because of the dynamic nature of culture, many participants shared that they wanted racial allies to engage with the culture of those they are allied with in an ongoing basis. Many participants' responses indicated that they wanted allies to fully immerse themselves in other cultures so that they may be better able to relate to both the struggles and the strengths of BIPOC communities. Some participants even noted that acquiring such knowledge was a sign of respect and commitment to allyship.

Knowledge of Oppression

As a counterpoint to reporting an awareness of privilege as being important, participants stated that racial allies are knowledgeable about the systemic and social inequalities BIPOC face due to racism. Consequently, allies are aware of the impact of racism on structures such as education, employment, and housing. Others shared that allies are acutely aware of the oppressive forces that are impacting specific communities. For example, many of the Black participants shared stories about the police brutality they have encountered or witnessed and urged allies to have critical knowledge about the history of policing and Black communities before taking informed action.

Many participants also identified that racial allies need to have an understanding of the historical role of White supremacy, slavery, and colonization on current societal structures and hierarchies. Fred, a 21-year-old Black man, explained:

> White allies probably need to have a lot more integrity when it comes to acknowledging the history of, not just the U.S. in particular, but the world when it comes to the oppression of racial groups…the history of colonization essentially.

Fred directed White allies not only to be knowledgeable about the historical context of White supremacy, but to acknowledge the harm caused to many BIPOC communities around the world. Finally, participants further identified that racial allies know what racism looks like at more interpersonal and implicit levels. They described that racial allies can recognize the discriminatory, unjust, and prejudicial treatment of others at both overt and more insidious levels (i.e., microaggressions).

Accountability

BIPOC individuals in our sample stressed that racial allies hold themselves and their actions accountable. Indeed, the actions of racial allies are answerable to BIPOC communities and others in ally partnership. Accordingly, participants described racial allies as reliable and dependable. In addition to being accountable to BIPOC, participants stressed that racial allies were responsible for holding one another accountable to their anti-racist practices. Accountability included three subcategories: (1) Perseverance (n = 15), (2) Collaboration (n = 14), and (3) Receptive to Feedback (n =10).

Perseverance

Participants described that racial allies understand that liberation does not occur overnight or emerge from small and inconsistent actions. Racial justice requires time and perseverance, necessitating racial allies to be tenacious and steadfast in their anti-racist work. Giselle, a 22-year-old Black woman expressed as such when sharing what she perceived to be the most important quality in a racial ally:

> There's years of suppression that this country has, and it's not going to be easy. It's going to take years to even get close to where we want to be. I just read the other day that the last segregation law that was outlawed was just 55 years ago. My grandparents were alive

> during that time, so it's going to take a long time, and you have to understand that this is a fight. And also, you can't be sensitive, because if you're an ally for us, you're going to be understanding and seeing the worst that we deal with. And it's sad, but you can't let that hinder your progress. You got to keep going.

Giselle's description encapsulates the quintessence of this subcategory that despite the hardships or difficulties, an ally is prepared to fight for racial justice until liberation is fully realized.

Collaboration

Collaboration with BIPOC emerged as another accountability structure defined by our sample. Several participants expressed that allies understand the importance of community and collaboration in racial justice work. Allies recognize that sustaining racial equity requires a focus on collective efforts as opposed to individual actions. As a result, allies are accountable to the communities they serve. Furthermore, participants identified that White allies need the knowledge, experiences, and leadership of BIPOC to engage in meaningful racial allyship to affect change. For example, Tasha B., stated:

> There's always going to be some type of differences— that this particular race may not do what this particular race does. But when it comes to allyship, it's races coming together…like, what are your strengths, what are our strengths and how do we come together as a team to make, I guess this sounds so cliché, the world a better place.

Tasha B.'s response highlights the significance of racial allies partnering with BIPOC communities to address racial inequality. However, many participants specified further that racial allies do not center themselves or their needs in the process of collaboration. John Doe further

clarified that racial allies should not be the loudest voice in racial justice movements, nor do they speak for BIPOC:

> I would say that racial allies should also know they should be a supportive voice, but they shouldn't be the main voice…A lot of times, people in the majority can become louder. They can become the main voice of the minority cause, and if they say something that's not necessarily accurate, it doesn't necessarily reflect what the minority thinks. It could give the wrong message out and give the opposite of what the minority may want.

Receptive to Feedback

Participants identified that racial allies are able to receive feedback without resorting to tears, defensiveness, or over-personalization. While distinguishing between friends and allies, Korra emphasized how allies in her life can accept direct feedback from her when they say something that may be offensive. "If something does come up like that, I'll check him, like, 'that's not okay,' and he'll say, 'Oh, I'm sorry. I'll try to keep that in mind next time'...And when you check them, they learn from it." Notably, many participants acknowledged that allies will make mistakes. However, racial allies are responsible for learning from these mistakes and implementing changes in behavior based on feedback.

Similarly, many participants shared that they expected racial allies to be reflective of the feedback that they receive and willing to acknowledge their mistakes. Fred indicated that racial allies need to sit with feedback before being moved toward action or repair. When describing skills that racial allies practice, Fred stated:

> Realizing when you're wrong in a situation, realizing that you've messed up and you can go ahead and go forward to try and fix it, but it would only make the situation worse. You have to take a step back and look at the situation from their [BIPOC] point of view.

Fred's response demonstrates a clear example of the sense of urgency that is characteristic of White culture and can limit the ability for racial allies to be introspective and intentional in their allyship with BIPOC (Okun, 2000).

Communicating and Disseminating Information

BIPOC in our sample shared several ways that racial allies can communicate and disseminate anti-racist information. Participants observed that the racial allies in their lives were willing to engage in conversations about culture, race, and racism at personal and institutional levels. Moreover, racial allies leaned into what they did not know by authentically engaging in these often emotionally difficult conversations with people both within and outside their racial group. We identified two subcategories from the data: (1) Demonstrate Effective Communication Skills (n = 22) and (2) Educate Others (n = 10).

Demonstrate Effective Communication Skills

Participants reported that racial allies employ several effective communication strategies in their anti-racist work. Some participants emphasized that racial allies are outspoken, or explicit and direct in their communication regarding racism and racial justice. Especially when speaking to individuals who hold power, participants described that allies can speak with confidence and hold their ground. Many also stressed the importance of allies being able to clearly communicate their thoughts and ideas. PH, a 41-year-old Latine man, stated, "I think you have to be a very good communicator, very well-spoken, somebody that can make themselves understood very easily, especially with, obviously, the other race they're being allied with."

Like PH, many of the BIPOC in our sample described communication skills that would signify an alliance grounded in trust and safety for BIPOC. For example, they described that racial allies maintain open communication and transparency with those with whom they are

allied. Others explained that allies are able to differentiate between moments when they should speak and moments when they should be quiet and listen. Furthermore, participants explained that allies need to be able to communicate without causing harm. In cases where trust has already been established, some participants suggested that racial allies take opportunities to ask questions of BIPOC individuals in a respectful manner and when appropriate.

A few participants expressed that racial allies possess leadership skills and professionalism. Although the term *leadership skills* was used, every participant defined leadership skills by the previously outlined communication strategies (e.g., direct and clear communication; speaking confidently to individuals in power). For example, Asia explained, "I think leadership skills would be very beneficial in order to make a difference…like a voice. So, someone that can talk about it effectively and get the point across and help others see from a person of color's perspective." Similarly, other participants described professionalism as being able to communicate points effectively to individuals in positions of power and being able to speak critically and credibly about racial inequalities and system reformation. Thus, leadership skills and professionalism were considered alternative terms for using effective communication strategies.

Engage Others

Participants shared that racial allies were expected to engage others in anti-racist actions in order to create and sustain more racial allies. Participants suggested workshops, discussion groups, book clubs, and community engagement projects as meaningful ways to educate other individuals on how to support the liberation of the BIPOC community. Group discussions highlighted examples of White allies actively challenging others to recognize their privilege, and

to become more aware of the consequences and realities of those privileges. During a conversation on the role of White allies, Jamaal, a 21-year-old Black man, stated:

> They use their privilege as a vessel to get information out, and for other people of the same race to see things differently and see things from a different point of view…because sometimes when somebody that's like you is telling you about something, you're more receptive to it.

Jamaal's response indicates that White folks may be more responsive to learning about White supremacy from other White individuals. Therefore, some participants explicitly stated that racial allies are responsible for educating other White folks. Alternatively, other participants maintained that racial allies should be calling in both White and BIPOC individuals to engage in anti-racist work.

Discussion

The present study expands upon and extends the current literature on racial allyship by providing a comprehensive model of White allyship from the perspective of BIPOC. Our sample described White allyship as a lifelong commitment to (1) Relationship Building with BIPOC, (2) Engaging in Anti-Racist Action, (3) Developing Critical Awareness, (4) Building Sociopolitical Knowledge, (5) Demonstrating Accountability, and (6) Communicating and Disseminating Anti-Racist Information. Importantly, this study is the first to our knowledge to utilize qualitative methods to comprehensively describe White allyship from the perspective of BIPOC empirically. It is also notable that every characteristic identified in our review of theoretical and empirical interdisciplinary literatures on racial allyship, and discussed in the introduction, were represented in our study (e.g., Case, 2012; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Williams & Sharif, 2021), providing empirical support for these qualities and actions with a BIPOC sample.

Central to our definition, White allyship was described as committing to a lifelong process, not a destination. Most responses were framed as a consistent set of ongoing actions and interactions that signified to participants that this individual was indeed an ally. This can especially be seen in the core category Committing Fully to Allyship. Foundational theories to racial allyship (e.g., White racial identity theory; Helms, 1984) and empirical studies on racial allyship (e.g., Case, 2012) have also found that allyship should be considered a lifelong process.

Consistent with previous literature, Relationship Building with BIPOC emerged as a key characteristic of racial allyship (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Case, 2012; DeTurk, 2011; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Spanierman et al., 2017). However, unique to our study was the salience of Relationship Building as a defining characteristic of allyship compared to anti-racist actions. Relationship Building was the most endorsed category within our sample, demonstrating the importance of cross-cultural relationships as a transformative action in itself. Although exposure to racially diverse people is noted as a significant factor in allyship development literature (Munin & Speight, 2010), this approach positions BIPOC as objects to facilitate White learning. Instead, our sample emphasized the necessity of building lasting relationships with allies based on trust and mutual understanding.

Empathy and Humility were the two most influential factors within Relationship Building as evidenced by the number of times participants discussed these key characteristics. While this is not surprising given that both are foundational qualities of allyship identified in the literature (Gonzalez et al., 2015; Munin & Speight, 2010; Spanierman et al., 2017), BIPOC also reported that White allies can respect boundaries and simultaneously recognize the common humanity and differences between them. Within the domain of Relationship Building, participants emphasized that White allies can simultaneously recognize the unique differences between BIPOC and

themselves as well as their shared humanity. However, White allies must be careful to not overidentify with the experiences of BIPOC. Historically, White individuals have used the assumption of a universal human experience to further marginalize BIPOC by denying their unique experiences of oppression. For example, phrases like "all lives matter" are one manifestation of color-evasive racism in which Whites deny racial injustices or inequalities by emphasizing sameness (Annamma et al., 2017; Neville et al., 2013). Moreover, some studies have found that some White allies believe they can empathize with BIPOC's experiences of racism due to their own experiences of oppression through other identities (e.g., Case, 2012). However, one form of oppression is not synonymous with another (Boushel, 2000), particularly given the relentless nature of racism in American society (Delgado & Stefanic, 1993). Indeed, participants even called for a recognition of their cultural differences and integration of intersectional awareness. White allies with other marginalized identities can instead use the context of their own oppression to conceptualize intersectional approaches to disrupting racism (Case et al., 2020; Spanierman & Smith, 2017).

In line with the researchers' critical inquiry framework, participants also expected White allies to practice Critical Awareness. Surprisingly, a general self-awareness of one’s identity and motivation for engaging in allyship was discussed considerably more often than awareness of privilege. Many participants, like Alison, discouraged White people from joining in allyship to “prove they aren’t racist.” This is consistent with Helm's (1992; 2008) seminal work that argues allies should not operate from the pseudo independence, or White liberal, status of White racial identity development in which they try to appear as a “good” White person.

One particular nuance to our findings was that participants included specific practices for how they wanted allies to engage in Critical Awareness. BIPOC encouraged allies to consume

information about racism and racial identities critically and urged allies to challenge their racist socialization. Prior research has outlined some aspects of White racial socialization, including denial of the significance of race, promotion of current racial hierarchies, aversion to being perceived as racist, and promotion of a color-blind ideology (Bartoli et al., 2016). While Spanierman and Smith (2017) acknowledged that White allies may not be able to expunge racial socialization from their consciousness completely, participants in our study urge racial allies to spend considerable time reflecting on the impact of these practices on themselves and others.

As characterized by our participants, and consistent with previous literature, allyship requires the integration of both internal work such as developing knowledge and awareness, as well as system reformation strategies (Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Helms, 1993). One cannot exist without the other. Many White individuals focus on "listening and learning." While this is a necessary part of the process, direct and immediate actions are often overlooked. White learning should not overshadow the immediacy of transformative actions needed to prevent racial violence against BIPOC. Namely, Standing Up in the Face of Racism Regardless of Consequences was the most discussed subcategory. Some participants did acknowledge the costs of interrupting racism for White allies. For example, White individuals may be ostracized for breaking racial solidarity (Moon, 1999). Despite this, there is a clear consensus in allyship literature that racial allies leverage their privilege to promote racial equity and take consistent and deliberate actions to dismantle racism (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Case, 2012; Kivel, 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017).

Our findings on Accountability also build upon previous activist and academic literature by explicating three accountability structures: Perseverance, Collaboration, and Receptiveness to Feedback. A recurring theme throughout the focus groups was the disappointment in White individuals who show up to fight for racial justice only when it is a trending topic or convenient

task (i.e., performative allyship; Kutlaca & Radke, 2022). Participants expressed a desire for racial allies to hold themselves accountable to the long-haul fight toward racial justice. Racial allyship also necessitates emotional stamina as allies must be willing to accept criticism as a gift when collaborating with BIPOC.

Lastly, our qualitative results support previous findings that allies engage in conversations regarding race and demonstrate effective communication skills (Munin & Speight, 2010). Indeed, having conversations about Whiteness and racism help to increase the visibility of White supremacy as a means to dismantle it. Some participants reported that allies must be able to speak credibly about racial inequalities to people in positions of power, emphasizing the consolidation of other ally skills such as acquiring sociopolitical knowledge and critically consuming information. Our findings also indicated that White allies must use their communication skills to educate other White people. Previous research on racial allyship has consistently highlighted the importance of engaging in anti-racist work within the White community as both a means to educate others (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Spanierman et al., 2017) and to connect with other White anti-racists to sustain allyship work (Bishop, 2002; Case, 2012).

Limitations

This study should be interpreted in light of some limitations. First, despite our goal to recruit racially and culturally diverse participants, our sample was predominately Black and lacked diversity in other participant identities such as sexual orientation, age, and gender identity. It is likely that the intersection of other privileged and marginalized identities with one's racial identity would allow for a greater diversity of experiences and perceptions of racial allies. Furthermore, BIPOC in our sample were attending a predominately Black serving university in a predominately Black metropolitan area. Thus, our categories do not generalize to the experiences

of *all* BIPOC. However, generalizability is not the goal of qualitative research (Hays & Singh, 2011). Instead, I argue the findings of the current study are transferable to the experiences of other BIPOC given the significant overlap with previous allyship literature across multiple contexts (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Similarly, the knowledge, social positioning, and experiences of both the participants and researchers shaped and influenced each stage of the research process. As a result, this study's findings are limited by the subjectivities of those involved, despite intentional efforts by the research team to challenge such subjectivities.

Although not necessarily a limitation, it should also be noted that data was collected prior to the large-scale Black Lives Matter protests and rallies that ensued after the death of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and many others. As this research should be interpreted within the specific sociopolitical context in which it was developed, it is possible that there may be nuances in expectations for allyship characteristics after such events specific to White individuals working to eradicate anti-Black racism that were not captured at the time of this study. Despite these limitations, our rigorous analytic procedures and trustworthiness measures bolster the confidence in our findings and implications.

Implications for Counseling Psychology

Psychologists have an ethical obligation to first, *do no harm* (American Psychological Association [APA], 2017). Equipped with the empirical and scientific knowledge that racism causes harm to our clients (e.g., Carter, 2007), there is an ethical imperative for psychologists to orient their work towards dismantling racism and White supremacy. As noted previously, counseling psychology has positioned itself to be a community of leaders fighting to eradicate racism (Hargons et al., 2017; Singh, 2020). However, counseling psychology is still a predominately White field with 54.86% of all counseling psychology students and 70.21% of all

faculty identifying as White (APA, 2020). In other words, clients and students of color are more likely to be paired with White therapists, supervisors, and mentors. Thus, in conjunction with continued recruitment and retention of psychologists of color, racial justice training aimed at White individuals is needed (Hargons et al., 2017). White ally training and development may be one avenue to meet this call in our profession. Indeed, understanding and promoting racial allyship is aligned with our discipline's emphasis on social justice, multiculturalism, prevention, and advocacy (Piertse et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2019; Vera & Speight, 2003). If we are to truly live up to these ideals and commit our discipline to collective liberation, White counseling psychologists must strive to infuse allyship in their research, training, clinical work, and advocacy.

Research

There are several research implications based on the findings of the current study. First, future qualitative research can examine the nuances between different types of allyship dynamics and contexts (i.e., friends, coworkers, activists). Differences in desired allyship characteristics, or saliences of the already identified characteristics, between specific cultural groups may also be a fruitful area for further exploration. While there may be significant overlap, there may also be nuances in how different cultural groups of BIPOC perceive and expect White allies to participate in contextualized racial justice movements.

In addition, the model co-created by the researchers and participants of this study can be utilized to create a measure of White allyship that more fully operationalizes this construct. Although measures of aspects of racial allyship exist (e.g., Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory [Pieterse et al., 2016]; Interpersonal Racial Allyship Scale [Williams & Sharif, 2021]), they do not account for all the aspects of racial allyship identified in our study. Only one other empirical

study has attempted to create a scale based on BIPOC perspectives of racial allyship (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). However, due to the wording of their interview questions, Brown and Ostrove did not explicitly delineate the qualities of White allies. Additionally, their scale appears to have considerable overlap with general friendship qualities (i.e., my friend is interested in what happens to me). Thus, a more robust measure of racial allyship from the perspective of BIPOC is needed and could be developed based on the findings of this study. Such an assessment tool can be utilized in a multitude of ways including assessment of White counseling psychology trainee's readiness to engage in research and practice with BIPOC in a way that centers racial justice.

Training

Cross and Reinhardt (2017) note the serendipitous nature of individuals within counseling psychology becoming allies in their response to *The Counseling Psychologist*'s special issue on White allies. The current model of White allyship can be incorporated into trainings and used as a tool on college campuses to bring catalyst opportunities of ally development to students instead of their development being triggered by the harm of BIPOC. Findings from Spanierman and colleagues (2008) support this hypothesis by demonstrating that participation in formal diversity experiences, like outreach programming on racial allyship, predicted higher levels of appreciation for diversity even after controlling for entrance diversity attitudes. More broadly, this model of White allyship can be incorporated into a myriad of trainings that engage interpersonal and/or systemic change (not just diversity-focused trainings). Discussions of white allyship and how White individuals can better engage racial equity can be integrated in trainings on mentorship, organizational climate, interpersonal effectiveness, or any other trainings that occur in multicultural spaces.

This framework for understanding racial allyship can also be integrated into racial identity sections of multicultural counseling courses. Students would benefit from critical discussion of White racial socialization practices that are imbued in the field of counseling psychology and academic institutions more broadly. However, multicultural coursework may have a short-term impact on developing White trainees' multicultural awareness due to a lack of engaging students on these topics throughout the entirety of their training (Atkins et al., 2017; D'Andrea et al., 1991). Thus, an allyship model developed from the perspective of BIPOC can provide students opportunities to learn beyond classroom walls by examining and discussing their allyship, or experiences with allies, in long-term racial affinity groups or supervision dyads to complement course material. Racial affinity groups in which White people and BIPOC engage in racial justice work separately (and often times come back together) have demonstrated positive outcomes for White individuals to develop anti-racist identities and for BIPOC to engage in conversations that promote healing (Goodman, 2011; Pour-Khorshid, 2018). As counseling psychology has explicitly committed to dismantling anti-Blackness within our institutions recently (Society of Counseling Psychology Executive Board, 2020), this model can be used to facilitate ongoing discussions among White students and colleagues about their role in dismantling anti-Black racism. Much like an affinity group, White counseling psychologists can gather to explicitly discuss and assess areas of strengths and weaknesses in their ally development utilizing the categories developed by BIPOC from this study to further their critical consciousness.

Clinical

Along with other indicators, assessing racial allyship of White trainees may be useful to assess their readiness to work with multicultural concerns and BIPOC clients. Many White psychologist trainees can be exposed to conversation about systemic racism for the first time

through their clients of color, leaving them unprepared to discuss and identify systemic oppression with those clients. However, if discussions of allyship characteristics are included in supervisory and training experiences, this may prevent White therapists and trainees from engaging in topics or interventions that can cause harm. Countless studies have demonstrated that White counselor's racial identity development can affect their multicultural competence (e.g., Johnson & Jackson, 2015) and their ability to form a productive working alliance with a client (e.g., Burkard et al., 1999). Allyship development considers an individual's racial identity development and other critical components that can allow for therapeutic relationship building. For example, our subcategories of empathy, humility, effective communication skills, respecting boundaries, openness to feedback, and recognizing differences have all been identified as skillsets of effective therapists (Wampold, 2011). Ultimately, further research on White allyship in a therapeutic context is needed to address these implications.

Notably, the categories that emerged from our study build upon the Multicultural Counseling Competences (MCCs; Arredondo et al., 1996; Sue et al., 1992). For example, critical awareness maps onto MCCs awareness domain as defined as an understanding of one's own cultural conditioning and how this affects your interactions with others (Sue & Sue, 2012). Likewise, our construct of sociopolitical knowledge is akin to the MCC's knowledge component, wherein a culturally competent therapist is knowledgeable of the contexts and worldviews of others (Sue & Sue, 2012). Our racial allyship model can be used in conjunction with MCCs to further develop and assess White psychologists and psychology trainees in establishing trust and safety with their clients of color. In addition, utilizing our model for discussion and assessment of White counselors can also benefit their White clients. Creating space for White clients to discuss their Whiteness and how they feel in relation to other White individuals and BIPOC can be a

healing experience and is aligned with participants' desires for White allies to address facets of White supremacy with other White individuals.

Advocacy

Unlike the MCC model, BIPOC in our sample called for White allies to engage in individual and systemic actions to disrupt racism and promote equity. There have already been several calls within counseling psychology to expand our roles as counselors to include advocacy strategies to impact systemic change for our clients (e.g., Hargons et al., 2017; Toporek et al., 2006; Vera & Speight, 2003). Counseling psychologists who engage in advocacy must also engage in self-reflectivity and would benefit from utilizing the insights of BIPOC in our study when engaging in anti-racist actions.

Our findings indicated that more White allies should consider sharing psychosocial resources such as comfort, safety, and security. Within academia and other predominately White institutions, activism engagement that disrupts the status quo of White hegemonic norms can be particularly risky for many BIPOC who also have to grapple with the personal effects of those harmful norms. BIPOC may also be at a higher risk of consequences when confronting racist policies or colleagues (Robinson, 2013). As such, White allies within these institutions need to be vigilant about advocacy opportunities to take on that risk rather than passing that burden to their colleagues of color.

At the community level, counselors and counseling psychologists have been called to use their strengths and training to identify and address issues of oppression (Ratts et al., 2010). White allies can use the broader framework of the American Counseling Association's (ACA) Advocacy Competencies in conjunction with the current study's model of racial allyship to explore racial advocacy opportunities across multiple levels (i.e., individual, community, and public; Ratts et al.,

2010). For example, collaboration as defined by our sample aligns with the Community Collaboration domain of the ACA Advocacy Competencies in which counselors can develop alliances with communities and groups working for change, identify and respect strengths and resources of a community, offer skills that a counselor may bring to the collaboration, and develop and accurate assessment of the counselor's interaction with the community (Toporek et al., 2009). Furthermore, calls for counseling psychologists to engage in political careers and use our research and skills to lobby for racial justice initiatives are aligned with BIPOC participants' desire for White allies to engage in systemic actions to address racism.

Conclusion

By centering the perspectives of BIPOC in characterizing racial allyship, our findings complement previous research on White ally development and point to several avenues through which White counseling psychologists, and White individuals across all disciplines and spaces, can continuously build on their racial allyship. As articulated by our participants, allyship is not a self-proclaimed identity but instead a lifelong process that necessitates consistent confrontation of White supremacy both within and outside of oneself as well as a valuing and centering of cultivating community with BIPOC. Freire (1972) maintained that the oppression of one is tied to the oppression of all, and only in solidarity and fellowship can there be true liberation. I contend that racial allyship as described in this study is one of many paths toward collective liberation.

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Table 1.1
Participant Demographics by Focus Group

FG	Name	Age	Gender	Race	Nationality	Sexual Orientation	Social class
1	Evelyn	34	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Middle
	Korra	23	Woman	Asian	American	Lesbian/Gay	Middle
2	Riley	21	Woman	Black	American	Bisexual	Upper middle
	Ryan	20	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Working
	Asha	25	Woman	Black	Somali	Heterosexual	Working
	Laila	21	Woman	Black	American	Bisexual	Working
	Jmath	21	Man	Black	Ghanaian	None reported	Middle
3	Ali	22	Man	Asian	American	Heterosexual	Upper middle
	Maryam	20	Woman	Black & Hispanic/Latine	American	Heterosexual	Working
	Alison	21	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Upper middle
4	Buttercup	26	Woman	Black	Nigerian	Heterosexual	Middle
	Neha	23	Woman	Asian	Bengali	Heterosexual	Middle
	London	22	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Middle
5	Diamond	23	Woman	Black & Hispanic/Latine	American	Heterosexual	Working
	PH	41	Man	Hispanic/Latine	Uruguayan/ American	Heterosexual	Working
	Muny	41	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Working
	Tasha A.	21	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Middle
6	Jamaal	21	Man	Black	American	Heterosexual	Working
	Brian	21	Man	Asian	Taiwanese	Heterosexual	Middle
	John Doe	22	Man	Black	Nigerian/ American	Heterosexual	Middle

FG	Name	Age	Gender	Race	Nationality	Sexual Orientation	Social class
	Angel	20	Woman	Asian	Korean American	Bisexual	Middle
	Calvin	21	Man	Black	American	Heterosexual	Lower
7	Asia	23	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Lower
	Giselle	22	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Upper middle
	Tasha B.	20	Woman	Black	American	Heterosexual	Upper middle
8	John	18	Man	Middle Eastern	Iranian American	Bisexual	Working class
	Lena	21	Woman	Asian	American	Heterosexual	Middle
	Fred	21	Man	Black	Nigerian	Heterosexual	Upper middle
	Alia	20	Woman	Asian	American	Heterosexual	Working

Note. FG = Focus group. All demographic information is self-reported.

Table 1.2
Positionality of Coding Team Members

Team Member	Salient Identities	Key biases, assumptions, areas of less awareness	Strategies used to account for key biases, assumptions, and diminished awareness
Casey Hinger	White, queer, cisgender woman, educationally privileged, Counseling Psychology Doctoral Candidate	White privilege and indoctrination in academia created diminished awareness around participant narratives and how allyship is discussed and critiqued outside of academic spaces; Desire to work as a racial ally resulted in personalized reactions to the data and coding process	Memoed to help identify assumptions, process personal reactions, and ensure consistency in coding practices; recruited racially diverse research team; encouraged challenging of white privilege and practices reflective of white supremacy culture (i.e., challenged self to take less of a "leader" oriented role in the coding process).
Rebecca Gwira	Black, Ghanaian American, able-bodied, straight, cisgender woman, from middle class family, Counseling Psychology Doctoral Student	Bias: skeptical about performative actions from White allies; Assumed there would be shared skepticism of whiteness with other POC in study; Low insight to racial trauma in participants' sharing; negative bias for potential of positive experiences with allies.	Always referred discussion back to the transcript for participant's exact wording to avoid having biases around my experiences with performative allyship guide interpretation; Openly discussed skepticism of performative allyship with team;
Madison Lord	White, straight, cisgender woman, able-bodied, from middle class family, Clinical Mental Health Master's Student	Undergoing process of unpacking my unearned privileges (i.e., white privilege); fears of being perceived as performative resulted in gaps in awareness and personal reactions in coding	Note-taking throughout the coding process to facilitate more open and reciprocal conversations during group dialogue; Welcomed feedback in discussions; Sought out ongoing conversations outside of academic spaces to continue challenging observed/unobserved biases; Further immersed in allyship literature.

Team Member	Salient Identities	Key biases, assumptions, areas of less awareness	Strategies used to account for key biases, assumptions, and diminished awareness
Jordan Mike	Black, Bahamian, African, American, cisgender, straight, man, Clinical Mental Health Master's Student	Caribbean identity and upbringing at times limits knowledge of historical context of racism in the U.S.; Biases against the intentionality of White providers; Unfamiliar with allyship literature	Kept a journal of coding process, thoughts, and feelings during coding; Regularly consulted and sought feedback in group to ensure all participants' data was being analyzed consistently and the themes accurately represented the voices of the participants; Engaged in allyship literature to better understand current study.
Ngoc Tran	Cis-gender, queer, Vietnamese American, immigrant, Clinical Mental Health Master's Student	Unpacking internalized racism against Asian Americans and other BIPOC folks, which includes the need for proximity to whiteness; less awareness around my privilege across different contexts, (e.g., being able-bodied), moving SES over the years, and being cis-gender.	Acknowledging both salient identities and identities of privilege during researcher process; Discoursed with other researchers to understand how differing experiences are viewed through different lenses; Deconstructed and challenged previous meaning making of allyship by centering the participants' experiences and keeping notes on interpretations of the data.
Arash Punjwani	Asian, Pakistani, immigrant, straight, cisgender, man, college educated	South Asian lens on allyship led to less awareness of other BIPOC experiences with allies; Assumptions of racism by White people; Assumption of allyship as an enactment of white savior complex.	Note-taking during the coding process to better understand some of the nuances of allyship described by participants; Check understanding of data and coding through discussion with diverse team members; Spent time with data to recognize variance in how BIPOC view white privilege and allyship

Note. Table format from Mosley et al., 2020.

Figure 1.1
Allyship Characteristics Defined in Chapter 1

CHAPTER 2: DEVELOPMENT AND INITIAL VALIDATION OF THE RACIAL ALLYSHIP CHARACTERISTICS SCALE

Over the past several decades, the importance of dismantling systemic racism and uprooting White supremacy has been a targeted focus of multicultural scholars within counseling psychology (e.g., Hargons et al., 2017; Helms, 1993, 1995, 2008; Singh, 2020). Systemic racism is the pervasive social and institutional stratification system dependent on maintaining White supremacy by ascribing oppression to Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) and dominance to Whites (Neville & Pieterse, 2009). Despite claims that we live in a post-racist society, our hierarchical understandings of race are more embedded and fixed in American systems and culture than ever before (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017). Extensive empirical evidence associates racism with an array of detrimental psychological outcomes for BIPOC, including psychological distress, depression, anxiety, and traumatic stress symptoms (e.g., Carter, 2007; Pieterse et al., 2012). Given counseling psychology's dedication to multicultural issues in research and practice, the eradication of racism within our field and beyond aligns with our profession's values of social justice, advocacy, and prevention (Pieterse et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 2019; Vera & Speight, 2003).

There is increasing literature on the role of allies in dismantling interlocking systems of oppression. Historically, the term ally was first used when describing someone who identifies as heterosexual and works to align themselves with the social and political causes of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer groups (Jones et al., 2014). More broadly, an ally is defined as "a member of a dominant group who works to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based upon their social group membership" (Broido, 2000, p.3). Regarding the fight for racial justice, racial allies are White individuals committed to dismantling White supremacy. While activist organizations and multicultural scholars have detailed the

importance of racial allies and some desired components of allyship, most of this work has either been theoretical (e.g., Goodman, 2011; Kivel, 2017), or focused exclusively on White perspectives of their ally development (e.g., Reason et al., 2005; Smith & Reddington, 2010).

Review of Racial Allyship Characteristics

Given that an "ally" is not a self-prescribed identity that White individuals get to claim, Hinger and colleagues (2023) conducted a qualitative study that examined the defining characteristics of racial allies as described by BIPOC. A primary finding was that the BIPOC participants identified a dedication to a lifelong process of learning and commitment to racial justice as a hallmark of racial allyship. Racial allies make their allyship visible by centering racial equity across all settings in their lives (Hinger et al., 2023). This commitment to allyship is demonstrated across six dimensions. Each dimension of racial allyship is defined below with examples and parallels to previous literature on racial allyship.

Relationship Building

It is well established that experiences with others who are culturally different from oneself are a critical factor in prejudice reduction and the initial stages of ally development (Allport, 1954; Munin & Speight, 2010; Broido, 2000; Reason et al., 2005). However, to engage in genuine allyship, White individuals must establish meaningful relationships with BIPOC built on trust and accountability (Brown, 2015a; Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Goodman, 2011; Hinger et al., 2023; Kivel, 2017; Suyemoto et al., 2021). Manifestations of White racial socialization practices (i.e., White superiority and indifference to racism; Bartoli et al., 2016) can often be deterrents to ally relationship building. To combat this, White allies and BIPOC in allyship have spoken about the importance of White individuals intentionally practicing empathy and humility in their interactions with BIPOC (Gonzalez et al., 2015; Hinger et al., 2023; Munin & Speight, 2010). Indeed, one subscale of the Perceptions of Ally Characteristics Scale (PACS; Brown &

Ostrove, 2013) is exclusively dedicated to friendship qualities of allies such as building a connection and practicing humility (i.e., being nonjudgmental), highlighting the significance of relationship-building in allyship dynamics.

BIPOC participants in Hinger and colleagues (2023) study also expected allies to engage in relationship building by embracing the similarities they share with BIPOC as human beings while also respecting the personal and cultural boundaries of BIPOC individuals and communities. Allies are asked to recognize the limits of their knowledge by prioritizing BIPOC lived experiences when discussing their culture, racism, and oppression (Hinger et al., 2023). Relatedly, allies work to build relationships with BIPOC individuals and communities by celebrating individual and cultural differences as opposed to endorsing a color-evasive ideology (i.e., a post-racial perspective emphasizing sameness as a means to deny the existence of racism; Annamma et al., 2017; Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Neville et al., 2000; Hinger et al., 2023). Moreover, allies are able to recognize the myriad of identities and experiences that can intersect with one's racial identity and do not tokenize the perspective of one BIPOC person to all individuals within that group (Hinger et al., 2023).

Engaging in Action

Orienting one's knowledge of injustice toward anti-racist actions is arguably one of the most defining characteristics of a racial ally and is mentioned in almost all studies on allyship (e.g., Alimo, 2012; Broido, 2000; Bishop, 2002; Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Munin & Speight, 2010; Reason et al., 2005; Spanierman et al., 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Anti-racist actions are defined as any intervention that seeks to end racial oppression and disrupt White supremacy (Kendi, 2019; Kivel, 2017). For example, White allies are committed to using their racial privilege as a tool to promote equity and amplify BIPOC voices (Hinger et al., 2023; Goodman, 2011). Participants in Hinger and colleagues' (2021) study specifically called for

White allies to stand up against racism in all settings, regardless of physical, financial, relational, or other consequences.

Anti-racist actions also consist of disrupting the White hegemonic status quo (Case, 2012; Kivel, 2017). For instance, sharing material (e.g., money, career opportunities, and networks) and non-material resources (e.g., power, comfort, and control) with BIPOC can be a transformative action at the interpersonal and institutional level (Hinger et al., 2023). Similarly, allies can work within the larger political system by voting for candidates and policies aligned with racial equity, engaging in political careers with racial justice platforms, and/or supporting BIPOC political candidates (Hinger et al., 2023; Pieterse et al., 2016).

Critical Awareness

People from privileged identities are often allowed, or even encouraged, to remain unaware of their impact on others to maintain the status quo (Miller, 1976). As such, White allies must interrupt such privileges by enacting an ongoing process of self-reflection and demonstrating their awareness of themselves as cultural beings in their interactions with others (Case, 2012; DeTurk, 2011; Hinger et al., 2023; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Indeed, this has been echoed by scholars in allyship research (e.g., Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Spanierman et al., 2017; Williams & Shariff, 2021; Suyemoto et al., 2021) and related fields such as critical Whiteness studies (e.g., Yeung et al., 2013) and racial identity studies (e.g., Helms, 1995, 2017). Furthermore, allies are aware of their impetus for engaging in anti-racist work and are transparent and genuine about those intentions with others. Allies must then compound this general awareness of self with an awareness of how power and privilege operate in their lives. To indeed be an effective racial ally, one must have a heightened understanding of their privilege and learn to confront the complexities and systemic impact of those unearned privileges (Hinger et al., 2023).

Two unique strategies for developing critical awareness were suggested by participants in Hinger and colleagues' (2023) study. First, BIPOC participants exacted that White allies critically examine their White racial socialization. White allies are tasked with unpacking the ways in which they engage with BIPOC and other White people that sustain racism, such as promoting a color-evasive ideology (Bartoli et al., 2016). Second, White allies critically consume the media, history, and any other narratives that exclude BIPOC perspectives or glorify Whiteness, so they may gain comprehensive perspectives and sociopolitical knowledge (Hinger et al., 2023).

Sociopolitical Knowledge

Acquiring knowledge of racial issues is a distinguishing element of racial allyship. Most allyship studies underscore the necessity of exposure to new information about race, racism, privilege, and oppression (e.g., Broido, 2000; Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2015; Reason et al., 2005; Roades & Mio, 200; Smith & Reddington, 2010). Equally critical to allyship is knowledge of a community's history, language, norms, and values (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Hinger et al., 2023). The two subcategories in Hinger and colleague's (2021) larger theme of sociopolitical knowledge (i.e., knowledge of culture and knowledge of oppression) demonstrate that allies should have a robust understanding of not only the pain and subjugation BIPOC communities have suffered but also the cultural richness, joy, and resilience they continuously exhibit.

Accountability

In conjunction with previously stated characteristics, allies hold themselves and their actions accountable to BIPOC and one another until liberation is fully realized (Hinger et al., 2023). One step to aid allies in establishing accountability is practicing receiving feedback without resorting to defensiveness, over-personalization, or tears (Hinger et al., 2023). Similarly,

collaboration and working in solidarity with BIPOC is a defining accountability strategy of racial allies across the scholarly literature (Boutte & Jackson, 2013; Goodman, 2011; Kivel, 2017; Spanierman & Smith, 2017). To be considered allies in collaboration, White individuals cannot center themselves or their voices in their racial justice work or assume that they know what is best for communities of color (Hinger et al., 2023; Kivel, 2017). By doing so, White allies can perpetuate harmful paternalistic tendencies that reinforce the dynamics of White supremacy (Jones & Okun, 2001; Trepagnier, 2010).

Communicating and Disseminating Information

Finally, BIPOC described that racial allies are responsible for communicating and disseminating anti-racist information (Hinger et al., 2023). For example, BIPOC described that allies must demonstrate effective communication skills, such as clearly and confidently communicating their thoughts and ideas, identifying when they need to speak up or listen, asking questions when needed, and speaking without causing further harm. While communication skills have been a less discussed quality of allyship in the literature, other studies centered on White allies' experiences found similar results that allies are generally outspoken and confident (Munin & Speight, 2010; Broido, 2000). Further, allies are tasked with educating others about how to support the liberation of BIPOC communities. Using the privilege of their Whiteness as a means of connection, White allies continually engage other White folks in conversations about race, racism, and ultimately, work to create more allies (Case, 2012; Hinger et al., 2023). Indeed, scholars and activists have continuously urged White allies to go into their own communities to dismantle racism (e.g., Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967).

Measuring Racial Allyship

While the studies identified in the review of ally characteristics above are critical in understanding racial ally development, the generalizability of studies with small samples (i.e., *n*

= 12 – 29) is limited. More quantitative research with larger sample sizes is needed to elucidate factors linked to being an ally, make comparisons across groups, and evaluate White ally development and training programs. To conduct these studies, a theoretically supported and psychometrically sound quantitative measure of racial allyship is needed. Unfortunately, only a limited number of validated scales exist that assess constructs of racial allyship. For example, Pieterse, Utsey, and Miller (2016) created the Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI), which measures awareness of racism and individual and institutional anti-racist behaviors. However, there are additional characteristics of allyship, such as relationship building (Hinger et al., 2023) and White racial identity development (Helms, 1995, 2017), not captured by the ARBI. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Carter & Helms, 1990) and the White Privilege Attitude Scale (Pinteritis et al., 2009) measure foundational components of allyship such as White racial identity development and awareness of White privilege. However, neither scale emphasizes anti-racist actions, or the relationship-building components detailed in allyship literature (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Hinger et al., 2023). Similarly, while a general measure of social justice attitudes, values, and behaviors exists (i.e., the Social Justice Scale; Torres-Harding et al., 2012), the broad nature of the measure may not adequately capture the nuances of White allies combating racism.

To our knowledge, only two measures have attempted to capture racial allyship specifically. The Interpersonal Racial Allyship Scale (IRAS) is a unidimensional 10-item scenario response-based measure for interracial interactions (Williams & Sharif, 2021). The IRAS evidenced strong psychometric properties, internal consistency, and convergent validity in the development study (Williams & Sharif, 2021). While this scale presents a novel approach to allyship assessment, the items specifically focus on addressing microaggressions and other subtle forms of racism. Additionally, the items focused exclusively on Black-White interactions. Thus, the scale fails to extend its utility to allyship dynamics between White allies and other BIPOC

individuals, nor does it assess White allies' confrontation of more overt and systemic forms of racism—a defining characteristic of racial allyship (Hinger et al., 2023).

Brown and Ostrove (2013) created the 10-item Perceptions of Ally Characteristics Scale (PACS) to assess the characteristics of outgroup allies from the perspective of BIPOC. Their scale consisted of two subscales: the Informed Action subscale assessing an ally's initiative in addressing racial issues *(*e.g., *My friend is active in racial/ethnic groups other than his or her own*) and the Affirmation subscale assessing a perceived positive relationship between the participant and ally *(*e.g., *My friend creates a feeling of connection with* me). The scale was created initially as an informant scale by asking BIPOC to rate others and was later adapted into a self-report version. However, some methodological concerns identified during scale development may have curtailed more expansive utilization of the scale outside of the two studies with the original authors (Brown, 2015a; Ostrove & Brown, 2017). First, the qualitative study that informed item development of the PACS asked BIPOC individuals to "identify characteristics of a specific person outside of their racial group with whom they felt comfortable, who understood what they experienced, and who treated them well" (Brown & Ostrove, 2013, p. 2213). The broad wording of this prompt allowed for considerable overlap with general constructs of affiliation and friendship that may not be generalizable to how BIPOC individuals conceptualize racial allies on a broader scale. Additionally, BIPOC in their sample were not asked to exclusively identify White allies in their responses. Instead, participants were asked to rate a "friend who was not a member of their racial group," allowing participants to include individuals from other BIPOC racial groups. Indeed, in the sample used to examine the initial factor structure of the PACS, only 56% of nominated allies were White; thus, the results do not directly address the calls in extant theoretical and empirical literature detailing the distinct role

and responsibilities of White allies in dismantling systemic racism and White supremacy (e.g., Helms, 1995, 2017; Kivel, 2017; Munin & Speight, 2010; Spanierman & Smith, 2017).

The Current Study

To date, most research on racial allyship has either been theoretical in nature or has centered exclusively on the perspective of White allies themselves. Furthermore, while measures exist that assess specific facets of racial allyship, only one study has attempted to develop a quantitative measure of racial allyship from the perspective of BIPOC individuals (i.e., the PACS; Brown & Ostrove, 2013). However, the PACS was intended to measure allyship characteristics of both White and BIPOC allies, potentially obfuscating the unique and distinct role of White individuals in the fight against White supremacy (e.g., Helms, 1995; Munin & Speight, 2010). If researchers hope to propel further racial allyship research on a larger scale, a robust quantitative measure is needed.

Given that the critical characteristics of allyship as defined by BIPOC have been detailed in previous studies (i.e., Hinger et al., 2023), a more robust self-report measure of White allyship, informed by the aforementioned dimensions of allyship, can be created. Although self-report measures can be prone to socially desirable responding (Tracey, 2016), they can also allow for larger sampling and be used as a tool for self-assessment. For example, a self-report measure of racial allyship can assist White allies in assessing their own strengths and weaknesses in allyship development to motivate further insight and lessen the burden of education on the BIPOC individuals in their lives. Furthermore, we may be able to better approximate racial allyship by using a scale composed of items informed by research on BIPOC's experiences with racial allies as opposed to White allies' perceptions of themselves. Thus, the purpose of the present study is to create a validated and comprehensive self-report measure of White allyship developed from the perspective of BIPOC. Utilizing the allyship dimensions presented by Hinger

and colleagues (2023), the construct of racial allyship is intended to measure six dimensions: Relationship Building, Engaging in Antiracist Action, Sociopolitical Knowledge, Critical Awareness, Accountability, and Communicating and Disseminating Anti-Racist Information. Accordingly, the author hypothesizes a six-factor solution will be retained through factor analyses and validity testing across two studies.

Study 1: Item Creation, Expert Review, and Exploratory Factor Analysis

Study 1 has four goals: (1) initial item development and expert review of the preliminary RACS, (2) an item analysis of the RACS with a pilot study, (3) assessing the association of RACS item means to a measure of socially desirable responding, and (4) examining the factor structure and internal consistency of the retained RACS items with exploratory factor analysis (EFA).

Item Development of the Racial Allyship Characteristics Scale (RACS)

The author created a pool of 175 items to assess allyship characteristics informed by the themes that emerged from Hinger and colleagues (2023) study that examined BIPOC's perceptions and definitions of racial allies (i.e., building relationships, engaging in antiracist action, developing critical awareness and sociopolitical knowledge, demonstrating accountability, and communicating and disseminating antiracist information). Items utilized similar language and examples from the BIPOC participants in Hinger and colleagues (2023) study. All items were kept at or below a 9th-grade reading level. Items were created using only a positive valence. Although this provides the possibility of agreement or affirmation bias, previous research has found that adding negative valance items may confuse the participants (Devellis, 2017). Moreover, different valence items often have markedly reduced correlations, even after reverse coding, compared to scales with the same valence items (Devellis, 2017).

The directions for the measure states: “Below is a set of statements on race, racism, and your experiences with Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) as a White person. Please be open and honest about your perspectives. There are no right or wrong answers. For each of the statements below, indicate how much you agree with each statement below from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).” The full set of point descriptors included 1 (*strongly disagree*), 2 (*disagree*), 3 (*slightly disagree*), 4 (*slightly agree*), 5 (*agree*), and 6 (*strongly agree*). The authors chose a 6-point scale due to evidence suggesting that the psychometric quality of a measure increases up to six response options (Simms et al., 2019). Additionally, an even number of scale points was chosen so that participants were forced to make some commitment to a positive or negative response to best avoid equivocation.

Expert Review

Two experts in racial justice scholarship and multiculturalism and one expert in scale development reviewed the initial item pool for feedback on item clarity, construction, readability, content validity, and provided suggestions for deletion or expansion of items. Following similar guidelines to Neville and colleagues (2000), the experts rated each item using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all appropriate or clear*) to 5 (*very appropriate or clear*) and were given an opportunity to provide qualitative feedback for each item. Based on expert feedback, items rated between 1 and 3 were revised or dropped. After the initial expert review, 117 revised items remained. Then, five members of the original coding team from Chapter 1 and specialize in social justice research, conducted a final review of the items for content, clarity, and appropriateness utilizing identical review procedures. The final item pool consisted of 82 items.

Pilot Study

Participants and Procedure

After the expert review of items, the author conducted a pilot study for item analysis utilizing the initial set of RACS items. Scholars have recommended a minimum of 30 representative participants in scale development pilot studies (Johansen & Brooks, 2010). Thus, a sample of 45 White undergraduate students were recruited through an undergraduate research pool at a large public university in the Southeastern region of the United States (U.S). A college sample was utilized because college has been identified as a crucial time in ally development (Broido, 2000; Brown & Ostrove, 2013).

Inclusion criteria for the pilot study included (1) be over the age of 18 and (2) identify as White/ Non-Hispanic/Latine. Prior to participation, all research participants were administered an informed consent that provided the details of the study, including the study purpose, inclusion criteria, procedure, and compensation (i.e., research course credit). Participants were then asked to confirm the eligibility criteria before being directed to the survey. Twelve participants were removed from analyses for not self-identifying as White. The remaining 33 participants in the pilot sample was made up of 18 cisgender women (54.5%) and 15 cisgender men (45.5%). Participant ages ranged from 18 to 68 (M = 24.39, SD = 10.71). The sample was predominately heterosexual (27, 81.8%) with 4 individuals' identifying as bisexual (12.1%), 1 as gay/lesbian (3.0%) and 1 as pansexual (3.0%).

Pilot Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics and item distributions of the preliminary set of RACS items were examined for normality and measures of central tendency utilizing Weston and Gore's criteria (2006; skewness < |3.00| and kurtosis < |10.00|). Two items presented with a kurtosis above the cutoff (RACS 17 = 12.97 and RACS 68 = 12.66). Although not eliminated at this stage due to the small sample size, these items were marked to examine more thoroughly in the EFA sample. All other items were within the specified criteria for measures of central tendency.

At this stage the range of correlations between anticipated subscales ranged from .32 to .66. McDonald's coefficient Omega (ω) is used as a more robust measure of internal consistency than Cronbach's alpha because it does not require the same restrictive assumptions (e.g., tau equivalence; Hayes & Coutts, 2020) as Cronbach's alpha. In the pilot study, coefficient ω ranged from .75 (Accountability) to .94 (Engaging in Antiracist Action). All mean inter-item correlations were within the specified range (> .20 or < .40; Piedmont, 2014), except for Relationship Building (.58) and Anti-Racist Action (.47) indicating that items within these subscales exhibited more overlap. In addition to these analyses, minor wording changes were made to 10 items as a result of participant feedback on item clarity and conciseness. For example, the word *systemic* was removed from the phrase *systemic racism* in two items. Likewise, *racial injustice* was changed to *racism* in two items.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Participants and Procedure

After the pilot study, 321 participants who self-identified as White were recruited across two universities for initial scale validation utilizing the same inclusion criteria and procedure. A sample of 138 White undergraduate students were collected from University 1 in a major metropolitan urban area in the Southeastern region of the U.S. This public university enrolls approximately 35,000 students with about 63% of the enrollment consisting of undergraduate students and 45% of those students as being traditional college age (i.e., 18-21). The student body at University 1 is 40% Black/African American, 22% White, 16% Asian/Asian American, and 12% Hispanic/ Latine, 6% Multiethnic, and 4% International (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2020b). Another sample of 183 White undergraduate students were collected from University 2, which is located in a large suburban neighborhood on the Southwest Coast of the U.S. The public university enrolls approximately 40,000 students with about 73% of the

enrollment consisting of undergraduate students and 43% of those students being classified as traditional college age. The undergraduate student body of University 2 is 52% Hispanic/Latine, 23% White, and 11% Asian/Asian American, 9% International Students, and 5% Black/African American, and 3% Multiracial (NCES, 2020a). Samples from these two universities were combined to capture a greater variability of allyship engagement across White college students from different contexts in the U.S. Of the 321 individuals who completed the survey, 20 were removed from analyses because these individuals did not identify as White (10 from each university).

Regarding examination of data quality, three attention check items were placed throughout the survey (i.e., *please select strongly disagree*). Additionally, participants were asked a dichotomous (*yes*/*no*) validity check at the end of the survey (i.e., *In your honest opinion, based on the attention and effort you put into this survey, should we use your responses in our study? You will receive study credit regardless of your answer!*). There is evidence to suggest that such a self-report indicator of data quality can be useful in low-stakes, anonymous situations such as undergraduate research pools (Curran, 2016; Meade & Craig, 2012). To best identify careless and insufficient effort responding, participant data were reviewed through sequential criteria including (1) response time (minimum of two seconds per item), (2) meeting two out of three attention check points, (3), long strong analysis (string of consistent responses equal or greater than half the length of the total scale), (4) significant Mahalanobis distance calculations for outlier detection, (5) and self-report of data validity (Curran, 2016; Huang et al., 2015). All the identified criteria were reviewed in concert so that any one marker did not determine the use or elimination of a participant from the data set (Curran, 2016). A total of 26 participants (17 University 1 and 9 University 2) did not meet multiple criteria identified above and were removed from analyses to reduce error and potential threats to replicability. Thus, a total of 275

participants were included in the final sample for study 1. Participant demographics for Study 1 are reported in Table 2.1.

Measures

Racial Allyship Characteristics Scale (RACS). The preliminary 82-item RACS was used for analyses in Study 1.

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Short From-16 (BIDR-16). The BIDR-16 (Hart et al. 2015) was adapted from the BIDR (Paulhus, 1998), a standard measure in counseling psychology for assessing socially desirable responding across two dimensions: impression management and self-deception enhancement (Blasberg et al., 2014; Tracey, 2016). The 8-item Self Deceptive Enhancement (SDE) subscale (e.g., *I have not always been honest with myself*) measures an honest but overly positive self-presentation. The 8-item Impression Management (IM) subscale (e.g., *I never coverup mistakes*) measures the conscious presentation of oneself in a socially desirable manner. Participants are asked to respond to item statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 7 (*very true*). Subscale scores are totaled with one point added for scores of 6 or 7, with higher scores indicating a greater tendency to respond or portray oneself in a manner that conveys an overly positive self-image (Hart et al., 2015).

With samples of college students, the IM subscale coefficient alpha has ranged from .69 (Hart et al., 2015; Sacco & Brown, 2019) to .74 (Wong et al., 2019). The coefficient ω for the current sample was .65. For the SDE subscale, coefficient alphas have ranged from .69 to .72 with college samples (Shea et al., 2019; Wong et al., 2019). The coefficient ω for the current sample was .61. Although internal consistency estimates have not consistently exceeded .70, the internal consistency of the BIDR-16 is comparable to the original BIDR-40 (Hart et al., 2015). Both the IM and SDE short form subscales evidenced convergent validity by demonstrating a positive association with other social desirability scales and exhibited strong test-retest reliability

after a 2-week period (SDE: r = .74, IM: r = .79; Hart et al., 2015). Additionally, the long form SDE subscale has demonstrated a positive association with unawareness of racial privilege with an all-White sample (Gushue et al., 2017). Where SDE is capturing a lack of awareness that is a critical component of ally development outlined in the literature (i.e., Case, 2012; DeTurk, 2011; Hinger et al., 2023; Spanierman & Smith, 2017), IM captures a conscious decision to distort one's views depending on the context or audience (i.e., responding to socially charged topics such as racism). Thus, both constructs could have implications for accurately identifying and scoring allyship characteristics.

EFA Results and Discussion

Before exploratory factor analyses, data were examined for missingness, normality, and suitability for analysis. Across the data set, there were less than 1% total missing data (0.38%) with the RACS items 9 and 49 having the highest number of missing data (3 cases: 1.1%). Covariance coverage ranged from .98 to 1.00 indicating relatively inconsequential amounts of missingness. Given the low levels of missingness and constraints of the current sample size, the author chose to utilize participant mean substitution to handle item-level missing data. With small amounts of missing data (less than 10%), individual mean substitution is considered an acceptable choice for handling missing data (Parent, 2013).

Utilizing criteria from Weston and Gore (2006), all RACS items met the specified criteria for skewness and kurtosis (skewness < |3.00| and kurtosis < |10.00|). Skewness ranged from -.05 (RACS 25) to -2.16 (RACS 13). Kurtosis ranged from -.003 (RACS 43) to 6.16 (RACS 9). The assumption of multicollinearity was adequately met as no correlations were greater or equal to r = .85 (Weston & Gore, 2006). Twelve multivariate outliers were identified utilizing Mahalanobis distances; however, given that these participants met all other validity checks, their responses were included in the final analyses. At this stage, RACS item means were correlated

with the BIDR-16 SDE and IM subscale scores. Item correlations with SDE ranged from absolute values of .001 (RACS 7) to .17 (RACS 36). Item correlations with IM ranged from .001 (RACS 24) to -.27 (RACS 36). These correlations indicated that there were no strong relationships between any of the RACS items and socially desirable responding. Finally, Bartlett's test of sphericity (χ^2 [1378, N = 275] = 9370.61, p < .001) and the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (KMO = .95) indicated that the data were suitable for analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Prior to the EFA, the item-total correlations were examined to identify items with item-total correlations < .30 (Devellis, 2017). Corrected item-total correlations for all items ranged from .35 (RACS 45) to .82 (RACS 63). Following best practice, multiple criteria were examined to determine the number of factors to retain including Kaiser's rule (i.e., eigenvalues > 1; Kaiser, 1960), parallel analyses with 1000 random samples (Hayton et al., 2004), and a scree plot evaluation (Cattell, 1966). Kaiser's rule suggested 10 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, accounting for 69.71% of the total variance. Parallel analyses with 1000 random samples suggested a four-factor solution that accounted for 58.00% of the total variance. Finally, an examination of the scree plot suggested a three-factor solution accounting for 54.98% of the variance.

Scholars have suggested moving away from Kaiser's rule to determine the number of factors to retain as it often overestimates the correct number of factors (Costello & Osborne, 2004; Fabrigar & Wegener, 2012). Thus, to maintain the theoretical value, interpretability, and applicability of the scale, a 10-factor model was not assessed. Simulation studies have found that a parallel analysis is the most accurate empirical estimate for factor retention (Velicer, Eaton & Fava, 2000). Accordingly, I first extracted a four-factor solution utilizing Principal Axis

Factoring with promax rotation because factors were anticipated to be correlated (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

To determine the number of items to retain in the four-factor model, the interpretability of the factors was considered in conjunction with internal consistency reliability to ensure that the retained items optimally measured the whole construct and conceptual redundancy was avoided (Clark & Watson, 2019). To achieve this, one item was eliminated at a time by examining communalities, inter-item correlations, and pattern coefficients. Generally, items were eliminated if they had a primary loading less than .45 on a factor, a secondary cross loading greater than .32, a cross loading less than .15 difference from the primary factor loading, or a communality less than .35 (Clark & Watson, 2019; Tabachinick & Fidell, 2007; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Although parallel analysis suggested a four-factor model, there were multiple items with secondary factor loadings greater than .32. When these items were eliminated, the remaining pattern of results suggested that a three-factor solution may be more appropriate. A three-factor solution was examined and, after item elimination, provided the simplest structure with theoretically supported factors. A flowchart of item deletion is presented in Figure 2.1. The three-factors accounted for 56.16% of the total variance.

Factor 1 (*eigenvalue* = 11.34, 41.99% *of variance*) was comprised of 13 items with internal consistency estimates as measured by coefficient ω of .94. Factor 1 reflected all the action-oriented items across the domains of allyship represented in the original conceptualization (e.g., Antiracist Actions, Accountability, Communicating and Disseminating Antiracist information). Thus, this scale was labeled Antiracist Actions and Skills. Examples of items on the Antiracist Actions and Skills Subscale include “I collaborate with BIPOC to address racism in my community” and “I educate other White people on how to support BIPOC in fighting

racism." The mean inter-item correlation for Factor 1 was r = .55. Corrected item-total correlations for all items in Factor 1 ranged from .61 (RACS 31) to .83 (RACS 79).

Factor 2 (*eigenvalue* = 2.50, 9.26% *of variance*) was comprised of 8 items with an internal consistency estimates of coefficient ω of .89. Some example items on this factor include, "As a White person, U.S. society is structured to benefit me more than BIPOC" and "I reflect on how my white privilege affects BIPOC." Given that the items in this factor represent the awareness of white privilege as well as areas of less awareness due to one's whiteness, this factor was named Critical Awareness. The mean inter-item correlation for Factor 2 was r = .52. Corrected item-total correlations for all items in Factor 2 ranged from .62 (RACS 37) to .74 (RACS 36).

Factor 3 (*eigenvalue* = 1.33, 4.92% *of variance*) was comprised of 6 items with an internal consistency estimates of coefficient ω of .86. Factor 3 was labeled as Relationship and Community Building as evidenced by items that reflected interpersonal considerations for allies at individual and community levels. Items that loaded onto this factor included "It's important to me to treat BIPOC with respect due to our shared human experience" and "I am comfortable being myself around BIPOC." The mean inter-item correlation for Factor 3 was r = .52. Corrected item-total correlations for all items in Factor 3 ranged from .57 (RACS 10) to .77 (RACS 13). The final factor loadings and means for all items are reported in Table 2.2. All subscale means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between the three factors are presented in Table 2.3.

The hypothesis that the RACS would retain a 6-factor solution consistent with the original model presented by Hinger and colleagues (2023) was rejected. The findings of Study 1 suggest a simplified version of the six dimensions by consolidating the items into a three-factor structure for racial allyship focusing on anti-racist actions, critical awareness, and relationship

building. In addition, McDonald's Omega indicate strong reliability estimates for each of the subscales. Given the exploratory nature of Study 1, Study 2 seeks to replicate the three-factor structure with a confirmatory factor analysis and further examination of construct validity of the RACS.

Study 2: Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Further Validity Testing

Study 2 proposed three goals: (1) to confirm the factor structure of the RACS with confirmatory factor analyses (CFA), (2) to establish construct validity of the measure by examining correlations between the RACS and theoretically related measures, and (3) to establish temporal stability by examining test-retest reliability. Regarding construct validity, given the importance of anti-racist actions in allyship (Hinger et al., 2023), I hypothesize that scores on the RACS will be positively related to the subscale scores of the Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI; Pieterse et al., 2016), a measure of anti-racist behaviors. Similarly, as allyship literature explicitly delineates the harm in perpetuating post-racial, color-evasive attitudes (Brown & Ostrove, 203; Hinger et al., 2023), I hypothesize that the RACS will be negatively associated with the subscale scores of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). As evidence of discriminant validity, I hypothesize that the RACS will not be significantly related to measures of socially desirable responding (BIDR-16 IM and SDE subscales). Regarding temporal stability, I hypothesize that allyship characteristics as measured by the RACS will remain stable as evidenced by significant correlations between time 1 and time 2.

Method

Participants and Procedure

For CFA, there is not strict rule regarding sample size for model estimation because sample size does not depend on a single influence (e.g., size of model, amount of missing data,

distribution of variables, reliability of variables, etc.). Thus, following recommendations from Muthén & Muthén (2002), a Monte Carlo simulation was conducted in *Mplus* Version 8.8 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2022) to determine sample size for Study 2 using the identified parameters in the Study 1 EFA. A Monte Carlo simulation generates a large number of random samples from hypothesized population parameters in which the parameter values and standard errors are averaged across the samples (Muthén & Muthén, 2002). Sample size is then determined by several criteria including (1) parameter and standard error bias (calculated as the absolute value of the difference between the population and the average estimate, then divided by the population estimate), do not exceed 10% for any parameter, (2) standard error bias for the parameter of interest does not exceed 5%, and (3) coverage (i.e., the percentage of replications whose 95% confidence intervals cover the population parameter) remains between 0.91 and 0.98 (Muthén & Muthén, 2002). A minimum sample size is then chosen to keep power above .80 (Cohen, 1992).

For the current study, a sample size of 200 was first assessed. Model estimation was carried out by maximum likelihood under the assumption of normality (Muthén & Muthén, 2002). To ensure stability of the results, 10,000 replications were utilized. All estimated parameters and standard error bias rates were less than .10, suggesting that the estimated values remained sufficiently stable in the Monte Carlo replications. The 95% coverage rates for all parameters were greater than or equal to .94 suggesting that in at least 94% of all the replications, the 95% confidence intervals of the parameter estimation covered the given population parameter (i.e., the EFA parameters). All parameters indicated sufficient power (> .99) with 200 observations. Because the psychometric properties of the RACS have only been examined one time prior, I sought out a larger minimum sample size of 300 to account for

variance from Study 1 parameter estimates and to meet general recommendations for sample size from previous scholars (e.g., Weston & Gore, 2006).

For Study 2, a total of 393 college students were recruited from the same two universities as Study 1 (246 University 1 and 147 University 2) using identical recruitment procedures. In addition, a recruitment email was sent out to university professors to share with their students at both institutions. Students recruited through email were given a link to complete the survey online. Those who completed the survey through the email link were not provided compensation. All participants were required to meet the same inclusion criteria as Study 1.

Of the individuals who completed the survey, 79 (61 University 1 and 18 University 2) participants were eliminated from analyses for failing to complete the survey or missing over 35% of their data. Finally, 9 participants (5 University 1 and 4 University 2) were removed from analyses for failing to meet multiple criteria that detected careless and insufficient effort responding. Thus, a total of 305 participants were included in the final sample for Study 2. The demographics for the Study 2 sample are reported in Table 2.4. Study 2 utilized an identical procedure as Study 1. Participants were also given the option to include their email at the end of the survey to participate in the test-retest phase of the study two weeks after data collection.

Measures

RACS. The 27-item RACS was utilized in Study 2 to confirm the factor structure, establish convergent and discriminate validity, and temporal stability. Reliability estimates in Study 2 of the Antiracist Actions and Skills subscale ($\omega = .93$), Relationship and Community Building subscale ($\omega = .91$), and the Critical Awareness subscale ($\omega = .86$) demonstrated acceptable internal consistency.

BIDR-16. The BIDR-16 (Hart et al., 2015) IM and SDE subscales were included as a measure of discriminant validity. For Study 2, coefficient ω was .66 for the SDE subscale and .66 for the IM subscale.

Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory (ARBI). The ARBI (Pieterse et al., 2016) is a 21-item measure consisting of three subscales: the 9-item Individual Advocacy (e.g., *I interrupt racist conversations and jokes when I hear them in my family*), the 7-item Awareness of Racism subscale (e.g., *It bothers me that my country has yet to acknowledge the impact of slavery*), and the 5-item Institutional Advocacy subscale (e.g., *I volunteer with anti-racist or racial justice organizations*). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Three subscale scores are derived from the ARBI, with higher scores indicating higher anti-racist behavior. With samples of White college students, Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranged from .78 to .80 for the Individual Advocacy subscale, .79 to .88 for the Awareness of Racism subscale, and .76 to .82 for the Institutional Advocacy subscale (Pieterse et al., 2016). All three subscales of the ARBI have evidenced construct validity by demonstrating significant positive correlations to anti-discriminatory attitudes and significant inverse correlations with color-evasive racial attitudes (Pieterse et al., 2016). For the current study, the coefficient ω were .89 (Individual Advocacy), .90 (Awareness of Racism), and .85 (Institutional Advocacy).

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). The CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000) is a 20-item measure that consists of three subscales: Unawareness of Racial Privilege (e.g., *White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin* [reverse scored]), Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (e.g., *English should be the only official language in the United States*), and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (e.g., *Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today*). Items are rated on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 *(strongly agree*). Items are totaled to compute three

subscale scores with higher scores indicating greater color-evasive racial attitudes. With White samples, Cronbach's alphas for the Unawareness of Racial Privilege (.80 to .84), Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (.76 to .79), and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (.61 to .75) have been in acceptable ranges (Gushue & Constantine, 2007; Neville et al., 2000; Pieterse et al., 2016). The CoBRAS subscales have demonstrated construct validity by an inverse relationship with awareness of racial privilege (Pinteritis et al., 2009) and a significant relationship with discriminatory attitudes (Pieterse et al., 2016). For the current study, the coefficient ω were .89 (Unawareness of Racial Privilege), .87 (Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination), and .84 (Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues).

Results and Discussion

Preliminary analyses to assess univariate and multivariate normality, multicollinearity, and outliers were handled identically to Study 1. All RACS items met the specified criteria for skewness and kurtosis with skewness ranging from .04 (RACS 25) to -1.88 (RACS 11) and kurtosis ranging from .005 (RACS 38) to 4.62 (RACS 9). The assumption of multicollinearity was adequately met as no correlations were greater or equal to $r = .85$ (Weston & Gore, 2006). Twenty-nine multivariate outliers were identified utilizing Mahalanobis distances; however, given that these participants met other validity checks (i.e., minimum completion time, long string analysis, and attention checks), their responses were included in the final analyses.

A series of CFAs were conducted to confirm the factor structure of the final version of the RACS using the robust maximum likelihood estimator (MLR) in *Mplus Version 8.8* (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2022). *Mplus* uses Full Maximum Likelihood (FIML) to address missing data. FIML is the preferred method for handling missing data with SEM analyses because it allows for accurate standard error calculations and prevents power loss by retaining the original sample size (Schlomer et al., 2010).

Model fit will be evaluated using the χ^2 fit index, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), comparative fit index (CFI), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) values. Utilizing counseling psychologists' recommendations for SEM, model fit was determined through the following ranges of fit indices: SRMR ≤ .08, CFI between .90 and .95, RMSEA near or less than .06 (Brown, 2015b; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Weston & Gore, 2006). Although a nonsignificant χ^2 value is often utilized as a fit index, it can be influenced by sample size and is not a reliable indicator of model fit (Kline, 2011). Thus, the χ^2 value is reported but the other indices noted above were relied on to determine model fit.

The 27-items were constrained to the three-factor structure identified in Study 1. The results of the CFA evidenced that the three-factor model provided adequate fit to the data: χ^2 (347, N = 305) = 716.66, SRMR = .07, CFI = .91, and RMSEA = .06. All factor loadings were significant. Standardized loadings ranging from .62 to .83 on Factor 1, .64 to .82 on Factor 2, and .62 to .87 on Factor 3. The standardized factor loadings of all items are reported in Figure 2.2. Given, the high number of outliers (29), the same model was tested with the outliers eliminated from the data. The results suggested an identical pattern of responses with very similar model fit: χ^2 (321, N = 276) = 665.25, SRMR = .07, CFI = .90, and RMSEA = .06. Thus, subsequent analyses were conducted with the outliers included to represent responses from all participants.

Consistent with best practice (Bollen & Long, 1993), alternative factor structures were also examined. First, a unidimensional model was assessed, assuming one latent factor of allyship. The unidimensional model provided a poor fit to the data, χ^2 (324, N = 305) = 1544.09, SRMR = .11, CFI = .67 and RMSEA = .11. Next, the author examined whether the data better reflected a second order or bifactor model. The construct of racial allyship was operationalized as a commitment to allyship made up of specific dimensions, suggesting the possibility of a bifactor or second order model. Additionally, given the significant correlations between factors,

a bifactor or second order model may be the most appropriate factor structure (Reise et al., 2007). First, a bifactor model assumes that the variance in each item can be explained by a general allyship factor in conjunction with the unique variance that is explained by each of the previously defined factors of allyship. The bifactor model provided a slightly stronger fit to the data than the three-factor model, χ^2 (301, N = 305) = 613.16, SRMR = .06, CFI = .94, and RMSEA = .05. However, seven of the 13 items on the Antiracist Action and Skills subscale became insignificant, with one item even producing a negative factor loading. Although the bifactor model provided a stronger fit, the changes in factor loadings indicate that the bifactor model produced anomalous results and may be misspecified (Eid et al., 2017).

Alternatively, a second order model suggests that the latent factors of allyship that were previously defined can be explained by an overarching general factor of allyship. As expected, the second order model provided identical fit to the data as the correlated three-factor model. Standardized factor loadings for the second order model were fairly consistent with the correlated three-factor model (See Figure 2.3). Notably, the Critical Awareness factor was the strongest indicator of the higher order Allyship factor, with a loading of .99, suggesting that the second order Allyship factor and Critical Awareness factor may be isomorphic. However, racial allyship is defined as a multi-dimensional construct consisting of unique but related factors. Indeed, the moderate correlations among the first order factors suggest differentiation among these factors that is not fully captured by the second order factor. In other words, a total score of the measure, representing the second order Allyship factor, is more representative of a White individual's Critical Awareness and does a disservice to the other critical components of allyship, namely, Relationship Building and Antiracist Actions and Skills. Critical Awareness without the other action-oriented dimensions is consistent with definitions of performative allyship (Kutlaca & Radke, 2022), and is antithetical to the definition and goals of racial allyship

as defined by BIPOC (Hinger et al., 2023). Thus, the correlated three-factor model was retained as it produced the most interpretable solution consistent with the construct of racial allyship that the RACS is intending to measure. As a result, researcher use of a total scale score of the RACS is not appropriate. Instead, only the individual subscale scores of the RACs should be utilized in practice.

Validity was examined with bivariate correlations between the RACS, the ARBI, CoBRAS, and BIDR-16. As hypothesized, the RACS subscales had significant negative associations with measures of color evasiveness and significant positive associations with measure of awareness of racism and anti-racist behaviors. Of notable exception, relationship building, as measured by the RACS, was not significantly related to engaging in institutional advocacy, but instead had a small negative relationship. Hypothesis three was partially met as the Antiracist Action and Skills subscale was not related to IM or SDE. However, the Critical Awareness subscale had a small negative association with IM and a moderate negative association with SDE. Likewise, the Relationship Building subscale had a small, but significant, negative association with SDE. All bivariate correlations are presented in Table 2.5.

Temporal Stability

Participants

An a priori power analysis using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) suggested that a minimum sample size of 27 participants is needed to detect a small correlation effect at 80% power with a .05 alpha error rate. From the 305 participants in the CFA sample, 91 individuals completed the test-retest survey (32 University 1 and 65 University 2). Seven individuals were removed from analyses for failing to meet validity criteria, leaving a total test-retest sample of 84 participants. The test-retest sample consisted of 44 cisgender women (52.38%), 31 cisgender men (36.90%), 4 nonbinary individuals (4.76%), and 2 transgender individuals (2.38%). Participants age ranged

from 18 to 63 (*M* = 21.44; *SD* = 6.72). Politically, the sample consisted of 13 individuals who identified as very liberal (15.48%), 34 liberal (40.48%), 17 slightly liberal (20.24%), 12 slightly conservative (14.29%), 7 conservative (8.33%), and 1 very conservative (1.19%).

Procedure and Measures

At the end of the Study 2 survey, participants had the option to complete a follow-up questionnaire that consisted of the RACS and demographic questions after a two-week period. A shorter test-retest interval, such as two weeks, reduces the likelihood of true change and makes it reasonable to attribute observed instability to measurement error (Watson, 2004). Although the possibility of change cannot be entirely discounted, we would expect to see little true change in allyship characteristics in a two-week period. In contrast, two-weeks is long enough to account for concerns of memory effects that may be present in even shorter intervals (Watson, 2004). Therefore, by opting for a two-week test-retest interval, a more straightforward interpretation of stability estimates can be calculated.

Participants responses were matched through an embedded code used to identify students in the undergraduate research pool of the universities. The individuals who elected to participate, were notified through the undergraduate research pool two weeks after their initial participation to complete the test-retest phase of the study. Once notified, participants had three days to complete the questionnaire. No individuals who completed the CFA survey through email recruitment responded to the email notification to complete the test-retest portion of the study.

Temporal Stability Results and Discussion

RACS items and subscales evidenced a normal distribution with skewness and kurtosis levels below suggested criteria (skewness < |3.00| and kurtosis < |10.00|; Weston & Gore, 2006). RACS subscale means, standard deviations, and reliability estimates at time one and two are reported in Table 2.6. Relative temporal stability was determined by examining bivariate

correlations of scores from time one and time two. All subscales evidenced acceptable relative stability over time with a test-retest coefficient of .83 for the Antiracist Action and Skills subscale, .86 for the Critical Awareness subscale, and .77 for the Relationship Building subscale. Absolute stability was assessed utilizing paired samples t-tests for subscale means from time 1 and time 2. There was no significant difference between the means from time 1 and time 2 for Critical Awareness: $t(90) = -.54$, $p = .29$ and Relationship Building: $t(90) = 1.13$, $p = .13$, suggesting absolute stability for these two factors. There was a significant difference between means from time 1 and time 2 for Antiracist Action and Skills: $t(90) = -2.23$, $p = .01$. This finding is not entirely surprising given that an individual's level of engagement in antiracist action is more likely to fluctuate over a two week-period than their relationships with BIPOC or their awareness of racial privilege and oppression. Nonetheless, absolute stability for the Antiracist Actions and Skills factor was not established and warrants further investigation.

General Discussion

The current study aimed to develop and conduct initial validity testing of a self-report scale of White allyship as conceptualized by BIPOC. By developing a scale informed by BIPOC's description of allyship (See Hinger et al., 2023), the items may better approximate true racial allyship as they were developed utilizing language, descriptions, and examples from BIPOC. The current scale development process indicated that the RACS demonstrated an acceptable psychometric structure with initial evidence of construct validity, strong internal consistency, and relative temporal stability.

Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses indicated that the 6 dimensions of allyship previously described by BIPOC participants in Hinger and colleagues (2023) study (Relationship Building, Engaging in Antiracist Actions, Critical Awareness, Sociopolitical Knowledge, Accountability, and Communicating Antiracist information) were subsumed into three factors.

The Antiracist Actions and Skills factor consisted of 13 items reflective of behaviors and skills in the Engaging in Antiracist Actions, Accountability, and Communicating Antiracist Information dimensions. The Critical Awareness factor consisted of 8 items from the Critical Awareness and Sociopolitical Knowledge dimensions that demonstrated allies' awareness of white privilege and racial oppression. Finally, the Relationship Building factor was made up of 6 items that were consistent with interpersonal strategies identified by BIPOC as essential for allyship (Hinger et al., 2023). The three factors of the RACS parallel previous empirical (e.g., Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Case, 2012; Hinger et al., 2023) and theoretical (e.g., Kivel, 2017; Suyemoto et al., 2021) literature on White allyship including recent studies on the iterative nature of critical awareness, relationship building, and antiracist action in white ally development (Suyemoto & Hochman, 2021).

Hypotheses for convergent and discriminate validity were partially met, leading to interesting considerations in ally development worth further investigation. The current study found a small negative association between relationship building and engaging in institutional level anti-racist behaviors. Previous studies on white ally development have noted that relationships and interactions with BIPOC can facilitate ally development and antiracist actions (e.g., Broido & Reason, 2005). However, the findings of this study more align with other work that suggests building a racially diverse friend group does not always lead White individuals to engage in actions promoting structural change (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). In some cases, White individuals' relationships with BIPOC may signify to them that they are "not racist," leading some to feel as though they do not have to engage in systemic antiracist work (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Future research should continue to investigate the role of interracial relationship building in institutional racial advocacy for White individuals.

It is also notable that some of the RACS subscales had a significant negative relationship with IM and SDE. For example, Critical Awareness had a significant negative association with both subscales of the BIDR-16, suggesting that greater awareness of white privilege is related to lower levels of consciously and unconsciously portraying a socially desirable image. Prior work has demonstrated mixed findings regarding the relationship between awareness of racial oppression and white privilege with constructs of social desirability. While some scholars have found no association between white privilege awareness and the bidimensional construct of social desirability (Pinterits et al., 2009; Neville et al., 2000), others have found similar results of the current study. Regarding SDE, Gushue and colleagues (2017) found a significant positive relationship (r = .28) between unawareness of racial privilege and SDE at a relatively similar magnitude as the current findings. It could be that lower levels of racial privilege and oppression awareness can lead White individuals to engage in overly positive self-deception to protect one's sense of self (Gushue et al., 2017). Indeed, the psychosocial cost of acknowledging white privilege may distort one's ability to see themselves accurately within our racial hierarchical system. Consequently, individuals with higher levels of white privilege awareness may have accepted these psychosocial costs and do not have the conscious or subconscious drive to present themselves beyond the veracity of their limitations.

Relationship Building also had a small negative association with SDE. These inverse relationships suggest that White allies who engage in relationship building with BIPOC and exhibit greater awareness of white privilege, may be more aware of their own limitations, generally, and are more willing to be open about those limitations. This aligns with qualitative examinations of white allyship that described authenticity, an extension of self-awareness, as a key component of racial allyship (Hinger et al., 2023). However, the implications of the

association between IM, SDE, and other variables in this study must be considered with caution due to the low internal consistency estimates of the BIDR-16 subscales.

The relationship among Critical Awareness, Relationship Building, SDE, and IM may be better explained as a representation of one's White racial identity development (WRID; Helms, 1984; 1990; 2008). The current study did not assess WRID to confirm this hypothesis; however, low levels of color evasive beliefs, as measured by the CoBRAS, has shown to be a predictor of higher WRID statuses (Gushue & Constantine, 2007). Given our sample exhibited low levels of color evasive beliefs as evidence by low CoBRAS subscale means (Unawareness of Racial Privilege: M = 2.80, SD = 1.15, Unawareness of Institutional Racism: M = 2.68, SD = 1.07, Unawareness of Blatant Racism: M = 2.19, SD = 0.97), it could be that individuals in our sample exhibited higher WRID statuses and, as a result, felt less of a need to portray oneself as a *good* White person (Helms, 2008). Conversely, Chao et al. (2015) found that IM had a negative relationship with lower level WRID statuses and a positive relationship with higher level WRID statuses, suggesting White individuals may engage in more impression management as they begin to develop a positive white identity rooted in antiracism (Helms, 1990; 2017). Ultimately, more research is needed to assess racial allies' WRID and allyship characteristics as it relates to their endorsement of social desirability constructs.

The RACS builds on the current scales and methods available to assess racial allyship (the PACS and IRAS). Comparing the RACS with the one other scale that assessed racial allyship from the perspective of BIPOC (PACS; Brown & Ostrove, 2013), the Relationship Building and Antiracist Actions and Skills factors in the RACS share some overlap with the PACS' factors of informed action and affirmation— providing empirical evidence of some shared qualities that BIPOC may value in racial allies. However, the interpersonal nature of the PACS, as well as the IRAS, reduce their ability to evaluate community and systemic level

actions or assess intrapersonal allyship characteristics like white privilege awareness. Additionally, the items on the Relationship Building subscale build on the general friendship qualities delineated in the PACS items (i.e., *my friend is interested in what happens to me*) by exploring the nuance in interracial relational dynamics that are essential to allyship including: openly discussing differences in racial identities, recognizing a shared humanity, comfortability in interracial interactions, and acknowledging intersectional differences.

Moreover, while the IRAS and RACS both have racial allyship in the scale title, the face validity of the items appears to be measuring differing facets of allyship. The IRAS measures the response of White individuals to hypothetical racially charged scenarios (Williams & Shariff, 2021). As noted by the authors, the IRAS measures an interpersonal behavior to subtle forms of racism and, thus, does not encapsulate all the defining characteristics of racial allies outlined by previous literature (e.g., Hinger et al., 2023). In contrast, the RACS assesses individual and community level actions, awareness of White privilege and racial oppression, and relationship building strategies with BIPOC— encompassing a broader picture of allyship characteristics. Nonetheless, having multiple ways to measure racial allyship is critical to constructing further studies to assess and understand allyship in unique ways.

Implications

A self-report scale of allyship from the perspective of BIPOC can be utilized in a variety of meaningful ways. First, the RACS can be used as a self-assessment for aspiring White allies to assess areas in which they can grow in their antiracist work. Often, BIPOC are expected to educate White individuals struggling in their ally development (Nuru & Arendt, 2019). While the RACS does not equate to the relational learning that comes from engaging in collaborative allyship, the measure may add some insight for areas that White allies can further develop without the additional burden to BIPOC in their lives.

The RACS can also be utilized in training and education settings. Within counseling psychology, Sue (2017) pointed out the shortcomings of multicultural counseling courses in developing racial justice advocates. Often, multicultural training on race stops with the exploration of racial privilege and oppression without emphasizing antiracist practices beyond a clinical perspective (Sue, 2017). The RACS can be used with other assessment tools to measure the effectiveness of multicultural courses and trainings for White students' ally development. The development of allyship related activities, trainings, and interventions have shown some promising results in prejudice reduction, increasing openness to racially diverse others, critical awareness, and antiracist behaviors—key characteristics of culturally competent counselors (e.g., Cross & Reinhardt, 2017; Spanierman et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2020; Williams & Gran-Ruaz, 2023). Intergroup dialogues, specifically, have had success in White ally development with dialogue members reporting higher frequency of antiracist actions than the control group (Alimo, 2012). Given the RACS is a relatively short and robust measure of allyship, racial allyship characteristics can be assessed with RACS at pre- and post-intervention levels to determine the effectiveness of these antiracist trainings and activities.

Limitations

The findings of this study and the utility of the RACS should be considered in light of some limitations. A college student population was used in both the qualitative study that operationalized allyship and the current scale development process. In particular, the samples in the scale development process were highly educated, and predominately heterosexual, traditional college age, and cisgender women. This sample is a narrow representation of the diversity among White individuals in the U.S. Thus, the utility of the RACS is limited to the population of the current study until further validation studies can be conducted. Likewise, the RACS was developed with a specific lens of racial allyship within the context of the U.S. While white

supremacy and systemic racism are not unique to the U.S. (Grzanka et al., 2019), further examination of the construct of racial allyship and the factor structure of the RACS is needed in international samples before it can be used in those populations. If such studies were conducted, some RACs items, such as RACS 36 (*as a white person, U.S. society is structured to benefit me more than BIPOC*), would need to be modified to better fit the racial dynamics of a given location.

Another limitation to consider is that the RACS item generation was limited by the perspectives of those involved in the study, the summation of the current literature, and our historical temporality. The author attempted to offset these limitations by utilizing a BIPOC conceptualization of allyship and two rounds of expert review consisting of individuals who held diverse racial and cultural identities with expertise in scale development, antiracism, multicultural training, and community activism. Nonetheless, racial allyship can be a complex and elusive topic that has been shown to evolve within our field and throughout our history. It is dangerous to assume that all BIPOC unanimously define and measure racial allyship in the same manner. Thus, the author acknowledges that the RACS is not an exhaustive measure of allyship characteristics. It may be, as the needs of racial justice movements evolve, that additional items or RACS item modifications would be necessary to capture racial allyship more fully. Such modifications would need continued psychometric evaluations.

Finally, the RACS' only focuses on White allies fighting racism. For White allies to fully address systemic racism, they must also address the other interlocking systems of oppression (Combahee River Collective, 1977). By examining one issue, we ignore the complexity of intersectional experiences of privilege and oppression as it relates to racism and racial allies. On the other hand, because racism is ingrained in the fabric of the U.S. in particularly insidious

ways, the exclusive focus on White allyship allows the RACS to measure unique racial allyship dynamics that could be built upon in future studies in intersectional ways.

Future Directions

In addition to the continued assessment of the RACS with diverse White samples, there are several research endeavors that would strengthen our confidence in the utility of the RACS. First, the development of a BIPOC informant version of the RACS may better help us to identify the validity of self-identified allyship characteristics. Future research can examine the factor structure of an informant version of the RACS and compare those scores to scores on the self-report version. A strong relationship between the RACS self- and other-report would provide further validation of the RACS. A divergence between self- and other report would provide more nuanced information on allyship dynamics. For example, using the PACS, BIPOC rated racial allies as being less affirming than the allies saw themselves (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). However, the PACS affirmation subscale produced low internal consistency as a self-report scale for White allies (α = .47). The current study has demonstrated high internal consistency of RACS items on a similarly conceptual subscale (Relationship Building), as well as the entirety of all other subscales as a self-report measure. Thus, future investigation of an informant version of the RACS would benefit our current understandings of allyship development from multiple perspectives.

In the development study for the ARBI, Pieterse and colleagues (2016) noted the potential of creating a discrepancy index to distinguish the difference between awareness of racism and engagement in antiracist behaviors. A discrepancy index within the RACS would also allow valuable insight into quantifying the difference between critical awareness and engaging in antiracist actions. The gap between White individuals' endorsement of critical awareness and their tangible support for antiracist actions that enact structural change has been well

documented (Durrheim et al., 2011). The addition of a discrepancy index may allow scholars to better distinguish between White allyship that is anchored in antiracist actions and allyship that is performative and ornamental (Bourke, 2020). Moreover, by being able to measure the gap between critical awareness and engaging in antiracist action, we may be able to explore barriers and points for intervention that catalyze allyship behaviors.

Another area worthy of further exploration is distinguishing between ally relationship building and interracial friendship building. BIPOC in previous studies have rated allies and friends comparable on interpersonal support and intergroup support (Brown, 2015a). Although, given that the relationship building items in the RACS appear to be measuring specific relational processes consistent with allyship literature (e.g., Hinger et al., 2023; Suyemoto et al., 2021) and unique to general friendship qualities, allies and friends may score differently on the RACS Relationship Building. However, a measure of general friendship, or affirmation (Brown & Otrove, 2013), was not included in this study to determine the uniqueness of Relationship Building as measured by the RACS. To bolster our confidence in the uniqueness of the Relationship Building subfactor, future studies should examine the association between ally relationship building and general friendship building (e.g., the PACS affirmation subscale [Brown & Ostrove, 2013] or the McGill Friendship Quality Questionnaire [Mendelson & Aboud, 2012]).

Finally, it seems imperative to note once again that White allyship, in conceptualization and practice, is not a self-proclaimed identity status but a lifelong process (Hinger et al., 2023; Sue, 2017; Suyemoto & Hochman, 2021). To this end, the RACS does not measure a static identity as an ally, but allyship characteristics at one given point in time. The findings on relative temporal stability showed that individuals in our study endorsed consistency in their allyship characteristics over a two-week period. However, absolute stability for the Antiracist Actions

and skills factor was not established. Consistent with this finding, it is likely that allyship characteristics do change over one's lifespan in various stages of ally development and in response to local, national, or global events centered in racism. Future research should examine longitudinal invariance to assess that changes in allyship as measured by the RACS can be attributed to actual development and/or changes as opposed to measurement error (Dimitrov, 2010). Longitudinal invariance would allow researchers to track allyship engagement over time and assess for patterns that may help us better understand racial ally development in real time.

Conclusion

To date, there are limited studies on white allyship in the psychological literature. This could be due, in part, to the lack of a psychometrically robust means to measure racial allyship. In order to conduct large scale studies to better understand a complex construct, like racial allyship, we must be able to reliably measure it. The creation and validation of the RACS addresses this gap in the literature directly. The findings of this project affirm that the RACS has adequate psychometric properties in measuring racial allyship and can be utilized in a variety of meaningful ways. To this end, the goal of the RACS development is to catalyze further research on racial allyship and, ultimately, to contribute to research that aims to create and sustain more racial allies that work toward the revolutionary visions of intersectional justice called for by BIPOC before us (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Freire, 1972; hooks, 1995; Lorde, 2012).

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Table 2.1
Demographic Characteristics for EFA Sample

	University 1		University 2		Total	
Sample Characteristic	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Gender						
Cisgender woman	63	56.8	107	65.2	170	61.8
Cisgender man	46	41.1	48	29.3	94	34.2
Gender non-binary	2	1.8	7	4.3	9	3.3
Transgender	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.4
Other gender identity	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.4
Sexual Orientation						
Exclusively lesbian/gay	6	5.4	4	2.4	10	3.6
Mostly lesbian/gay	3	2.7	5	3.0	8	2.9
Bisexual	7	6.3	25	15.2	32	11.6
Mostly heterosexual	20	18.0	23	14.0	43	15.6
Exclusively heterosexual	65	58.6	81	49.4	146	53.1
Asexual	3	2.7	1	0.6	4	1.5
Pansexual	4	3.6	4	2.4	8	2.9
Queer	1	0.9	6	3.7	7	2.5
Questioning	-	-	5	3.0	5	1.8
Other identity	2	1.8	8	4.9	10	3.6
Income						
< $25,000	16	14.4	43	26.2	59	21.5
$25,000 to $35,000	18	16.2	22	13.4	40	14.5
$36,000 to $50,000	10	9.0	16	9.8	26	9.5
$51,000 to $75,000	16	14.4	17	10.4	33	12.0
$76,000 to $100,000	15	13.5	18	11.0	33	12.0
$101,000 to $150,000	1	9.0	15	9.1	16	5.8
$151,000 to $200,000	5	4.5	11	6.7	16	5.8
$201,000 to $250,000	9	8.1	8	4.9	17	6.2
> $250,000	12	10.8	12	7.3	24	8.7
Religion						
Christian	40	36.0	52	31.7	92	33.5
Catholic	13	11.7	37	22.6	50	18.2
Jewish	1	0.9	8	4.9	9	3.3
Muslim	3	2.7	3	1.8	6	2.2
Agnostic	10	9.0	13	7.9	23	8.4
Atheist	13	11.7	18	11.0	31	11.3
Spiritual not religious	25	22.5	28	17.1	53	19.3
Other religion	6	5.4	4	2.4	10	3.6
Political Ideology						
Very liberal	17	15.3	14	8.5	31	11.3
Liberal	30	27.0	56	34.1	86	31.3
Slightly liberal	20	18.0	50	30.5	70	25.5
Slightly conservative	21	18.9	25	15.2	46	16.7
Conservative	18	16.2	13	7.9	31	11.3
Very conservative	3	2.7	5	3.0	8	2.9

Note. Overall sample sizes are University 1: $N = 111$, $M_{age} = 23.80$, $SD = 9.03$; University 2: $N = 164$, $M_{age} = 19.51$, $SD = 2.20$; Total: $N = 275$, $M_{age} = 21.30$, $SD = 6.41$.

Table 2.2
Factor Loadings, Means, and Standard Deviations for Three-Factor Model

Items	F1	F2	F3	*M*	*SD*
79. I educate other White people on how to fight racism.	**0.84**	0.01	0.04	4.20	1.42
82. I know about several resources in my community to help other White people learn about racism.	**0.84**	-0.18	-0.01	3.83	1.51
60. I collaborate with BIPOC to address racism in my community.	**0.83**	-0.05	0.02	4.00	1.40
77. I discuss how to address racism with people I know.	**0.82**	-0.08	0.07	4.43	1.34
73. I challenge people in positions of power (e.g., a boss, teacher, parent) when they are being racist.	**0.78**	-0.07	0.09	4.46	1.36
23. I intervene in police interactions with BIPOC to ensure BIPOC safety (e.g., video record, interrupt, report, etc.)	**0.76**	-0.03	-0.11	3.94	1.44
40. I seek out BIPOC authored content (e.g., books, research, social media) to learn more about race and racism.	**0.76**	0.12	-0.05	4.31	1.38
25. I give money to organizations that fight against racism	**0.75**	-0.06	-0.08	3.54	1.49
76. I have conversations about race and racism with people I know	**0.73**	-0.09	0.18	3.55	1.62
19. I participate in protests, marches, or demonstrations against racism	**0.70**	0.17	-0.14	3.62	1.57
31. I lobby against laws in my community that negatively affect the lives of BIPOC	**0.64**	0.03	-0.09	3.98	1.48
58. I hold other White people accountable to values of racial equity	**0.60**	0.10	0.17	4.45	1.41
26. I intentionally spend money at BIPOC owned businesses	**0.60**	0.27	-0.13	3.96	1.43
36. As a White person, U.S. society is structured to benefit me more than BIPOC.	-0.14	**0.95**	-0.07	4.69	1.46
37. As a White person, I have more social power than BIPOC	-0.06	**0.78**	-0.13	3.79	1.63
38. I reflect on how my White privilege affects BIPOC	0.19	**0.73**	-0.08	4.43	1.41
6. What I know about racism is limited because I am White	-0.08	**0.65**	-0.01	3.69	1.74
5. BIPOC perspectives on racism are more important than my own	0.20	**0.59**	0.04	4.52	1.38
15. There are behaviors that are appropriate for BIPOC that are not appropriate for me as a White person (e.g., use of specific racial terms).	-0.07	**0.59**	0.16	4.85	1.44
51. BIPOC are at a greater risk of harm when interacting with police than White people	0.01	**0.58**	0.22	5.14	1.19

53. Racism affects BIPOC's access to opportunities (e.g., acquiring loans, equitable housing, employment, and educational opportunities)	0.17	**0.53**	0.24	5.03	1.25
13. It's important to me to treat BIPOC with respect due to our shared human experience	-0.19	0.06	**0.90**	5.50	0.86
9. I respect the cultural differences between myself and BIPOC	-0.04	0.01	**0.81**	5.46	0.84
11. I recognize the humanity shared among people of all races	-0.07	-0.08	**0.80**	5.46	0.85
34. I am comfortable being myself around BIPOC	0.06	-0.14	**0.77**	5.31	1.03
7. I am open to discussing the differences between my White racial identity and the racial identity of BIPOC	0.18	0.18	**0.48**	5.05	1.06
10. BIPOC individuals have varying goals, values, and perspectives from one another	0.13	0.11	**0.47**	5.18	1.02

Table 2.3

RACS Subscale Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Study 1

Factor	1	2	3
1	4.04 (1.08)		
2	.65	4.52 (1.08)	
3	.48	.60	5.31 (0.73)

Notes. Means and standard deviations are reported in the diagonal while the correlations are reported below the diagonal.

Table 2.4

Demographic Characteristics for CFA Sample

	University 1		University 2		Total	
Sample Characteristic	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Gender						
Cisgender woman	88	48.9	79	63.2	167	54.8
Cisgender man	77	42.8	36	28.8	113	37.0
Gender non-binary	11	6.1	5	4.0	16	5.2
Transgender	1	0.6	5	4.0	6	2.0
Other gender identity	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.3
Sexual Orientation						
Exclusively lesbian/gay	15	8.3	2	1.6	17	5.6
Mostly lesbian/gay	4	2.2	5	4.0	9	3.0
Bisexual	10	5.6	17	13.6	27	8.9
Mostly heterosexual	29	16.1	12	9.6	41	13.4
Exclusively heterosexual	98	54.4	68	54.4	166	54.4
Asexual	3	1.7	7	5.6	10	3.3
Pansexual	4	2.2	4	3.2	8	2.6
Queer	9	5.0	4	3.2	13	4.3
Questioning	1	0.6	2	1.6	3	1.0
Other identity	5	2.8	3	2.4	8	2.6
Income						
< $25,000	37	20.8	24	19.2	61	20.0
$25,000 to $35,000	19	10.7	22	17.6	41	13.4
$36,000 to $50,000	17	9.6	14	11.2	31	10.2
$51,000 to $75,000	21	11.8	11	8.8	32	10.5
$76,000 to $100,000	22	12.4	12	9.6	34	11.1
$101,000 to $150,000	19	10.7	21	16.8	40	13.1
$151,000 to $200,000	14	7.9	10	8.0	24	7.9
$201,000 to $250,000	15	8.4	5	4.0	20	6.6
> $250,000	14	7.9	5	4.0	19	6.2
Religion						
Christian	58	32.2	49	39.2	107	35.1
Catholic	22	12.2	10	8.0	32	10.5
Jewish	6	3.3	12	9.6	18	5.9
Muslim	8	4.4	3	2.4	11	3.6
Agnostic	15	8.3	11	8.8	26	8.5
Atheist	22	12.2	19	15.2	41	13.4
Spiritual not religious	40	22.2	16	12.8	56	18.4
Other religion	6	3.3	4	3.2	8	2.6
Political Ideology						
Very liberal	32	17.8	13	10.4	45	14.8
Liberal	60	33.3	45	36.0	105	34.4
Slightly liberal	29	16.1	33	26.4	62	20.3
Slightly conservative	31	17.2	19	15.2	50	16.4
Conservative	21	11.7	13	10.4	34	11.1
Very conservative	4	2.2	2	1.6	6	2.0

Note. Overall sample sizes are University 1: $N = 180$, $M_{age} = 22.99$, $SD = 7.63$; University 2: $N = 125$, $M_{age} = 20.34$, $SD = 5.79$; Total: $N = 305$, $M_{age} = 21.89$, $SD = 7.04$.

Table 2.5

Study 2 Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for the RACS and Validity Measures

Variable	R_ACT	R_CRIT	R_REL	A_IND	A_AW	A_INS	C_PRI	C_INS	C_BL	B_SDE	B_IM
M	4.04	4.51	5.24	3.72	3.66	2.57	2.80	2.68	2.19	4.42	3.99
SD	1.01	1.15	0.79	0.75	0.92	0.89	1.15	1.07	0.97	1.20	1.14
R_ACT	1										
R_CRIT	.61**	1									
R_REL	.40**	.54**	1								
A_IND	.74**	.56**	.44**	1							
A_AW	.63**	.76**	.36**	.70**	1						
A_INS	.64**	.19**	-.09	.49**	.41**	1					
C_PRI	-.50**	-.78**	-.36**	-.57**	-.82**	-.24**	1				
C_INS	-.26**	-.51**	-.43**	-.40**	-.45*	.13*	.53**	1			
C_BLA	-.36**	-.63**	-.59**	-.57**	-.59**	.09	.65**	.79**	1		
B_SDE	-.06	-.30**	-.02*	-.15**	-.31**	.04	.35**	.24**	.28**	1	
B_IM	.04	-.16**	.03	.07	-.09	.07	.16**	-.01	.01	.45**	1

Note. * Correlation is significant at the .05 level. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. R_ACT = RACS Antiracist Actions and Skills subscale; R_CRIT = RACS Critical Awareness subscale; R_REL = RACS Relationship Building subscale; A_IND = ARBI Individual Antiracist Behaviors subscale; A_AW= ARBI Awareness of Racism subscale; A_INS = ARBI Institutional Antiracist Behaviors subscale; C_PRI = CoBRAS Unawareness of Privilege subscale; C_INS = CoBRAS Unawareness of Institutional Racism subscale; C_BL = CoBRAS Unawareness of Blatant Racism subscale; B_SDE = BIDR Self Deceptive Enhancement subscale; B_IM = BIDR Impression Management subscale.

Table 2.6

Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Estimates for Test-Retest Sample

Factor	Time 1			Time 2		
	M	*SD*	ω	*M*	*SD*	ω
Actions	3.91	1.01	.92	4.04	1.03	.95
Crit. Aware	4.50	1.12	.91	4.54	1.07	.92
Relat. Build	5.37	0.58	.71	5.32	0.63	.82

Note. Statistics are from the 84 participants who participated in Time 1 and Time 2.

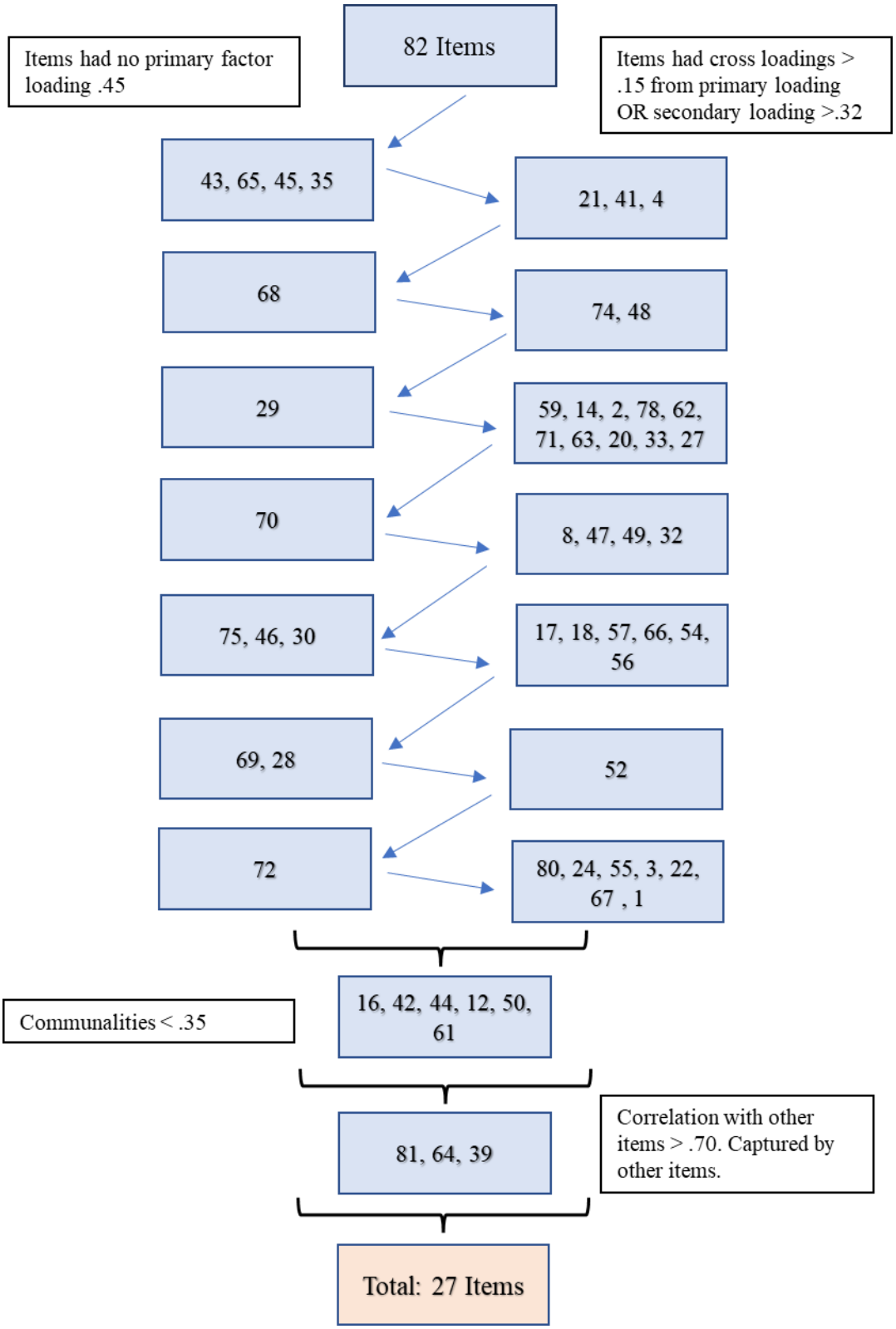

Figure 2.1
Flowchart of Item Elimination for Three-Factor Model

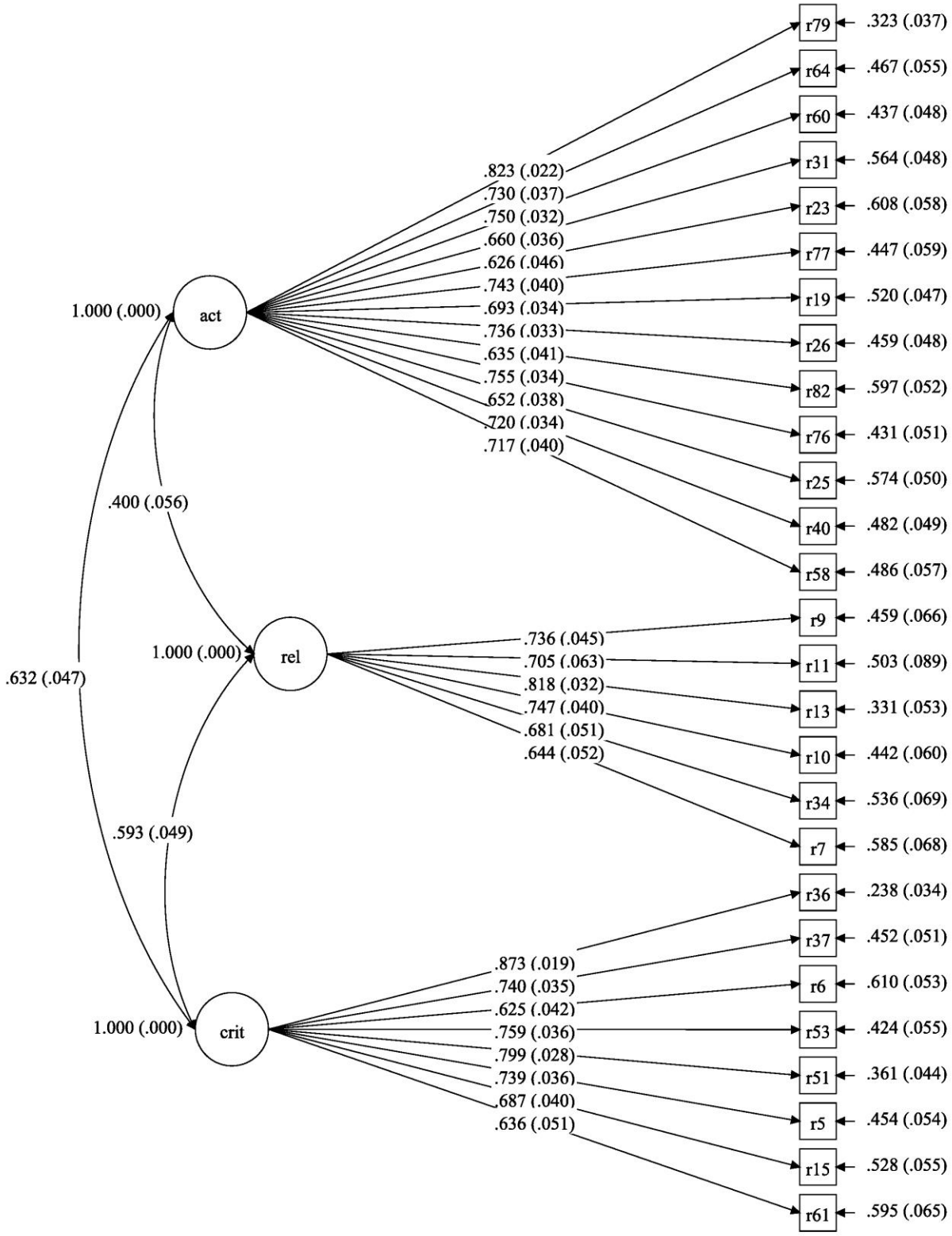

Figure 2.2
RACS Three-Factor Model with Standardized Factor Loadings

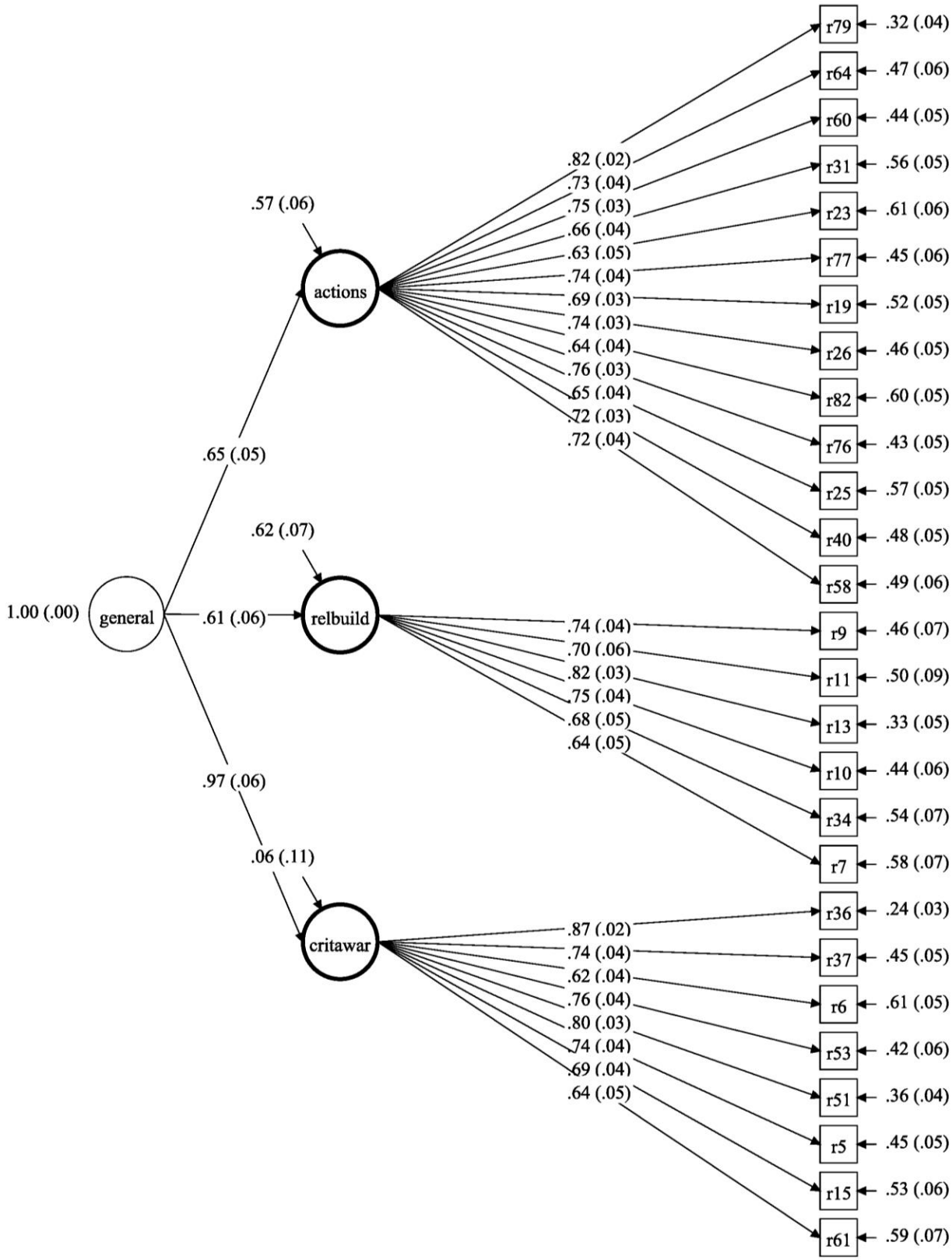

Figure 2.3
RACS Second Order Model with Standardized Factor Loadings

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table A.1
Additional Participant Quotes for Chapter 1

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
Commit Fully to Allyship	Calvin FG6: "So, being able to sacrifice your time and effort is an ally, someone who is going to be on the front line, someone who is going to be there, someone who is going to stand up for what's right no matter what."
	Jamaal FG6: "You can't like it [allyship] because it's what's hot right now and that's what you see on social media. A lot of people, I feel like want to be allies because it's on trend. I would say a behavior that you have to have is you want to see change because you're committed to change. You genuinely want change, not because change is what's trending on social media or change is what you're seeing on TV… a real drive and commitment."
Relationship Building	
Practice Empathy	Asha FG2: "A racial ally should be more understanding because everybody doesn't start from the same place. I'm first-generation Muslim-American, so my parents came here from a different country and literally started from the bottom to get to where we are today." Asha, FG 2
	Ali FG3: "If [allies] could step in the shoes of that person and immerse themselves in what it means to not have privilege, into a day in the life of someone like that. Like just going to get coffee, just an example, but if you're going to get coffee and someone just makes fun of your skin, says anything, you're a terrorist or blah, blah, blah. That's just an example that the racial ally wouldn't know unless you put yourself in my position."
Practice Humility	Buttercup FG4: "I think being non-judgmental. White people always seem to have this higher up superior mindset. So rather than looking down on the next person, as far as non-Caucasians, [*sic*] basically have a level-headed mindset coming into whatever communities they're working with."

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
	Neha FG4: “Allies shouldn’t behave as if they are better than. It’s just a vibe that sometimes a person of color can get when you’re around someone in a dominant group of feeling that they feel like they are better than us. Maybe it’s a privilege that they are showing but just behave like we are the same.”
Recognize Common Humanity	Maryam FG3: “I feel like it’s your duty. If you see something going on, or if you see something unjust, that you should step up if you know that you have a voice. It’s kind of like a moral obligation…it’s just the human thing to do.”
	Buttercup FG4: “For example, back in the day, they [White people] thought being Black [was] a bad thing. But allies saw outside of the exterior things, and they saw them as human beings, and not just what the color of their [skin] was.”
Recognize Differences	Evelyn FG1: “It would be essential for White allies to know that our backgrounds are different. And what they consider to be appropriate for work environments or school, it won’t always be the same, necessarily, for minorities.”
	Riley FG2: “I would say a racial ally is somebody who is White, [who] is different than you, right? But supports you and respects your different values and your culture.” Riley FG2
	Korra FG1: “They [White allies] recognize that we [BIPOC] aren’t all the same. Asians get treated differently than, say like, Black or Hispanic people, because we are seen as that grey area”
Respect Boundaries	Lena FG8: “I'm Chinese, and a lot of my friends are also Chinese, who also make Asian jokes, right? We laugh about it, and we're allowed to laugh about it because we've experienced it. And it happened to us. So, we're allowed to joke about it, I guess. Whereas there are a lot of people who are in the majority who will also joke about Asian jokes…There are things that are not for you to joke about"
	Brian FG6: “I feel like [allies] can’t completely understand how a minority feels because, like we said before, that’s the privilege that you can't give up. So, you will never completely understand how [we] feel, and that’s okay."
Engage in Anti-Racist Action	

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
Stand Up, Regardless of Consequences	Laila FG2: "An ally needs to be able to speak up when they see something racist or done wrong…If you can clearly see injustice, a behavior needs to happen. You need to speak up when you see it [racism] because the more voices, the more they'll notice. So, speak up."
	Riley FG2: “So, I feel like just being able to speak up and not be afraid of who you might lose. I think speaking up, not caring what other people have to say about you voicing out, or just sticking up for people that are not your color.”
Use Privilege as a Tool	Laila FG2: “People always start pulling out their camera when a White person goes low-key racist on somebody for no reason. I've seen a couple White people intervene like that, and I think it would help more if White people did.”
	Ryan FG2: “Yah, there was a Black guy, and I think he was just walking across the street, or he was in the parking lot or something. And a White lady called the police and said that he was stalking her, or harassing her, or staring at her, or something. I don't remember exactly what it was, but he was literally going to get some food, and he was in the restaurant when the police arrived. The owner, she was White, and she made it to where they wouldn't harass him or try to arrest him because she had seen that he hadn't done anything wrong.”
Share Resources	Jamaal FG6: “I feel like an ally possesses information on what that dominant race truly believes, unedited, uncut. I feel like a lot of times, people of the dominant race wouldn't tell minorities exactly how they feel, especially with how social media and things are nowadays. People feel very guarded with conversations like that. So, I feel like what an ally has, [is] the information they have is what people actually feel behind closed doors. And I feel like that's important because in order for a minority group to move forward, you have to know the real feelings of people of the dominant race in order to know what you're working with. To know how to go at certain things because if you don't know the real feelings of a person, you're finding the wrong thing sometimes.”
	Maryam FG3: “For example, as an ally, I would see [*sic*] about the concentration camps in China, I shouldn’t turn away and ignore the fact that it’s happening. At least donate money.”
Work Within the System	Ryan FG2: “They [allies] could help push for laws that would limit discrimination.”
	John FG8: “They would know ways to solve problems. An example would be schools that are in areas where they got a lot less funding, and then those tend to be schools where minorities are more heavily populated. High

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
	schools, middle schools, and things like that. They got a lot less funding and it sets you back. And I know one thing, I was lucky enough to go to a school where they would pay for your APs. If you want to take an AP exam you wouldn't have to pay for it. The school would just pay for it and cover the cost. But I know in a lot of other schools they don't have the funding to be able to do that, so people have to pay for the APs they take. So, you can't take as many APs. Things like voting and working toward expanding funding to schools across the nation."
Critical Awareness	
Awareness of Self	Tasha A. FG5: "White people just have White people knowledge. We have to learn their culture; allies have to learn that they're controlled by it."
	Buttercup FG4: "I feel like Caucasians [sic] sometimes do [things] just to please us, but it's not genuine…They're like, 'Oh, you like hip hop?' or 'Yeah, I heard that new Future song the other day.' They don't even listen to Future, though! It's like a stereotypical mindset, so it's like they [allies] could just be genuine, that's one of the skills I would say. Whatever you do, let it be genuine. You don't have to fake it."
Awareness of Privilege	Asia FG7: "They know that they have privilege. They know that we lack privilege. And they know that that means they are presented with more opportunities than people of color."
	John FG8: "A skill that's important is the ability to recognize the privileges that you have because a lot of times different privileges could go over their head and they could think nothing of it. But when you think a little bit deeper into it, they could, I don't know, understand the privileges that they have over a lot of other minority groups and know what it really means to them."
Critically Consume Information	Maryam, FG3: "Watch movies like the Malcolm X movie, the Mohammed Ali movie, The Color Purple, 12 years a slave, Roots. Movies like that; trying to get the message across that this is our history, this is what our people had to go through."
	Asha FG2: "I'm Muslim, and I feel like a lot of the times, you could simply just do your research before coming to me with your opinion… because the news does portray a lot of bad things about a lot of Muslim people."
	Jamaal FG6: "A White ally, I feel like, a lot of times is someone who has gone out of their way to look at the historical context of things because a lot of people haven't taken the time outside of what they would teach in school to really delve into what really transpired. [They] think like there was slavery and that was it. It was

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
	like a little discrimination and a Black and White type of thing. So, I feel like to be a White ally, a lot of times you have to have, I don't know if you want to call that a skill, but to be able to delve into the historical context of what really happened to get that understanding."
Challenge Racist Socialization	Alia FG8: "Throw your stereotypes out the window."
	Fred FG8: "Checking your assumptions at the door. An example of that may be when a person of color or Black guy is walking down the street and a White person decides that, 'Oh, I can't be on the same sidewalk as that person,' as they cross the street and go around, or something like that. And from that person of color's perspective, they're like, 'Oh what did I do? Am I dangerous? Did I do something?' And the other person, their assumptions are going through their mind, 'What if this person tries to rob me? What if this person's dangerous? Just avoid them.' You got to challenge that type of thinking."
Sociopolitical Knowledge	
Cultural Knowledge	Ali FG3: "I'm Muslim, so also, we have to pray five times a day. So, [allies] understand when the time comes, and I leave for 15 or 20 minutes to go pray. They understand why. They want to learn about it. They want to be knowledgeable about the culture and about what's going on and stuff, which I think is pretty cool."
	Tasha B. FG7: "Allies should know our culture. Black culture. Not even just our culture specifically, like Hispanic culture too. Just cultures in general. So, you can learn how to deal with people culturally, if that makes sense. And socially. Like, they may not know certain things about us. So, it's important to know about someone's culture."
Knowledge of Oppression	John FG8: "When it comes to White allies, they should have a definite understanding of the history behind what their oppression has done to many different [racial] minorities."
	Alison FG3: "You can agree to help, but [if] you don't necessarily know why things are occurring, then you can only do so much. I feel like the more you know, the more you can help…So if you know that, okay, the police are targeting this community, then you can go down there and maybe have conversations or create change."
Accountability	

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
Perseverance	London FG4: "[Allies] should be patient when trying to be an ally with someone or trying to make a change with something that's going on. Most likely you're not going to get it on the first try. It takes time to really make a change."
	Diamond FG5: "They are not going to get very far if they're only passionate about the cause for two days or a day, or an hour. You have to be determined to see a change…Determination would be relentlessness, passion."
Collaboration	Muny FG5: "If you have a certain skillset that I don't have, then we learn from each other. Or if I have something that you don't have, we learn from each other."
	John FG8: "Speaking up against racial injustices but not speaking for me as well."
	Diamond FG5: "Like you support the less dominant group, but you need to be like, 'what does the less dominant group want?' What are you catering to? You need their opinion on it too. It's not up to you."
Receptive to Feedback	Lena FG8: "I think allies have the skill of being able to adjust or change the way they act…I had friends back in high school who constantly [said], like, the N word. And I had another friend who said, 'Yo, that's not right. You can't do that.' And they realized they were wrong. They stopped."
	Evelyn FG1: "Allies have to be open to feedback of them. Like, a White boss allowing me to say, 'Okay, these are my concerns stepping into your world that's really White. And then, you know, having those concerns accommodated or at least having a back-and-forth conversation about it."
Communicate and Disseminate Anti-Racist Information	
Demonstrate Effective Communication Skills	Riley FG2: "Allies are being [*sic*] outspoken…I also feel like knowing how to communicate to people of higher authority, so that you can get the real problems solved is very important."
	Giselle FG7: "A skill? Communication. That's important for anything, though, but especially if you want to be an ally, you got to know how to communicate. And especially since allies deal with that minority group, you have to know how to communicate without being offensive. Because I feel like a lot of people that are not minorities, they think being an ally is fitting in, or using the same slang that we have, and stuff like that. And sometimes it's offensive. And so, knowing how to communicate with that group without being offensive is also important."

Categories	Representative Participant Quotes
	Muny FG5: “A racial ally exhibits [the] skill of being able to listen and understand.”
Engage Others	Buttercup FG4: “Allies are implementing workshops to other people who are not in the same mind frame—to teach them and educate them on how to be a positive person towards, not just their own race, but other races as well.”
	Giselle FG7: “For example, I don't know if you guys know about the Rodney Reed execution that's about to happen on the 20th of this month? But the core of that story is that he's an innocent man who is about to get killed. And there have been a lot of White people who understand that, and they're retweeting it, "Hey, sign the petition," stuff like that. It can be as small as a retweet. If you're White, you most likely have White followers. So, that's your audience. Retweeting that, telling them about it, getting them to understand, and then they can start from there.”

Note. FG = Focus Group.

Appendix B

Racial Allyship Characteristics Scale After Expert Review

Scale Directions: Below is a set of statements on race, racism, and your experiences with **Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC)** as a White person. Please be open and honest about your perspectives. There are no right or wrong answers. For each of the statements below, indicate how much you agree with each statement below from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

1. Forming authentic relationships with BIPOC is important to me.
2. I make an effort to understand the unique challenges that BIPOC face
3. I make an effort to understand the experiences of BIPOC that are distinct from my own
4. Learning about the experiences of BIPOC is important to me
5. BIPOC perspectives on racism are more important than my own
6. What I know about racism is limited because I am White
7. I am open to discussing the differences between my White racial identity and the racial identity of BIPOC
8. I recognize that various BIPOC communities are different
9. I respect the cultural differences between myself and BIPOC
10. BIPOC individuals have varying goals, values, and perspectives from one another
11. I recognize the humanity shared among people of all races
12. I can identify similarities between myself and BIPOC
13. It's important to me to treat BIPOC with respect due to our shared human experience
14. I expect that there is a difference between what I know about racism and BIPOC's experiences of racism

15. There are behaviors that are appropriate for BIPOC that are not appropriate for me as a White person (e.g., use of specific racial terms).
16. I will never fully understand the experiences of oppression that BIPOC face
17. I confront my friends when they say or do something that I believe to be racist
18. I confront my family when they say or do something that I believe to be racist
19. I participate in protests, marches, or demonstrations against racism
20. I speak up against racism despite consequences to my relationships with other White people
21. I speak up against racism despite consequences to my work
22. If I see discrimination against BIPOC, I confront it
23. I intervene in police interactions with BIPOC to ensure BIPOC safety (e.g., video record, physically or verbally interrupt, report, etc.)
24. I intervene in racist interactions when I see them to ensure BIPOC safety (e.g., video record, physically or verbally interrupt, report, etc.)
25. I give money to organizations that fight against racism
26. I intentionally spend money at BIPOC owned businesses
27. I make sure BIPOC voices and perspectives are prioritized in environments that are predominately White.
28. I make sure to prioritize BIPOC voices when there are conversations about issues affecting BIPOC.
29. I vote for political candidates who prioritize racial justice
30. It's important to me to have BIPOC political candidates at all levels of the government
31. I actively lobby against laws in my community that negatively affect the lives of BIPOC

32. I regularly reflect on what being White means to me.
33. I regularly reflect on how my White racial identity affects my interactions with others
34. I am comfortable being myself around BIPOC
35. It's not important to me to receive praise from BIPOC about my racial justice work
36. As a White person, U.S. society is structured to benefit me more than BIPOC.
37. As a White person, I have more social power than BIPOC
38. I reflect on how my White privilege affects BIPOC
39. I seek out BIPOC authored content (e.g., books, research, social media) to have a better understanding of history
40. I seek out BIPOC authored content (e.g., books, research, social media) to learn more about race and racism
41. I recognize when BIPOC perspectives are missing in the media
42. I have the skills to assess media reports on racial issues for accuracy and bias
43. I know where to find resources (e.g., websites, books, community groups) to educate myself about racism
44. I can identify aspects of White culture in my life
45. White people in American have shared cultural values.
46. I reflect on the biases and stereotypes that I have of BIPOC groups
47. I find ways to challenge my biases and stereotypes against BIPOC
48. I understand that the values of most White people are not applicable to everyone in the U.S.
49. I take time to learn about racial identities and cultures outside of my own.
50. I regularly spend time in racial communities outside of my own.

51. BIPOC are at a greater risk of harm when interacting with police than White people
52. I know how to identify racist and discriminatory behaviors
53. Racism affects BIPOC's access to opportunities (e.g., acquiring loans, equitable housing, employment, and educational opportunities)
54. The history of oppression of BIPOC has shaped current U.S. policies
55. The enslavement of Black people in the U.S. has shaped current U.S. policies
56. The colonization of American Indigenous cultures has shaped current U.S. policies
57. I have people in my life who hold me accountable to values of racial equity
58. I hold other White people accountable to values of racial equity
59. When I address racism, I understand that I do not speak for BIPOC
60. I collaborate with BIPOC to address racism in my community
61. As a White person, I recognize I have limitations in racial justice work
62. I continue to prioritize racial justice, even when I encounter challenges.
63. I am prepared to fight for racial justice throughout my life.
64. My daily actions demonstrate a commitment to racial justice
65. I view feedback from BIPOC about my racist behavior as an opportunity to grow
66. When confronted with racist behavior, I take time to reflect on the feedback I receive.
67. When confronted with racist behavior, I make changes to correct that behavior.
68. It's more important to me to take responsibility for racist behavior than it is to defend myself.
69. I acknowledge when I have been racist, even when unintentional.
70. As a White person, I am willing to have uncomfortable conversations about race
71. As a White person, I know when to speak up in conversations about racism

72. As a White person, I know when I should listen in conversations about racism
73. I challenge people in positions of power (e.g., a boss, teacher, parent) when they are being racist
74. I speak clearly and directly when addressing issues of racism
75. I have conversations about race and racism with other White people
76. I have conversations about race and racism with BIPOC
77. I discuss how to address racism with people I know
78. I educate other White people about White privilege
79. I educate other White people on how to fight racism
80. I have joined discussion groups, book clubs, or other community groups to discuss how to address racism
81. As a White person, it is my responsibility to educate other White people about ways to fight against racism
82. I know about several resources in my community to help other White people learn about racism.

Appendix C

Chapter 2 Measures

Participant Demographic Questionnaire

1. Your Current Age:
2. Current gender identity (check all that apply):
    - Gender non-binary (e.g., androgynous, genderqueer, agender)
    - Transgender
    - Woman
    - Man
    - A gender not listed here (please specify):
3. Birth sex (what was on your birth certificate):
    - Intersex
    - Female
    - Male
4. Race/Ethnicity:
    - African American/Black
    - Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander
    - Hispanic/Latine/a/o
    - American Indian/Native American
        - Please specify tribe:
    - Middle Eastern/North African
    - Caucasian/White
    - East/Southeast/South Asian

- Multiracial/Multi-ethnic
- Race/ethnicity not listed here (please specify):

5. Relationship Status:
   - Single
   - Dating Casual
   - Dating Long term
   - Committed partnership (non-legal)
   - Civil Union
   - Domestic Partnership(legal)
   - Married
   - Relationship not otherwise listed (please specify)
6. Indicate the gender(s) of your partner(s)? Please check all that apply:
   - Gender non-binary (e.g., androgynous, genderqueer, agender)
   - Transgender
   - Woman
   - Man
   - A gender not listed here (please specify):
7. Highest level of education completed (please select the bubble for the one best descriptor
   - Elementary School
   - Middle/Junior High School
   - High School
   - Some College/Technical School
   - College

- Some Professional/Graduate School
- Professional/Graduate School
- Not listed here (please specify)

8. Please indicate what you consider your sexual orientation to be:

- Exclusively Lesbian/Gay
- Mostly Lesbian/Gay
- Bisexual
- Mostly Heterosexual
- Exclusively Heterosexual
- Asexual
- Pansexual
- Queer
- Questioning
- Sexual orientation not listed (please specify)

10. Your employment status (check all that apply):

- Employed full time
- Employed part time
- Not employed
- Underemployed
- Part time student
- Full-time student

11. Your annual household income (the combined income of people who are currently responsible for you financially):

- <$25,000
- $25,000 to < $35,000
- $35,000 to <$50,000
- $50,000 to <$75, 000
- $75,000 to < $100,000
- $100,000 to $150,000
- $150,000 to $200,000
- $250,000 >

12. Your current social class:
    - Lower Class
    - Working Class
    - Middle Class
    - Upper Middle Class
    - Upper Class
13. In what region or territory of the country do you live?
    - Northeast
    - Southeast
    - Northwest
    - Southwest
    - Midwest
    - Alaska
    - Hawaii
    - U.S. Territory (e.g., Puerto Rico, Guam, U.S. Virgin Islands)

- Region not listed (please specify):

14. You would describe the area you live as:

    - Rural
    - Suburban
    - Urban

15. What is your religious affiliation?

    - Buddhist
    - Christian
    - Catholic
    - Hindu
    - Jewish
    - Muslim
    - Agnostic
    - Atheist
    - Sikh
    - I Identify as spiritual but not religious
    - Not listed:

16. What is/are your primary language(s):

17. Do you have one or more documented chronic illness/disability conditions that interferes with one or more aspects of life functioning (e.g., grooming, mobility, education, work)?

    - Yes
        - If yes, please identify _____
    - No

18. In which country were you born?
19. What is your nationality (e.g., American, Nigerian)?
20. How many years have you lived in the U.S.?
21. Who was the first generation in your family to move to the United States (please pick the best descriptor)?
    - You alone
    - You and your parents/family
    - Your parents
    - Your Grandparents
    - Your Great-Grandparents (Your parent's grandparents) and Beyond
22. How well do you feel you read and understand written English (please pick the best descriptor)?

    0 (Not At All)-----1-----2----3----4----5 (Very Well)
23. How well do you feel you speak and understand spoken English?

    0 (Not At All)-----1-----2----3----4----5 (Very Well)
24. How would you describe your political orientation?
    - very liberal
    - liberal
    - slightly liberal
    - slightly conservative
    - conservative
    - very conservative
25. What university do you attend?

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Short Form-16 (Hart et al., 2015)

Instructions: Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

1. Not True	2.	3.	4. Somewhat True	5.	6.	7. Very true

Self-Deception Subscale

____ 4. I have not always been honest with myself.

____ 5. I always know why I like things.

____ 10. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.

____ 11. I never regret my decisions.

____ 12. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.

____ 15. I am a completely rational person.

____ 17. I am very confident of my judgments

____ 18. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.

Impression Management Subscale

____ 21. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.

____ 22. I never cover up my mistakes.

____ 23. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.

____ 25. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.

____ 27. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.

____ 28. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.

____ 36. I never take things that don't belong to me.

____ 40. I don't gossip about other people's business.

Note: Items 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, are reversed scored.

Anti-Racism Behavioral Inventory (Pieterse et al., 2016)

Instructions: Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Select the option that best describes how much you agree or disagree that the statement describes you.

1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Uncertain	4. Agree	5. Strongly Agree

Individual Advocacy Subscale

1. When I hear people telling racist jokes and using negative racial stereotypes, I usually confront them

3. I actively seek to understand how I participate in both intentional and unintentional racism

5. I actively seek to educate myself about the experience of racism

7. I interrupt racist conversations and jokes when I hear my friends talking that way

10. I have challenged acts of racism that I have witnessed in my workplace or at school

12. I make it a point to educate myself about the experience of historically oppressed groups in the U.S. (e.g. slavery, internment of Japanese, American-Indians, and the trail of tears, etc.)

15. I often speak to my friends about the problem of racism in the U.S., and what we can do about it

18. I do not like to talk about racism in public

20. I interrupt racist conversations and jokes when I hear them in my family

Awareness of Racism Subscale

4. I feel guilty and ashamed when I think of the history of racism and slavery in the U.S.

9. It bothers me that my country has yet to acknowledge the impact of slavery

11. The U.S. should offer some type of payment to the descendants of slaves

13. The U.S. has not acknowledged the impact of slavery

14. Because of racism in the U.S., Blacks do not have the same educational opportunities as compared to Whites

16. Within the U.S., racism is largely perpetuated by the White racial majority

21. The police unfairly target Black men and Latinos

Institutional Advocacy Subscale

2. I give money to organizations working against racism and discrimination

6. When I read articles in newspapers or magazines that are perpetuating racist ideas, I generally write a letter to the editor

8. I am actively involved in exposing companies that uphold exclusionary and racist practices

17. I write letters to local and state politicians to voice my concerns about racism

19. I volunteer with anti-racist or racial justice organizations

Note: Item 18 is reverse coded.

The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000)

Instructions: Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues in the United States (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each item.

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

Racial Privilege Subscale

1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.

2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.

6.Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.

8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.

12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

15.White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities.

20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

Institutional Discrimination Subscale

3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.

4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.

9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.

13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.

14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.

16.Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.

18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

Blatant Racism Subscale

5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.

7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.

10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.

17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

Note: Items 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20 are reverse code